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DOCTRINAL TREATISES

AND

INTRODUCTIONS TO DIFFERENT PORTIONS OF

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

The Parker Society.

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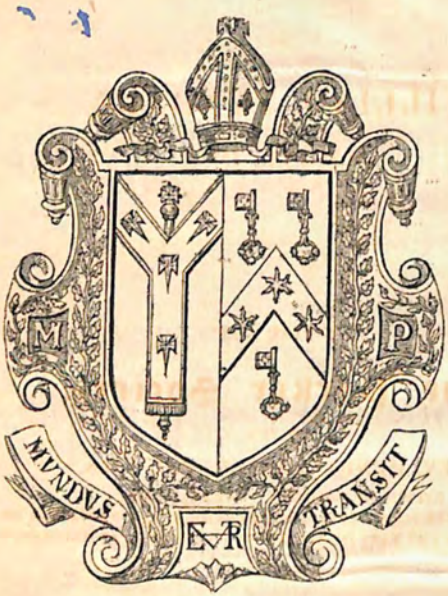

For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church.

DOCTRINAL TREATISES

AND

INTRODUCTIONS TO DIFFERENT PORTIONS

OF

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

B 1099

BY

WILLIAM TYNDALE,

MARTYR, 1536.

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EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. HENRY WALTER, B.D. F.R.S.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE affectionate anxiety of Tyndale to benefit his benighted countrymen led him to employ the press in a threefold capacity, as an editor, a translator, and an author; that he might make the most of the powerful instrumentality of the recently discovered art of printing, for the promotion of his labour of love.

It would not be suitable to the engagements of the Parker Society to comprehend treatises of which Tyndale was merely an editor in this reprint of his works. But Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments' contain "The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman, concerning the abuses of the world, as the book was faithfully set forth by William Tyndale[1];" and also "William Thorp's account of his examination, when brought before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, as corrected by master William Tyndale[2]." What he did as a translator of the works of uninspired christian writers, cannot be affirmed with any certainty; but whilst his translation of Erasmus' *Enchiridion militis Christiani* has probably been entirely lost, his translation of Luther's preface to the epistle to the Romans will be found incorporated in his own prologue to that epistle. On the other hand, though it is for being the father and founder of the authorised version of the Bible, the first person who translated the Scriptures from their inspired originals into the English tongue, that all who speak that tongue have reason to revere Tyndale's memory; it is not proposed to reprint any more of his translation, in this

[1 B. v., under date of 1360.]

[2 Ibid., under date of 1409.]

edition of his works, than a chapter from each Testament, for the sake of enabling the readers to form some estimate as to the extent to which Tyndale's translation, and choice of words, may be supposed to be under their eyes when they look at the text of their English Bibles.

As to the works of which Tyndale was properly the author, after striking off from Bale's and Tanner's lists such as they seem to have had no sufficient reason for ascribing to his pen[1], it will appear probable that but two of any general interest have been lost; namely, his 'Treatise on Matrimony,' and his 'Exposition of 1 Cor. VII.;' if indeed these two titles did not belong to the same work.

Very nearly the whole of what is still extant has been preserved in Day's black-letter folio of the works of Frith, Barnes, and Tyndale, to which 1574 has been assigned as a date, and Foxe the martyrologist as its editor. Where collation with ancient editions of the different treatises afforded no preferable reading, the text of Day has been followed in this reprint. But instead of Day's immethodical arrangement of Tyndale's works, the present editor has first placed together the doctrinal and hortatory treatises; then Helps to a right understanding of the Scriptures; and lastly, those polemical writings in which the author answers or exposes the adversaries of the Reformation. The second class, consisting of introductory prefaces, expositions of par-

[1 The only reason assigned in their lists for ascribing to Tyndale 'A Book concerning the Church,' 'A Godly Disputation between a Christian Shoemaker and a Popish Parson,' and 'The Disclosing of the Man of Sin,' is that they are ascribed to him by Foxe, in a list of prohibited books; but when that list is examined (see either the ed. of 1563, pp. 573-4, or the Lond. ed. of 1838, Vol. v., p. 567) it appears that though Foxe has placed these titles immediately after those of several works known to be Tyndale's, or edited by him, the catalogue is immethodical; and he has not said a word about their being Tyndale's composition.]

ticular portions of holy writ, or notes upon them, will be arranged in the order of the Scriptures themselves; but in the other two classes each portion will be placed according to the date of its original publication, that the reader may see what were Tyndale's earliest thoughts on the subject discussed, and trace the connection between his controversial writings and the events of their author's life. Of those events Foxe knew so little, in consequence of Tyndale's having been obliged to live abroad and in secrecy, that it would have been inexcusable to republish Foxe's account of him, without giving that farther information respecting him which Mr Offor first discovered[2] in the state papers of Henry the Eighth's reign, and which the Rev. C. Anderson's farther search into the same and other contemporary documents has recently enabled him to lay before the public[3].

To both those gentlemen the editor's best thanks are due for the liberal manner in which they have given him permission to use the results of their labours; whilst he is still farther indebted to Mr Offor for the kindness with which he has allowed him to consult and collate his unique or rare specimens of the earliest editions of Tyndale's works. The Rev. Thomas Russell has been equally liberal in permitting the editor to take advantage of the notes which accompanied the first volume of his edition of Tyndale's works[4]. The editor has also been favoured with transcripts of family documents, elucidatory of Tyndale's origin, by John Roberts, Esq., of the Inner Temple, who glories in being lineally descended from the reformer's elder brother. It is also his pleasing duty to record his obligation to the master and fellows of St John's College, Cambridge, for the loan of a copy of Bishop

[2 Published in his Memoir of Tyndale, prefixed to his reprint of Tyndale's New Testament, Lond. 1836.]

[3 Scattered over the first volume of his Annals of the English Bible.]

[4 Published by Eben. Palmer, London, 1831.]

Fisher's works; to the Rev. T. S. Crisp, president of the Baptists' College, Bristol, for facilitating and aiding his examination of the very valuable collection of Tyndale's Translations, in the library of that institution; and to the Rev. Edward Cureton and sir Henry Ellis of the British Museum; the Rev. Alfred Hackman, Precentor of Christ Church; Albert Way, Esq., director of the Antiquarian Society; and Henry Hallam, Esq., for their obliging readiness in satisfying his inquiries on different subjects, necessary for the elucidation of his author.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

OF

WILLIAM TYNDALE.

WILLIAM TYNDALE, the man chosen of God to be one of his chief instruments in the blessed work of restoring the knowledge of the way of salvation amongst the inhabitants of our island, was fitted for this work by being endowed with such ability and learning as enabled him to lay the foundation of our authorised version of the scriptures; and his life was not taken away till he had more than half completed that English Bible, which has been one of God's best gifts to the nations speaking the English tongue.

There are probable, though not indisputable, grounds for believing, that he was descended from forefathers who were barons of Tyndale in Northumberland, till their title passed by an heiress into the family of Bolteby, in the thirteenth century, and eventually to the Percies[1]. This descent is unhesitatingly claimed for himself by a Thomas Tyndale, of Kington St Michael, near Calne, in a letter written, February 3rd, 1663, to a namesake, whom he addresses as his cousin, and whose father was a grandson of the reformer's elder brother. "The first of your family," says the letter-writer, "came out of the north, in the times of the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, at what time many of good sort (their side going down) did fly for refuge where they could find it. Coming into Glocestershire, and changing his name to that of Hutchins, he afterwards married there, and so having children he did, before his death, declare his right name, and from whence, and upon what subject he came thither; and so taking his own name, did leave it unto his

[1] Anderson's Annals of the Eng. Bible, B. I. § 1. pp. 17—20: and Camden's Britannia, col. 853. Gibson's ed. 1695.

children, who have since continued it, as it was fit they should. This I have heard from your good father himself[1]."

It seems to have been in the village of Stinchcombe, near Dursley, that Hugh Tyndale, the refugee above spoken of, found the concealment he thus sought. His grandson Thomas married Alicia, sole heiress of Thomas Hunt of Huntscourt, in the neighbouring village of North Nibley, and appears to have had by her five sons. Of these William was the second; but in which of the two villages he was born, or in what year, cannot be stated with certainty. The probability is, however, that he was born in North Nibley, and in the year 1484[2]. Of his course of life, from infancy till he must have been about six and thirty years of age, we still know no more than is told in the following brief extract from Foxe's Acts and Monuments.

"Touching the birth and parentage of this blessed martyr of Christ, he was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the university of Oxford, where he by long continuance grew and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, as specially in the knowledge of the scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted: insomuch that he, lying there in Magdalen hall, read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen college some parcel of divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the scriptures. Whose manners also and conversation, being correspondent to the same, were such that all they that knew him reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of life unspotted. Thus he in the university of Oxford increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the schools, spying his time, removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode a certain space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's word, leaving that university also, he resorted to one master Welsh, a knight of Glocestershire; and was there school-master to his children, and in very good favour with his master[3]."

[1] From a copy of this letter, communicated to the editor by John Roberts, Esq., a descendant from the sister of that Thomas Tyndale to whom it was addressed.

[2] Anderson, as above, p. 18—22.

[3] From the edition of 1597, compared with the extracted life in Day's edition of Tyndale's works.

In his endeavour to glean some addition to this scanty information, Mr Offor has discovered that a William Tyndale was ordained priest in 1503; and that a person of the same name made his profession in the monastery of the Observants in Greenwich, in 1508. But if 1503 were not too early a date for the reformer's admission into the priesthood, the person ordained is described as properly belonging to the diocese of Carlisle; of which every thing else would lead us to conclude that our William was neither a native, nor brought up within its jurisdiction[4]. On the other hand, it is quite incredible that the William Tyndale who took monastic vows at Greenwich should have been the same person as the reformer. For that noted monastery was contiguous to a favorite residence of Henry VIII., so that our Tyndale's keen adversary, sir Thomas More, could not but have known the fact, if he had been chargeable with deserting it. But whilst More does not fail to call Luther and Œcolampadius friars, from time to time, and scarcely ever speaks of Jerome and Roye, who had quitted that very monastery, without calling them either friars or apostates, to induce his readers to look upon Tyndale as the disciple and associate of perjured deserters from the monastic profession, he calls Tyndale himself simply Tyndale, or Hychins, or sir William; which last was then the usual way of designating a priest. All that we can add therefore to Foxe's account of Tyndale's academic life, is but that his removing to Cambridge was probably for the purpose of profiting by Erasmus' lectures, who taught Greek there from 1509 till the beginning of 1514; whereas there was no regular Greek lectureship founded in Oxford till about

[4] Ordines generaliter celebrat. in ecclesia conventuali dom^{s}. sive prioratus Sancti Barthi in Smythfelde Londin. per Rev. prem. Dmn. Thom$\bar{a}$ Dei gratia Pavaden. epm aucto Rev. $\bar{P}$ris Domini Willem permissione divina Londin. die sabbati iiii^{or}. temporum, viz. undecimo die mensis Martii Ann. Dom. Millmo Quingentesimo secundo. Presbri. Willms Tindale Carlii Dioc. p. li. di. ad ti^{m} domus monialium de Lambley. Extract from the London episcopal registers, communicated to the editor by G. Offor, Esq.; and see Offor's Life of Tyndale, p. 7. As the nunnery of Lambley was in the diocese of Durham, though on the borders of Cumberland, the abbreviation for the diocese of Carlisle must refer to the man, and not to the benefice accepted as his title for orders.

1517[1]. Of his removal into Glocestershire we can say with more precision that its date could not have been earlier than 1520, when he was about thirty-four years of age; and that the person who had the sagacity to select him for the instruction of his children, was sir John Walsh, at one time an acceptable frequenter of the court, but now living as a country gentleman in his manor-house at Little Sodbury.

"This gentleman," proceeds Foxe, "as he kept a very good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted unto him, many times, sundry abbots, deans, archdeacons, with other divers doctors and great beneficed men; who there together with M. Tyndale, sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter communication, and talk of learned men, as of Luther and of Erasmus: also of divers other controversies and questions upon the scripture. Then Master Tyndale, as he was learned and well practised in God's matters, so he spared not to shew unto them simply and plainly his judgment in matters, as he thought. And when as they at any[2] time did vary from Tyndale in opinions and judgment, he would shew them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the scriptures, to confute their errors and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him."

"Not long after this it happened that certain of these great doctors had invited Master Welsh and his wife[3] to a banquet; where they had talk at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gainsaying. Then M. Welsh and his wife, coming home and calling for M. Tyndale, began to reason with him about those matters, whereof the priests had talked before at their ban-

[1] Hallam, Introduction to the Literature of Europe, ch. IV. § 30. London, 1837.

[2] So large black letter folio; but in the Life prefixed to Tyndale's works, Day's ed. of 1574, Foxe has used the word *that* instead of *any*.

[3] Sir John Walsh had married Anne daughter of Sir Robert Poyntz, of Iron Acton, and of Margaret his wife, whose father was the accomplished Antony Woodville, earl of Rivers, beheaded at Pontefract by order of Richard III.

quet. M. Tyndale, answering by scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the lady Welsh, a stout and a wise woman (as Tyndale reported), 'Well, there was such a doctor, which may dispend £100, another £200, and another £300. And what, were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?' Master Tyndale gave her no answer at that time, nor also after that (because he saw it would not avail) he talked but little in those matters."

"At that time he was about the translation of a book called *Enchiridion militis Christiani*[4], which being translated, he delivered to his master and lady; who after they had read and well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came, as before they had. Which thing they marking and well perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of Master Tyndale, refrained themselves, and at last utterly withdrew themselves, and came no more there."

"As this grew on, the priests of the country, clustering together, began to grudge and storm against Tyndale, railing against him in alehouses and other places. Of whom Tyndale himself, in his prologue before the first book of Moses, reporteth that they affirmed his sayings were heresy; adding moreover unto his sayings, of their own heads, more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretly to the chancellor and other of the bishop's officers[5]."

"It followed not long after this that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear; amongst whom M. Tyndale was also warned to be there. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay something to his charge, it is uncertain: but certain this is, as he himself declared, that he doubted their privy accusations: so that he by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength fast to stand in the truth of his word."

[4] The Manual of a Christian Soldier; a work of Erasmus. There is an abridged translation of it in the Park. Soc. edition of Coverdale.

[5] See p. 394; where the passage quoted by Foxe is at greater length than it has been thought necessary to introduce here.

The county of Glocester was as yet included in the diocese of Worcester; which was then so rich a see that it had attracted the notice of the papal court, and four Italian priests had managed to get possession of it in succession. In 1521, Pope Leo X. gave it to Giulio de Medici, a base-born son of one of his own relations, who was at the same time Archbishop of Florence in Italy, and of Narbonne in France, and became Pope Clement VII. before the close of 1523. Leo's claim to the right of disposing of this see to whom he would, arose out of the fact that the previous Italian Bishop of Worcester, Sylvestro de Gigli, had died at Rome; and his claim had been made palatable to Henry VIII. by the pope's empowering Cardinal Wolsey to exercise the patronage and receive the revenues of the bishoprick for its Italian incumbent, who would not be strict in scrutinising the accounts of such a steward. As to the care of the flock, these Italian bishops left that to officers, who could the better act the despot from the circumstance that their lord was far away. It seems to have been whilst Giulio de Medici was the absentee bishop, that Tyndale received a summons to appear before his chancellor, who acted as governor of the diocese. That chancellor was a Dr Parker, who had the boldness, ten years later, to execute the sentence of the convocation which had voted that the body of William Tracy, Esq., a Glocestershire gentleman, should be turned out of its grave and burned for heresy; because Mr Tracy had declared in his will that "he would bestow no part of his goods" to procure any thing "that any should say or do to help his soul."

The offence which Tyndale had given to the priests by making them unacceptable guests, where they had been wont to find honour and a loaded table, was now aggravated by his having become a zealous preacher in the country, "about the town of Bristol, and also in the said town, in the common place called St Austin's Green[1]." We may well therefore believe Tyndale's account, who says, "When I came before the chancellor, he threatened me grievously, and reviled me, and rated me as though I had been a dog; and laid to my charge whereof there could be none accuser brought forth; and yet all the priests of the country were the same day there[2]."

[1] Foxe.

[2] Preface to Five Books of Moses, p. 395.

For what followed we return to Foxe's narrative. "Thus M. Tyndale, after those examinations, escaping out of their hands, departed home and returned to his master again. There dwelt not far off a certain doctor, that had been an old chancellor before to a bishop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with M. Tyndale, and also favoured him well, unto whom M. Tyndale went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the scripture; for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. This doctor said to him, 'Do you not know that the pope is very antichrist, whom the scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life.' He said, moreover, 'I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and I defy him and all his works.'"

"It was not long after but M. Tyndale happened to be in the company of a certain divine recounted for a learned man; and in communing and disputing with him he drave him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words and said, 'We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's.' Master Tyndale hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied again, and said, 'I defy the pope and all his laws:' and further added, that if God spared him life, ere many years he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the scripture than he did."

The words he had uttered were not likely to be kept secret by the priest to whom they were spoken; and Foxe accordingly proceeds to say, "After this, the grudge of the priests increasing still more and more against Tyndale, they never ceased barking and rating at him, and laid many sore things to his charge, saying, that he was a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, a heretic in divinity; and said moreover to him, that he bare himself bold of the gentlemen there in that country, but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal." But Tyndale let them know that his confidence was not built upon his influence or connection with the gentlemen of Glocestershire. He answered them, "That he was contented they should bring him into any country in all England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children and to preach."

From his reflections on their opposition however he providentially learnt another lesson. "I perceived," says he, "how that it was impossible to establish the lay-people in any truth, except the scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text. For else, whatsoever truth is taught them, these enemies of all truth quench it again, partly with the smoke of their bottomless pit, that is, with apparent reasons of sophistry and traditions of their own making, founded without ground of scripture; and partly in juggling with the text, expounding it in such sense as is impossible to gather of the text, if thou see the process, order and meaning thereof." Of the conviction at which he had thus arrived, he says, "This thing only moved me to translate the new Testament[1]."

Wicliffe had done this a hundred and fifty years before; but as his version had never been printed, it had never been procurable at such a price as was not out of the reach of the poor; and even such yeomen as were persecuted for reading or possessing it, appear from the records of their examinations to have been rarely possessors of more than a single gospel, or of one or two epistles. Wicliffe's version had also this considerable defect, that whereas there was no person in Oxford, in his days, who knew any thing of Greek, he could only translate from the Latin Vulgate; and had consequently incorporated all its erroneous renderings into his text. But besides this, the unsettled state of language, in our illiterate nation, had already made Wicliffe's English to be among the things which were passing away. 'The ghiftis and the clepyng of God ben without forthynkyng,' or 'He made us saaf bi waisshchyng of aghenbigetyng and aghen newing,' (Wicliffe's version of Rom. xi. 29, and Tit. iii. 5), would scarcely have been intelligible to Tyndale's contemporaries, and would have sounded painfully uncouth to the next generation. As a man therefore who knew, and was determined to increase his knowledge, of tongues which had been out of Wicliffe's reach, Tyndale resolved to make a version of his own; and to begin a work whose least merit it is that it has given the English tongue a fixedness, not unlikely to prove

[1] Preface to Pentateuch, p. 394.

such as has been without precedent among the languages of the earth.

With this resolution Tyndale resigned his post in the family of Sir John Walsh; saying to him, "Sir, I perceive I shall not be suffered to tarry long in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spiritualty; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you, by keeping me, God knoweth, for which I should be right sorry[2]." His patron seems to have acquiesced in this view of the case; and as Tyndale had given such credit to Erasmus' flattering description of the learning and liberality of Tonstal, then bishop of London, as to believe that he would not be unwilling to patronise a laborious scholar, and might even sanction his translating the scriptures, it was agreed between them that Tyndale should repair to London; and that sir John should give him a letter of introduction to his friend sir Henry Guildford, controuler of the royal household, and known to be in great favour with the king, that so he might be recommended to the bishop's patronage from an influential quarter. To London accordingly he went; and he carried with him an oration of Isocrates, which, says he, "I had translated out of Greek into English," as undeniable evidence of his having made such progress in scholarship as was still exceedingly rare.

The courtier received the simple-hearted scholar with kindness; and after speaking for him to the bishop of London at his request, sir Henry advised him to write a letter in his own name to the bishop, and to be himself the bearer of it. He complied with this advice, and found an old acquaintance in the bishop's household; so that every thing seemed to conspire, thus far, to his obtaining the patronage he desired. "But God," says Tyndale, "which knoweth what is within hypocrites, saw that I was beguiled, and that that counsel was not the next[3] way to my purpose; and therefore he gat me no favour in my lord's sight. Whereupon my lord answered me, *His house was full; he had more than he could well find*[4]; and advised me to *Seek in London, where,* he said, *I could not lack a service.* And so in London I abode almost a year; and marked the course of the world; and heard our praters, I would say our preachers, how they

[2] Foxe. [3] Nighest. [4] Provide for.

boasted themselves and their high authority; and beheld the pomp of our prelates; and understood at the last not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the new Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England, as experience doth now openly declare."

In this statement, which Tyndale made public in 1530, by introducing it into the preface to his translation of the Pentateuch, he took care to say nothing about the generous merchant, Humfrey Munmouth, in whose sight the Lord had given him favour in the hour of his need; for he well knew that were he then to express his obligation to that liberal patron of poor scholars, he should be furnishing the popish party with fresh motives and grounds for doing his benefactor still farther injury. In 1523 Tyndale could sojourn in London, seeking for a source of maintenance which would not interfere with his proposed task, and at the same time administering the bread of life from parochial pulpits. But by the spring of 1528 his name had become so odious to men whose eyes could not bear that great light which his labours were pouring in upon a people who had long walked in darkness, that the suspicion of befriending him had subjected Munmouth's papers to an inquisitorial search, and Munmouth himself to imprisonment in the Tower, as well as to an unrighteous attempt to make him criminate himself, by his answers to interrogatories extending beyond what his accusers knew of what they would account his guilt.

According to a document first published by Strype from Foxe's MSS., "twenty-four articles were ministered against Munmouth," containing the following accusations: "That thou hast favoured, helped, and given exhibitions[1] to such persons as went about to translate into English, or to make erroneous books out of holy scripture: and chiefly to sir William Hochin, otherwise called sir William Tyndal, priest, and to friar Roye, sometime Observant, and now in apostasy, or to either of them." "Item, That thou wast privy and of counsel that the said sir W. Hochin, otherwise called Tyndal, and friar Roye, or either of them, went into Almayne to Luther, there to study and learn his sect; and didst help them with money at their departing hence, or since. Item, That thou wast privy

[1] A pension contributed towards any person's maintenance.

and of counsel, or hast given help thereto, that the new Testament was translated into English by sir William Hochin or Tyndal, and friar Roye, and printed and brought into this realm, as well with glosses as without glosses. Item, That after they were openly forbidden, as being full of errors, thou hast had, read, and kept them. Item, That thou hast had, and yet hast, certain other works full of errors, translated into English, sent unto thee, by the said sir W. Tyndal, or Hochin[2]."

Under these charges, the charitable merchant was fain to beg forgiveness and mercy in very humble terms; and to indite a petition from his prison to cardinal Wolsey, and the king's other counsellors, in which he tells his tale as follows.

"The fourteenth day of May, [1528] sir Thomas More, knight, and sir William Kingston, knight[3], of the king's noble council, sent for me unto sir John Dauncy's; and there they examined me, 'What letters and books I received lately from beyond the seas;' and I said, 'None,' nor never had of truth. And, 'What exhibition I did give to any body beyond the seas?' I said, 'None, in three years past.' And examined me, 'Whether I was acquainted with many persons;' of the which I was acquainted with none of them, to my knowledge and remembrance. I told them, 'In four years past I did give unto a priest called sir William Tyndal, otherwise called Hotchens.' And then sir Thomas More and sir William Kingston had me home to my house, and searched it; and saw all the letters and books in my house: and there they found no letters that they regarded, nor English books, but five or six printed, the which they regarded not; and they left them with me as they found them. From thence I went again to sir John Dauncy's, my special good master; he brought me the same day to the Tower of London, and delivered me unto sir Edmonde Walsyngham, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower."

"Upon four years and a half past and more, I heard the

[2] Strype's Eccles. Memorials, ch. xli. Vol. i. page 489. Clarendon Press, 1822.

[3] Subsequently Constable of the Tower, and the unshrinking executor of every tyrannical command; whose appearance made Wolsey shudder; and who watched as a spy over Anne Boleyn, in her hour of distress.

foresaid sir William preach two or three sermons at St Dunstan's in the west, in London; and after that I chanced to meet with him, and with communication I examined what living he had. He said, 'he had none at all; but he trusted to be with my lord of London, in his service.' And therefore I had the better fantasy to him. Afterward he went to my lord and spake to him, as he told me, and my lord answered him, 'That he had chaplains enough;' and he said to him, 'That he would have no more at that time.' And so the priest came to me again, and besought me to help him, and so I took him into my house half a year; and there he lived like a good priest, as methought. He studied most part of the day and of the night at his book; and he would eat but sodden meat, by his good will, nor drink but small single beer. I never saw him wear linen about him, in the space he was with me. I did promise him ten pounds sterling, to pray for my father and mother, their souls, and all Christian souls. I did pay it him, when he made his exchange to Hamborough. Afterward he got, of some other men, ten pound sterling more, the which he left with me. And within a year after he sent for his ten pounds to me from Hamborough, and thither I sent it him by one Hans Collenbeke. And since I have never sent him the value of one penny, nor never will. I have given more exhibitions to scholars, in my days, than to that priest. Mr doctor Royston, chaplain to my lord of London, hath cost me more than forty or fifty pounds sterling. The foresaid sir William left me an English book, called Enchiridion. Also I had a little treatise that the priest sent me, when he sent for his money. When I heard my lord of London preach at Paul's Cross, that sir William Tyndale had translated the new Testament in English, and was naughtily translated, that was the first time that ever I suspected or knew any evil by him. And shortly after, all the letters and treatises that he sent me, with divers copies of books that my servant did write, and the sermons that the priest did make at St Dunstan's, I did burn them in my house. He that did write them did see it. I did burn them for fear of the translator, more than for any ill that I knew by them." Subscribed, "Your poor prisoner and beedman, at your grace's pleasure. Humfrye Munmouthe, draper of London[1]."

[1] App. to Strype's Ecc. Mem. No. 89. Vol. II. p. 363.

It is from the date of this petition, and the period of time mentioned in it, corrected by Tyndale's mention of the time he passed in London, that his biographers have been led to fix upon the autumn of 1523, as the date of his application for Tonstal's patronage[2]; and that of 1524, when he was about forty years of age, as the time of his quitting England for Hamburgh, to see his beloved native land no more.

At Hamburgh Tyndale would find that the burghers had recently resolved to renounce the pope's authority; and that one Kempe, previously a Franciscan friar, had been invited from Rostoc to preach the gospel to them. He would also find that, whereas the Jews had been expelled from England so long ago as 1279, they were numerous enough in that free commercial city, to have some among them well versed in their ancient tongue. These circumstances had probably induced him to direct his course thither. For whilst there is no trust-worthy evidence that either of the English universities contained any person capable of giving him any instruction in Hebrew, when he was studying within their precincts, we discover from his 'Mammon,' that three years had not elapsed from his reaching Hamburgh, before he could make such remarks as prove that he had by that time acquired a considerable insight into some remarkable peculiarities in the Hebrew language.

Foxe says, that at Tyndale's "first departing out of the realm, he took his journey into the further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther, and other learned men in those quarters. Where after that he had continued a certain season, he came down from thence into the Netherlands, and had his most abiding in the town of Antwerp, until the time of his apprehension." But by this very meagre sketch the worthy martyrologist only shews what scanty information he had received respecting Tyndale's

[2] If the record of the death of Sir John Walsh's son Maurice, in 1556, has enabled Mr Anderson to ascertain (Ann. of Engl. Bible, Vol. I. p. 37, n. 28.) that Tyndale's eldest pupil was only seven years of age when he left Sodbury for London, we cannot suppose that Tyndale's services would have been wanted at Sodbury to take charge of the boy before he was five years of age, that is, certainly not earlier than 1520.

proceedings abroad. His belief that Tyndale sought out Luther, had probably no better ground than that he was unaware of any reason for discrediting sir Thomas More. It was boldly affirmed in his Dialogue, and probably introduced into the charges against Munmouth, to raise the greater prejudice against Tyndale. It was to disparage his new Testament that sir Thomas said, "at the time of this translation Hychens was with Luther in Wittemberg, and set certain glosses in the margin, framed for the setting forth of that ungracious sect." "The confederacy between Luther and him is a thing well known, and plainly confessed by such as have been taken, and convicted here of heresy, coming from them." Dial. B. III. ch. viii. But we shall see, in Tyndale's answer, that he replies, speaking of the confederacy, "This is not truth;" and whilst nothing drops from him indicative of his having ever seen Luther, the language of Munmouth makes it more reasonable to conclude, that he "abode in Hamburgh" till he had exhausted Munmouth's gift of ten pounds, (a sum equivalent to £150 at present,) and had received his second supply.

It is also observable that, when Tyndale sent for this last sum, he transmitted to Munmouth "a little treatise," which his kind patron was afterwards afraid to keep, and took good care not to name. This 'little treatise' was very probably 'The examination of William Thorpe before Archbishop Arundel,' of which Foxe has said: "This history was first set forth and corrected by M. William Tyndale, who did somewhat alter and amend the English thereof, and frame it after our manner, yet not fully in all words, but that something did remain savouring of the old speech of that time," viz. about 1407. "For the more credit of the matter," adds Foxe, "I rather wished it in his own natural speech, wherein it was first written." But though unable to procure the use of a copy "in its own old English," for insertion in his 'Acts and Monuments,' he says, "Master Whitehead, yet alive, had seen the true antient copy in the hands of George Constantine." The value of this publication, as an exposure of the weakness of the usual arguments in defence of popery, is attested by Sir Thomas More's giving it a place in his list of the "abominable books of Tyndale and his fellows, brought into this

realm, and kept in huker muker[1], by some shrewd masters that keep them for no good[2]."

At any rate, nothing is known of any other treatise, either composed or prepared for the press by Tyndale during his sojourn in Hamburgh; but we have good ground for believing that he there completed what was of more value than any treatise, namely, the first portion of God's own holy word that had ever passed through the press in the English tongue. For that Tyndale had printed, and put into circulation, his version of St Matthew's gospel, and after it his version of Mark, before printing his entire New Testament, which last was in the press in 1525, may be gathered from the joint testimonies of a friend and an enemy. In Foxe's account of Frith, he has said that "William Tyndale, placing himself in Germany, did there first translate the gospel of St Matthew into English, and after that the whole New Testament." And Robert Ridley, uncle to the martyr, but a bitter enemy to the reformation, writing in Feb. 1527 to Henry Golde, a chaplain of Abp. Warham, twice mentions, with strong ex-

[1] In secret. From Saxon hoga, fear, carefulness proceeding from fear; and muckel, great, much.

[2] Preface to 'Confutacion of Tyndale's answere,' 1532. More says, 'The examination of Thorpe was put forth, *as it is said*, by George Constantine;' and we see from Foxe how such a report may have originated. There is, however, a peculiarity in Thorpe's altered language, which marks Tyndale as its corrector, and gives probability to his making the changes which Foxe disliked, when hot upon his Hebrew studies. For Tyndale was evidently so much struck with the advantage possessed by the Hebrew tongue, in having a causal voice to its verbs, as to make a systematic endeavour to introduce the like into his native language. It was already not without instances of the kind; such as to *strengthen*, for to *give strength*; to *humble*, for to *make humble*; and as if he despaired of inducing his countrymen to accept a set of new verbs, formed after the model of *strengthen*, he adopted the simpler method. Hence the reader of this volume will find Tyndale using to *able*, to *fear*, to *meek*, to *knowledge*, to *strength*; for to *enable*, to *cause fear* or *terrify*, to *render meek*, to *give knowledge* or *acknowledge*, to *give strength*. A comparison of Tyndale's edition of Thorpe, as reprinted by Foxe, with the prose of Chaucer, who must have been Thorpe's contemporary during part of his life, will shew that one of the most obvious differences between them consists in the employment of *knowledge* and *able* as verbs in the Tyndalized Thorpe.

pressions of abhorrence, "the first print of Matthew and Mark," as translated by Tyndale[1]. And lastly a humble reader of the scriptures, being examined before Bishop Tonstal in 1528, was brought to confess that he had been in possession, two years before, of "the gospel of Matthew and Mark in English, and certain of Paul's epistles after the *old* translation[2];" by which epithet he would be understood to mean that the epistles were of Wicliffe's version, though the two gospels were of that more recent version which every one, by that time, knew that Tyndale had made.

The next place in which we have undeniable evidence of Tyndale's sojourning is Cologne; where he would know that there were enterprising printers accustomed to prepare publications for the English market[3]. To the same city came John Cochlæus, an indefatigable assailant of Luther, who had recently been compelled for that reason to quit Frankfort, where he had possessed a benefice. It is from a controversial pamphlet of this champion of popery, published some years later, that we gain the following account of his discovering Tyndale and an associate[4] in Cologne, in 1525; and how they were employed. "Two English apostates," says he, "who had been some while at Wittenberg, were in hopes that all the people of England would shortly become Lutherans, with or without the king's consent, through the instrumentality of Luther's New Testament, which they had translated into English. They had already come to Cologne, that they might secretly transmit their so translated testament from thence into England, under cover of other goods, as soon as the printers should have multiplied it into many thousand copies. Such was their confidence of success, that they had begun with asking the printers to strike off an impression of 6,000 copies; but the printers, rather fearing that they might be subjected to a very heavy loss, if anything should

[1] The greater part of his letter is printed in Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, B. I. Vol. I. p. 153.

[2] Id. p. 183.

[3] Quentel, who printed for Tyndale, was connected with Francis Byrckman, whose brothers, Arnold and John, had book-shops both in Paris and London. Anderson, B. I. pp. 55—6.

[4] Generally supposed to be William Roye, of whom see more in pp. 37—9.

turn out unfavourably, had only put 3,000 to the press. At this time, Cochlæus having become better known to the Cologne printers, and more familiar with them, he sometimes heard them boast over their cups, in a confident manner, that whether the king and cardinal of England might wish it or not, all England would shortly be Lutheran. He heard also that there were two Englishmen lurking there, learned men, skilful in languages and fluent, whom however he could never see nor converse with. Having, therefore, invited certain printers to his inn, one of them revealed to him in more private discourse, after they were treated with wine, the secret method by which England was to be drawn over to the side of Luther; namely, that three thousand copies of the Lutheran New Testament were in the press, and were already advanced as far as the letter K, in the signature of the sheets[5], and that ample payment was supplied by English merchants, who were to carry off the work secretly, as soon as it should be printed, and would clandestinely disperse it through all England, before the king or the cardinal could discover or prohibit it. Cochlæus, being inwardly affected by fear and wonder, disguised his grief under the appearance of admiration. But afterwards considering with himself the magnitude of the grievous danger, he cast in his mind by what method he might speedily obstruct these very wicked attempts. He went, therefore, secretly to Herman Rincke, a patrician of Cologne and knight, familiar both with the emperor and the king of England, and a councillor, and disclosed to him the whole affair, as by the good help of the wine it had become known to him. That all these things might be the better proved, Rincke sent another person to search the house where the work was printing, according to Cochlæus' information. When he had ascertained from that man that the matter was even so, and that there was a vast quantity of paper there, he went to the senate of the city and procured a prohibition against the printer's proceeding any farther in that work. Upon this, the two English apostates fled, carrying off in haste the quarto sheets already printed, and sailed up the Rhine to Worms, where the people were in the full fury of Lutheranism, that what had been begun might be completed there by the help of another printer. Rincke and Cochlæus,

[5] In ordine quaternionum.

however, immediately sent advice by letter to the king, the cardinal, and the bishop of Rochester [Fisher], that they might make provision with the greater diligence, lest that most pernicious article of merchandise should be conveyed into all the ports of England[1]."

Cochlæus' assertions respecting the previous sojourn of these two Englishmen at Wittemberg, and their hope to see their countrymen become Lutherans, as also that the new Testament which they were printing was a translation from Luther's, cannot reasonably pass for any thing more than artful figures of speech, suited to the purpose of a writer whose express object, in the work from which the above is an extract, was to make out that every thing of a tendency injurious to his church might be traced to Luther as its odious source. On the other hand, whereas Cochlæus says that the Englishmen were spoken of as skilful in languages, we are enabled to add a specification of the languages known by Tyndale at this time; for this extent of knowledge is only affirmed of *one* of the two by our next witness, who tells of what he heard from a friendly quarter about a twelvemonth later.

It is in the diary of Spalatinus, the secretary of Frederic, elector of Saxony and the friend of Luther, that the following entry occurs:

"Busche[2] told us that six thousand copies of the new Testament in the English tongue had been printed at Worms; and that this translation had been made by an Englishman, sojourning there with two other natives of Britain, who was so skilled in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English[3], and Dutch, that whichever he might be speaking, you would think it to be his native tongue[4]."

[1] The foregoing is from Cochlæi Com. de actis et scriptis Mart. Lutheri. Mogunt. 1549. (Anderson's Annals, B. I. Vol. I. p. 58.)

[2] Herman von Busche had been a pupil of Reuchlin, the earliest German Hebraist; and had himself such a love of literature as to become a teacher in the schools, being the first nobleman who dared to take a step so degrading in the estimation of his order.

[3] In the original *Britannicæ;* but doubtless English was thereby meant.

[4] Schelhornii Amœnitates Literariæ, Tom. IV. p. 431. Excerpta quædam e diario Geor. Spalatini. The immediately preceding date in

It would appear that Tyndale either expected or heard, that the steps taken by Cochlæus would make it peculiarly difficult to effect the introduction of his new Testament into the English ports, if it should be seen at once to answer to the description of the volume he had been detected in preparing at Cologne. For when he got to Worms, he suspended the completion of that edition, which was in 4to, with a doctrinal preface[5] and instructive marginal notes, and betook himself to printing his version anew in a much smaller form, containing nothing but the inspired text, except that a short address to the reader was appended to its close, without giving the translator's name. The English merchants and other friends were consequently enabled to fulfil their promises, of importing it and procuring its circulation; and its sale seems to have been such as encouraged the printers to undertake the completion of the 4to edition without further delay.

Such a flowing in of the word of God, in a tongue understood by the people, could not however be long concealed from its enemies. On Sunday the 11th of February, 1526, cardinal Wolsey went to St Paul's, attended by six and thirty bishops, abbots, and priors, to see great baskets full of books cast into a fire, before the large crucifix at its northern gate, whilst bishop Fisher preached his noted sermon on the occasion; and Tyndale tells us, that in this fire they burnt copies of his version of the word of God.

As the year advanced, Luther's letter of apology, for his previous rough reply to the king's book against him, provoked Henry to a rejoinder, in which he said to his subjects, Luther "fell in device with one or two lewd persons, born in this our realm, for the translating of the new Testament into English, as well with many corruptions of that holy text, as certain prefaces and other pestilent glosses in the margins, for the advancement and setting forth of his abominable heresies, intending to abuse the good minds and devotion that you, our dearly beloved people, bear toward the holy Scripture, and infect you with the deadly corruption and contagious odour of his pestilent errors. In the

the diary is in August 1526. About September of that year Tyndale was joined by John Frith.

[5] See Introduction to the Pathway into the Holy Scripture, p. 4.

avoiding whereof we, of our special tender zeal towards you, have, with the deliberate advice of the most reverend father in God, Thomas, lord cardinal, legate *a latere* of the see apostolic, archbishop of York, primate, and our chancellor of this realm, and other reverend fathers of the spirituality, determined the said untrue translations to be burned, with farther sharp correction and punishment against the keepers and readers of the same."

The ready reception and the influence of Tyndale's testaments are distinctly declared in a charge addressed by Cuthbert Tonstal, then bishop of London, to his archdeacons, wherein he says: "Maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the catholic faith, have translated the new Testament into our English tongue, intermingling therewith many heretical articles and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people:—of the which translation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison, dispersed throughout all our diocese in great number. Wherefore we, Cuthbert, willing to withstand the craft and subtilty of the ancient enemy and his ministers, do straitly command you to warn all dwelling within your archdeaconries, that under pain of excommunication and incurring the suspicion of heresy they do bring in and deliver up all and singular such books as contain the translation of the new Testament in the English tongue[1]." On the 3rd of November, Archbishop Warham issued a mandate of similar tenor; so that by that date all authority in England, both lay and spiritual, was publicly committed to oppose the circulation of the new Testament, as translated by Tyndale.

All that could be done at home seemed, however, insufficient to Wolsey; and under his guidance Henry sent letters to the princess-regent of the Netherlands, and to the governor of the English merchants at Antwerp; and the cardinal wrote by the same messenger to Sir John Hackett, the king's agent at the regent's court, urging all these parties to concur in

[1] The document may be read in Foxe, Vol. IV. p. 666, or in Anderson's Annals, p. 118. Mr Anderson has ascertained the date to be Oct. 24th, 1526, from the episcopal register of London.

taking measures for the destruction of books intended to poison the king's subjects. Hackett presented the king's letter to the regent on the 17th of November, and assured the cardinal that his desire should be accomplished: but when he had discovered that English testaments not only passed through Antwerp for exportation, but were actually printed there, as a commercial speculation, by one Christopher Endhoven, the burgesses of that free city stood upon their privileges, and refused to consider Endhoven's publication as heretical. Hackett tells Wolsey all this, in a letter written in January 1527; and confesses at its close, that if the cardinal would have Tyndale's testaments burnt, it might be necessary to commission some one to buy them. The cardinal was too shrewd to do this; but archbishop Warham informed his suffragans, by letters dated May 26, 1527, that he "had lately gotten into his hands all the books of the new Testament, translated into English and printed beyond the seas," at the cost of £66. 9*s*. 4*d*.[2], a sum equivalent to nearly £1000 at the present time. The consequence was, that before the end of the summer another Antwerp printer, Christopher Van Ruremund[3], had struck off a fourth edition of Tyndale's New Testament; and a dearth in England compelling the cardinal to remove all restraints on the importation of corn from Flanders facilitated the clandestine introduction of the bread of life.

By this time Tyndale had published that Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans, which will be found in his works, but which came forth anonymously; whilst his next work, the Treatise on the Parable of the Wicked Mammon, was accompanied with an avowal, that he was both its author and the translator of the proscribed testaments. The Treatise on the Obedience of a Christian Man speedily followed[4]. Having

[2] The reply of Richard Nixe, bishop of Norwich, is now in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Vitellius, B. ix. fol. 117, b. and contains the above statement. He assures the archbishop of his readiness to pay ten marks, as his contribution to the expense incurred. Anderson, B. i. § 4. p. 158.

[3] The John Raimund of Foxe, Vol. v. p. 27.

[4] See the editor's introductions to those two treatises; where he has to regret having transposed their titles in p. 31. l. 14.

done so much to expose himself to the rage of the dominant church, Tyndale seems to have thought it prudent to dwell no longer in that great commercial thoroughfare, the valley of the Rhine. He therefore quitted Worms for the secluded town of Marburg in Hesse; where his admirer, Von Busche, had just accepted a professorship under the patronage of the protestant landgrave.

In so doing, we can now see that he was led aright; for what was secretly devised in the chambers of princes has now been, as it were, proclaimed on house-tops by the recent publication of state papers, and the facility of access allowed to what is yet unprinted. From such documents, Mr Anderson has produced evidence, under their own signatures, that Wolsey was directing Hackett to request the regent of the Netherlands to deliver Tyndale and Roye into his hands; and that this obsequious agent was suggesting to the cardinal to lay the charge of treason against an English merchant, Richard Harman, who was but guilty of transmitting Tyndale's testaments from Antwerp, because, though the charge were false, the lords of Antwerp might hold themselves bound by treaty to surrender any person thus charged to the king of England. Providentially, Wolsey's double-dealing had at this time given such cause of offence to the emperor, that his requests had no influence with him, nor with his aunt the princess-regent. But he is found employing other agency; sending John West, an Observant of Greenwich, to hunt out Roye, once a friar in the same monastery, with whom he supposed Tyndale to be still associated; and writing to Herman Rincke to search for the men who had once fled before him, and for the books whose issue from the press he had stopped for a while. West and Hackett travelled hither and thither, only to be disappointed and to be chargeable to their employer; whilst Rincke searched the commercial cities, and though he found some of the proscribed books, could gain no tidings of the place of Tyndale's retreat. He says in his reply to Cardinal Wolsey: "The letters of your grace were sent to me from Cologne to Frankfort, respecting the buying up, everywhere, books printed in the English language, and the apprehension of Roye and Hutchyns: but neither they nor their accomplices have been seen at the fairs of Frankfort since

Easter; nor has their printer, Schott of Strasburgh, confessed that he knows whither they have vanished. Since receiving your commands, I have spared neither my person, money, nor diligence. By using a licence formerly obtained from the emperor, and by gifts and presents, I have gained over the Frankfort consuls, and some senators and judges, so that in three or four places I was enabled to collect and pack up all the books. The printed books are still in my possession, except two copies, which I gave to your diligent and faithful agent, John West, for the use of the king's grace and yours. If I had not found these books and interfered, they would have been pressed together in paper packages, and inclosed in ten sacks craftily covered over with flax; and thus unsuspected they would have been sent across the seas into Scotland and England, and would have been sold as if they were but clean paper: but I think that very few or none of them have been carried away or sold. I shall also take most diligent care as to the foresaid Roye and Hutchyns, both as to apprehending them, and detecting the places they frequent. I lately brought the printer Schott before the consuls, senators, and judges of Frankfort; and I compelled him on his oath to confess how many such books he had printed in the English language, the German, or any other. Being thus put to his oath, he said that in the English tongue he had printed only one thousand of six sheets folded in quartos, and besides one thousand of nine sheets folded likewise[1]; and this by the order of Roye and Hutchyns, who wanting money were not able to pay for the books printed, and much less for printing them in other languages. Wherefore I have purchased almost all of them, and now have them in my house at Cologne."

This zealous promoter of the cardinal's views takes care to suggest in the same letter, that such a diploma as would authorise him to act more efficiently, both in the king's cause and his own, should be obtained from the emperor Charles V.; and that "Roye, Tyndale, and Jerome Barlow and their adherents, ought to be apprehended, punished, and carried off, to destroy the Lutheran heresy, and to confirm the christian faith[2]." But whilst these toils and projects of rulers

[1] Sex quaternionum et novem quaternionum.

[2] This letter is given at greater length in Anderson, B. i. § 5. p. 202—4; but some expressions have been altered in the above extract, after a comparison with the original in the Cotton MSS. Vitellius,

and of the children of this world could effect so little of what they desired, their own language tells how the benefits of this faithful servant's labour of love were extending beyond the bounds of his native land.

We have just seen Rincke declaring that if he had not bribed the magistrates of Frankfort, and by their means compelled a printer to let him purchase what remained in his hands of Tyndale's works, they would have been sent to purchasers in Scotland, as well as in England. And in an earlier letter from Hackett to cardinal Wolsey, dated from Mechlin, Feb. 20, 1526-7, he tells him that he had advertised the king's secretary, Mr Brian Tuke, that "there were divers merchants of Scotland that bought many of such like books" (and the books he is speaking of are Tyndale's New Testament), "and took them into Scotland; a part to Edinburgh, and most part to the town of St Andrew's. For the which cause," says Hackett, "when I was at Barrow, being advertised that the Scottish ships were in Zealand, (for there the said books were laden,) I went suddenly thitherward, thinking, if I had found such stuff there, that I would cause to make as good a fire of them as there has been of the remnant in Brabant; but fortune would not that I should be in time, for the foresaid ships were departed a day before my coming."

In March, 1528, bishop Tonstal had granted to Sir Thomas More a licence to have and to use these heretical books, as he was pleased to style them, which being in the English tongue had been imported into the realm, that he might "get himself an immortal name and eternal glory in heaven," by exposing "the crafty malice" of their authors; and that, as one able to "play the Demosthenes in the English tongue," he might make the prelates "more prompt against those wicked supplanters of the church[1]." Thus eulogised and summoned into the field by his diocesan, More commenced a series of controversial attacks against Tyndale, which he was tempted to continue till they filled several hundred folio pages. Tyndale himself the mean while was labouring at his transla-

B. xxi. fol. 43. Brit. Mus. It is dated Cologne, Oct. 7, 1528. The name of Roye is put foremost, because of the personal offence he had given Wolsey by his satire. See Tyndale's Preface to the Mammon, p. 39.

[1] The licence is printed in Foxe, Vol. iv. p. 697: the date of it appears from the Register to be March 7th, 1528.

tion of the books of Moses from the Hebrew, though he is also supposed to have printed a tract "On Matrimony" about this period: and he is now reputed to be the author of an "Exposition of 1 Cor. vii." the printer's colophon to which is said to end as follows, "at Malborowe, in the land of Hesse, 1529, xx day of June, by me Hans Luft." As the same printer finished an edition of "The Revelation of Antichrist" for Tyndale's associate Frith on the 12th of the following month, it is probable that they were both still at Marburg[2] in July. By that time Sir Thomas More, bishop Tonstal, and Hackett, had taken their place amongst the diplomatists assembled at Cambray; where the princess-regent of the Netherlands and the mother of Francis I. were met to arrange the terms of a peace between the French monarch and the emperor Charles V. Our king's envoys were not forgetting Tyndale there. The treaty between the two contending potentates was signed on the 5th of August, and then the Englishmen induced the princess-regent to consent to a treaty with Henry VIII., by which the two contracting parties bound themselves, among other things, to prohibit the printing or selling "any Lutheran books," as they styled every anti-papal publication, within their respective territories[3].

On their way home from Cambray, the English ministers found in Antwerp a London merchant, named Augustine Packington, a favourer of Tyndale, but one who took care to conceal that inclination from the ruling powers. According to the current tale, adopted by Foxe and the contemporary chronicler Hall, bishop Tonstal talked with this merchant about the new testaments, and said how gladly he would buy up all the copies: to which Packington replied, that if his lordship would indeed be responsible for the price, he would himself lay down the necessary sum; and would assure him of getting every copy into his hands, as far as they were yet unsold. The tale proceeds to state, that the bishop gladly commissioned him so to do; and that Packington went forthwith to Tyndale, then also in Antwerp, and said to him, "William, I know thou art a poor man, and hast a heap of new testaments and books by thee, for which thou hast both endangered thy friends and beggared thyself; and I have now gotten thee a merchant,

[2] See p. 129, n. 2.

[3] Lord Herbert's Hen. VIII., p. 316. Lond. 1672.

which, with ready money, shall dispatch thee of all that thou hast, if thou think it profitable. The merchant is the bishop of London." Tyndale is then represented as saying, that he was glad of this, as the burning of his Testaments would but bring odium on the person who could cast the scriptures into the fire; whilst the price would relieve his wants, and enable him to bring out a more correct edition; "and so, upon compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money." These last are Foxe's words; and he presently adds, that at a subsequent examination of George Constantine, who was charged with promoting the sale of heretical books, More learnt from him that the bishop of London's money had been a "succour and comfort" to more than one of Tyndale's abettors; and that More then remarked, "By my troth, I think even the same; for so much I told the bishop before he went about it."

Strange as it seems that Tonstal should have spent money upon a repetition of archbishop Warham's unwise expedient for the suppression of a publication, which the press could speedily re-issue, the above account receives confirmation from Hall's chronicle of the following year; where he tells how "the bishop of London caused all his new Testaments which he had bought, with many other books, to be burnt openly in St Paul's church-yard, in the month of May[1]." And whereas the date of the treaty of Cambray proves that the negotiators could not have left that city till some days after the 5th of August, (which allows time for Tyndale's removing from Marburg to Antwerp, before they would reach the latter city on their way to England,) there were contemporary transactions which would doubtless dispose Tyndale to quit Marburg about that time. For in August the Landgrave of Hesse was urging Luther and Zuingle to meet at Marburg[2] for the purpose of discussing their different views respecting the manner of the presence of Christ in the Lord's supper;

[1] At that date Tonstal had been translated to Durham, but was still acting as bishop of London for his successor Stokesley, who was abroad in the king's service.

[2] On the 31st of August Zuingle quitted Zurich to proceed toward Marburg; but they did not meet there till Sept. 30th. Merle D'Aubigné, Hist. of Reform. Vol. IV. pp. 92—5. Edinb. 1846.

and we shall find Tyndale expressing to Frith, at a later date, his anxiety not to intermeddle with that controversy unnecessarily.

It is as a digression from his narrative of other matters that Foxe has given his readers this anecdote: and he makes no reference to it in his subsequent professed account of the life of Tyndale; where indeed not an event is related of what really befel him, from the mention of his first arrival in Germany, till we come to the following: "At what time Tyndale had translated the fifth book of Moses, called Deuteronomium, minding to print the same at Hamborough, he sailed thitherward; where by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and so was compelled to begin all anew, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus having lost by that ship both money, his copies, and his time, he came in another ship to Hamborough, where at his appointment master Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mrs Margaret Van Emmerson, anno 1529, a great sweating sickness being at the time in the town. So having dispatched his business at Hamborough, he returned afterward to Antwerp again."

As Foxe and Coverdale were contemporary London clergy for nearly ten years, in the reign of Elizabeth, Foxe had doubtless heard this account from Coverdale; but with that great liability to a mistake about dates, which necessarily attends any recital, from memory, of things long past. The date assigned to Tyndale's second sojourn at Hamburgh should have been 1530. After visiting Antwerp at the close of the summer of 1529, he had returned to Marburg; and on the 17th of January, 1530, Hans Luft completed for him the printing of his translation of Genesis. It was from the press of the same Marburg printer that his polemic treatise, entitled 'The Practice of Prelates,' came forth shortly after. In the mean while the risk of sending packages of proscribed books down the Rhine, for exportation to England, had been greatly increased by the severity of the emperor's edict against the favourers of heresy in any part of his hereditary dominions[3]. It might be expected that this would not prevent Tyndale from en-

[3] See Anderson's Annals, Vol. I. pp. 232—5.

deavouring to send off some copies of his Genesis without delay; and we accordingly find his enemies soon declaring that such had reached England[1]. But in his new difficulty he would naturally remember Hamburgh, a sea-port, where he could have the help of learned Jews in proceeding with the old Testament, and where Bugenhagius of Pomerania, whose address to the faithful in England was joined in the same prohibitory list with his own works, had recently accepted an invitation to instruct its citizens. There was time enough for his communicating with Coverdale, and for the events mentioned by Foxe, between his quitting Marburg and Easter Sunday, which in 1530 was as late as April 17th. His first work on reaching Hamburgh would have been the printing of Deuteronomy; and to retranslate, and then print it, seems to have been still his first work there. For whereas after a convocation which closed December 24th, 1529, the bishops procured from Henry a proclamation enjoining the chief officers of state and all magistrates to do their part towards bringing to punishment the writers, printers, importers, distributors, and possessors of any book then made, or which should thereafter be made, against the catholic faith; the list of such books, which was appended to that proclamation a few months later, enumerates amongst them, The Practice of Prelates, Genesis, and Deuteronomy; whilst the other portions of Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch do not seem to be noticed in any hostile document before the summer of 1531[2].

But farther, when all the portions of the Pentateuch were put into circulation, there was a striking peculiarity in the typography of the volume. For whilst the Genesis is in the black letter, Exodus and Leviticus are in the Roman character, but the book of Numbers is again in the same black letter type as the Genesis; and lastly, Deuteronomy is once more in the same Roman character as Exodus. And not one of these portions contains any notice of when, where, or by whom, it was printed, except the book of Genesis; at the end of which is the colophon already mentioned as its date; viz. "Emprented at Marlborow in the land of Hesse by me Hans

[1] There is a copy of the Genesis in the Bodleian, as originally published alone.

[2] Foxe, Vol. IV. pp. 676—9, and Anderson, B. I. § vi. Vol. I. pp. 233—5.

Luft, the yere of our Lorde MDXXX., the xvii. dayes of Januarii[3]." The simplest way of accounting for this irregularity leads us to the inference, that when Tyndale quitted Marburg with some uncertainty as to whether he should find it expedient to sojourn long at Hamburgh, he left behind him copies of Genesis printed there, and perhaps Numbers still in the press, taking away with him only such books and manuscripts as were to aid him in continuing his work. All he took away with him he lost by the shipwreck. But when settled at Hamburgh, he would send for Genesis and Numbers, and bind them up along with those other books of the Pentateuch, which he got printed at the Hamburgh press.

Tyndale's 'Practice of Prelates' is a continued setting forth of reasons and motives which should induce princes to resume authority over ecclesiastics, and to humble the usurping hierarchy; and as Cromwell was now gaining influence with Henry VIII. by suggesting means of replenishing the royal treasury, which the prelates must be expected to thwart, unless their power were broken down, he would doubtless take care that the king should see this treatise; as he had seen, and expressed a momentary approbation of what was said on the same subject in Tyndale's treatise on The Obedience[4]. We accordingly find that the king became bent on ascertaining whether the hope of being permitted to return to England in safety, and perhaps with honour, might not induce Tyndale to write as he should wish against the pope's supremacy, and on the duty of suppressing monasteries; and to write no more than he should wish on other topics. It is probable that Coverdale, who looked up to

[3] The only known complete copy of this volume forms part of Mr Grenville's bequest to the British Museum. Mr Anderson has called this Marburg Genesis a second edition; supposing that January 1530 ought to be understood to mean what we should now call January 1531. But though a legal or official document signed between the 1st of January and the 25th of March, 1531, would have been dated 1530, this was not usual in dating unofficial letters, nor in historical works; and is not likely to have been common with publishers. In the Zurich Letters, edited by the Parker Society, there are abundant instances of commencing the date of the year from January 1st. Buchanan and De Thou may be seen to have done so regularly.

[4] See p. 130.

Cromwell as a patron, had been directed by that rising statesman to put himself in communication with Tyndale for a similar purpose[1]. And now Mr Stephen Vaughan, a new envoy to the princess-regent of the Netherlands, selected by Cromwell, was instructed by the king not to attempt procuring the seizure of Tyndale, like his predecessors, but to employ promises of some kind or other, to persuade him to throw himself on the king's mercy. This appears in Vaughan's letter to the king, dated Barrugh[2], Jan. 26, 1530[3]; wherein he says, "I have written three sundry letters unto William Tyndale, and the same sent for the more safety to three sundry places, to Frankforde, Hanborughe, and Marleborugh[4], I then not being assured in which of the same he was." He proceeds to say, "I had very good hope that he would, upon the promise of your majesty and of your most gracious safe conduct, be content to repair and come into England." The sentence goes on with such inextricable confusion as sufficiently indicates the embarrassment of the writer, in coming to an avowal of a fear likely to offend his wilful sovereign, which he at last states as follows, "that now the bruit and fame of such things as, since my writing to him hath chanced within your realm, shall provoke the man not only to be minded to the contrary of that whereunto I had thought without difficulty to have easily brought him, but also to suspect my persuasions to be made to his more peril and danger than, as I think, if he were placed before you, he should ever have need to fear." The things which had chanced within the realm were, doubtless, the arrest of John Tyndale, and the heavy fine laid upon him for sending five marks to his brother William beyond the sea, and for receiving and keeping with him certain letters from his said brother[5].

It appears from the same letter of Vaughan to the king, that he had previously informed Henry of Tyndale's having prepared for the press an Answer to Sir Thomas More's

[1] See Anderson's Ann. B. I. § v. p. 186, and § vi. p. 239.

[2] That is Bergen-op-Zoom.

[3] Which date, as the letter was official, means 1531.

[4] Marburg.

[5] Foxe, Vol. v. p. 29. Vaughan's letter may be seen entire in Anderson, B. I. § 8, from the Cotton MSS. in the Brit. Museum, Galba. B. x. fol. 42. The original has been examined for the editor.

Dialogue. Vaughan at the same time sent Cromwell a copy of Tyndale's reply to his letter.; and says to his patron confidentially, "The man is of a greater knowledge than the king's highness doth take him for; which well appeareth by his works. Would GOD he were in England[6]!"

Three months more had not passed away, ere this envoy of the king of England had a conversation with Tyndale, who appeared before him as unexpectedly as Elijah shewed himself to Obadiah. The account of their interview is given by Vaughan, in a letter to the king, in which he says: "The day before the date hereof I spake with Tyndale without the town of Antwerp, and by this means: he sent a certain person to seek me, whom he had advised to say that a certain friend of mine, unknown to the messenger, was very desirous to speak with me; praying me to take pains to go unto him, to such place as he should bring me. Then I to the messenger, 'What is your friend, and where is he?' 'His name I know not,' said he; 'but if it be your pleasure to go where he is, I will be glad thither to bring you.' Thus, doubtful what this matter meant, I concluded to go with him, and followed him till he brought me without the gates of Antwerp, into a field lying nigh unto the same; where was abiding me this said Tyndale. At our meeting, 'Do you not know me?' said this Tyndale. 'I do not well remember you,' said I to him. 'My name,' said he, 'is Tyndale.' 'But Tyndale!' said I, 'Fortunate be our meeting.' Then Tyndale, 'Sir, I have been exceedingly desirous to speak with you.' 'And I with you; what is your mind?' 'Sir,' said he, 'I am informed that the king's grace taketh great displeasure with me for putting forth of certain books, which I lately made in these parts; but specially for the book named the Practice of Prelates; whereof I have no little marvel, considering that in it I did but warn his grace of the subtle demeanour of the clergy of his realm towards his person, and of the shameful abusions by them practised, not a little threatening the displeasure of his grace and weal of his realm: in which doing I shewed and declared the heart of a true subject, which sought the safeguard of his royal person and weal of his commons, to the intent that his grace, thereof warned, might in due time prepare his remedy against their subtle dreams. If [it be] for my pains therein taken, if for my poverty, if

[6] Anderson, Ibid. p. 271.

for mine exile out of my natural country, and bitter absence from my friends, if for my hunger, my thirst, my cold, the great danger wherewith I am everywhere compassed, and finally if for innumerable other hard and sharp fightings which I endure, not yet feeling of their asperity, by reason I hoped with my labours to do honour to God, true service to my prince, and pleasure to his commons; how is it that his grace, this considering, may either by himself think, or by the persuasions of other be brought to think, that in this doing I should not shew a pure mind, or true and incorrupt zeal and affection to his grace? Was there in me any such mind, when I warned his grace to beware of his cardinal, whose iniquity he shortly after proved according to my writing? Doth this deserve hatred? Again, may his grace, being a Christian prince, be so unkind to God, which hath commanded his word to be spread throughout the world, to give more faith to wicked persuasions of men, which presuming above God's wisdom, and contrary to that which Christ expressly commandeth in his testament, dare say that it is not lawful for the people to have the same in a tongue that they understand; because the purity thereof should open men's eyes to see their wickedness? Is there more danger in the king's subjects than in the subjects of all other princes, which in every of their tongues have the same, under privilege of their sufferance? As I now am, very death were more pleasant to me than life, considering man's nature to be such as can bear no truth.'

"Thus, after a long conversation had between us, for my part making answer as my wit would serve me, which were too long to write, I assayed him with gentle persuasions, to know whether he would come into England; ascertaining him that means should be made, if he thereto were minded, without his peril or danger, that he might so do: and that what surety he would devise for the same purpose, should, by labour of friends, be obtained of your majesty. But to this he answered, that he neither would nor durst come into England, albeit your grace would promise him never so much surety; fearing lest, as he hath before written, your promise made should shortly be broken, by the persuasion of the clergy, which would affirm that promises made with heretics ought not to be kept."

"After this, he told me how he had finished a work against my lord chancellor's book, and would not put it in print till such time as your grace had seen it; because he apperceiveth your displeasure towards him, for hasty putting forth of his other work, and because it should appear that he is not of so obstinate mind as he thinks he is reported to your grace. This is the substance of his communication had with me, which as he spake I have written to your grace, word for word, as near as I could by any possible means bring to remembrance. My trust therefore is, that your grace will not but take my labours in the best part I thought necessary to be written unto your grace. After these words, he then, being something fearful of me, lest I would have pursued him, and drawing also towards night, he took his leave of me, and departed from the town, and I toward the town, saying, 'I should shortly, peradventure, see him again, or if not, hear from him.' Howbeit I suppose he afterward returned to the town by another way; for there is no likelihood that he should lodge without the town. Hasty to pursue him I was not, because I was in some likelihood to speak shortly again with him; and in pursuing him I might perchance have failed of my purpose, and put myself in danger."

"To declare to your majesty what, in my poor judgment, I think of the man, I ascertain your grace, I have not communed with a man"—

What followed has been torn off; but secretary Cromwell's reply will shew that the opinion which Vaughan was evidently about to commence stating, of Tyndale's character and attainments, was so favourable as to rouse the king's anger; so that it would seem as if, whilst he thought it desirable to preserve the rest of the letter for his minister's inspection and guidance in replying, the impatient monarch had hastily rent away that honest verdict, in favour of the man whose works he had publicly styled detestable, which told his conscience that he had been an iniquitous judge. The reply alluded to began as follows:

"Stephen Vaughan, I commend me unto you; and have received your letters, dated at Andwerpe, the xviii. day of April, with also that part of Tyndale's book inclosed in leather, which ye with your letters directed to the king's

highness; after the receipt whereof I did repair unto the court, and there presented the same unto his royal majesty, who made me answer for that time, that his highness at opportune leisure should read the contents as well of your letters as also the said book. And at my next repair thither it pleased his highness to call for me, declaring unto me as well the contents of your letters, as also much matter contained in the said book of Tyndale."

Here this document becomes peculiarly interesting; for the king would seem to have been so dissatisfied with that portion of it which was to appear to express the writer's opinion of Tyndale, that Cromwell found it necessary either to proffer, or to admit, interlineated substitutions for what he had written, which make the letter a decisive evidence of the perils Tyndale was exposing himself to by his faithfulness. The power and the unflinching boldness, with which he had rebuked More's advocacy of opinions held as obstinately by the king as by his chancellor, had doubtless added to the anger which Tyndale's calm objections to the repudiation of Catharine must have roused in Henry's breast. And that anger may be distinctly traced in several of those interlineations[1], by comparing them with the language for which they were substituted, in what follows of this dispatch; which shall be given in its old heedless spelling.

"Albeit that I might well perceyue that his Maiestee was right well pleased, and right acceptablie considered your diligence and payns taken in the wryting and sending of the saide boke, as also in the perswading and exhorting of Tyndall to repayre into this realme; *yet his Highness nothing lyked the sayd boke, being fyllyd w^t^ scedycyous, slanderous lyes, and fantasticall oppynyons, shewing therin nother lernyng nor trewthe; and ferther, cōmunyng w^t^ his grace, I myght well mind and conject that he thought that ye bare*[2]

[1] The interlineations were supposed by Mr Offor, who first gave this document to the public, to be by the king's pen; but Sir Henry Ellis confirms Mr Anderson's opinion, that they are not in Henry's hand-writing, though they may have been inserted at his dictation.

[2] The words in italics are those introduced by the interlineator, instead of the following: 'in the accomplishement of his high pleasure and commaundment. Yet I might conjecture by the ferther declaracyon of his high pleasure, which sayed unto me that by y^r^ wryting it manifestlie appered how *moche affection* and zele ye do bere,'

moche affection towards the saide Tyndall, whom in his maners and *knowlage in woordlye thinge*[3] ye vndoubtedlie *in yor lres* do moch allowe and comende; whos works *being replet wt so* abhominable sclaunders *and lyes,* imagened and *onlye* fayned to infecte the peopull, *doth declare hym bothe to lake grace, vertue, Lernyng, discrecyo and all other good qualytes, nothing ells pretending in all his worke but to seduce* ...dyssayve (that ye in such wise *by yr Lres, prayse, set forth and avaunse hym which nothing ells pretendeth) and sowe sedycion among the peopull of this realme. The Kinge hignes therfor*[4] hathe comaunded me *to advurtyse you that is plesure ys,* that ye should desiste and leve any ferther to persuade or attempte *the sayd Tyndalle to cum into this realme;* alledging, that he pceyuing the malycyous, perverse, vncharytable, *and Indurate* mynde *of the sayd Tyndall, ys in man wt owt hope of reconsylyacyon in hym, and is veray joyous to have his realme destytute of such a pson,* then that he should retourne into the same, there to manyfest his errours and sedycyous opynyons, which (being out of the realme by his most vncharytable, venemous, and pestilent boke, craftie and false persuasions) he hath partelie don all redie; *for his highnes right prudentlye consyderyth* if he were present by all lykelohod he wold shortelie (which God defende) do as moche as in him were, to infecte and corrupt the hole realme to the grete inquietacyon and hurte of the comen welth of the same. Wherefore, Stephen, I hertelie pray you, in all your doing, procedinge, and wryting to the King's highnes, ye do iustely, trewlie and vnfaynedlie, *wt owt dyssymulatyon, shew your self his trew, louyng, and obedyent subjecte, beryng no maner favor, loue, or affeccyon*[5] to the sayd Tyndale, ne to his worke, in any man of wise; but utterlie to contempne and abhorre the same, assuring you that in so doing ye shall

[3] Substituted for—modestie and symplycitee.

[4] As this passage stood at first, the writer of the despatch had said, 'Tyndale assuredly sheweth himself in myn oppynion rather to be replete with venymous envye, rancour and malice, then wt any good lerning, vertue, knowledge or discression;' and for this the interlineator had substituted, 'declareth hymself to be envyous, malycyous, slanderous and wylfull, and not to be lerned;' but this interlineation is erased, to make room for what is printed above.

[5] Instead of 'to shew yourself to be no fautor.'

not onely cause the King's royall maieste, whose goodnes at this tyme is so benignelie and gracyouslie mynded towards you, as by your good dyligence and industrie to be used to serve his Highnes, and extewing and avoyding...favor, and allow the saide Tyndale his erronyous worke and opynions so to sett you forwardes, as all yo^{r} louers and frendes shall have gret consolacyon of the same; and by the contrarie *doing, ye shall* acquire the indignacyon of God, displeasure of yo^{r} sov'eigne lorde, and by the same *cause* yo^{r} good frends which have ben euer glad, prone, and redie to *bryng* you into *his gracyous* fauours, to lamente and sorow that their sute in that behalf should *be frustrate and* not to take effecte, according to their good intent and purpose."

After a little more to the like effect, Cromwell proceeds to the mention of Frith, and says that the king, "hearing tell of his towardness in good letters and learning, doth much lament that he should apply his learning to the maintaining, bolstering, and advancing the venomous and pestiferous works, erroneous and seditious opinions of Tyndale;" and that Vaughan was to counsel Frith, by the king's desire, to withdraw from Tyndale's society, and to return to his native country. And lastly he exhorts Vaughan himself, "for his love of God, utterly to forsake, leave, and withdraw his affection from the said Tyndale, and all his sect[1]."

It appears, however, that after using all this language, to comply with his sovereign's humour, Mr secretary Cromwell ventured to add a clause, directly contradicting the king's declared wish, that Vaughan should desist from urging Tyndale to return to England. This clause Vaughan took care to introduce into his next letter to the king; that, if his acting in accordance with it should irritate his majesty, he might see by whose directions his conduct had been governed.

The despatch of which we are now to speak, is dated May 20, 1531. And in it Vaughan says, "Pleaseth it your royal majesty to be advertised how upon the receipt of certain instructions lately sent to me from my master, Mr Cromwell, at the commandment of your majesty, I immediately endeavoured to learn such things as were contained in the said instructions.—I have again been in hand to persuade Tyndale.

[1] The quotations from this dispatch have been transcribed from the original, in the Brit. Museum, MSS. Cotton. Galba. B. x. fol. 338.

And to draw him the rather to favour my persuasions, and not to think the same feigned, I shewed him a clause contained in master Cromwell's letter containing these words following: *And notwithstanding other the premises, in this my letter contained, if it were possible, by good and wholesome exhortations, to reconcile and convert the said Tyndale from the train and affection which he now is in, and to excerpte and take away the opinions sorely rooted in him, I doubt not but the king's highness would be much joyous of his conversion and amendment; and so being converted, if then he would réturn into his realm, undoubtedly the king's royal majesty is so inclined to mercy, pity, and compassion, that he refuseth none which he seeth to submit themselves to the obedience and good order of the world.* In these words I thought to be such sweetness and virtue as were able to pierce the hardest heart of the world; and, as I thought, so it came to pass. For after sight thereof I perceived the man to be exceedingly altered, and to take the same very near unto his heart, in such wise that water stood in his eyes; and he answered, 'What gracious words are these! I assure you,' said he, 'if it would stand with the king's most gracious pleasure to grant only a bare text of the scripture to be put forth among his people, like as is put forth among the subjects of the emperor in these parts, and of other Christian princes, be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his majesty; I shall immediately make faithful promise never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts after the same; but immediately repair into his realm, and there most humbly submit myself at the feet of his royal majesty, offering my body to suffer what pain or torture, yea, what death his grace will, so that this be obtained. And till that time I will abide the asperity of all chances, whatsoever shall come, and endure my life in as much pains as it is able to bear and suffer. And as concerning my reconciliation, his grace may be assured, that whatsoever I may have said or written in all my life against the honour of God's word, and so proved, the same shall I before his majesty and all the world utterly renounce and forsake; and with most humble and meek mind embrace the truth, abhorring all error soever, at the most gracious and benign request of his royal majesty, of whose wisdom, prudence and learning I hear mo[2] great praise and

[2] mo, i. e. more.

commendation, than of any creature living. But if those things which I have written be true and stand with God's word, why should his majesty, having so excellent a gift of knowledge in the scriptures, move me to do any thing against my conscience?'—with many other words which be too long to write. I have some good hope in the man; and would not doubt to bring him to some good point, were it that something, now and then, might proceed from your majesty towards me, whereby the man might take the better comfort of my persuasions. I advertised the same Tyndale that he should not put forth the same book, till your most gracious pleasure were known: whereunto he answered, 'mine advertisement came too late; for he feared lest one that had his copy would put it very shortly in print, which he would let if he could; if not, there is no remedy.' I shall stay it as much as I can, as yet it is not come forth; nor will not in a while, by that I perceive[1]."

It was so customary for the correspondents of sovereigns to seek to make their reports acceptable, by the introduction of flattery, that Vaughan may reasonably be supposed to have added to Tyndale's words, where he makes him give the king excessive praise. But the book, which Vaughan wished Tyndale to defer publishing, was obviously Tyndale's Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue; and that copies of it had already got abroad in MS., has appeared from Vaughan's success in procuring one. Their temporary associate, George Joye, has said that Frith had printed it at Amsterdam[2]. On the 20th of November in this year, the dissemination of copies of Tyndale's Answer to Sir Thomas More was mentioned in the sentence by which Stokesley, bishop of London, delivered over a monk of Bury, named Richard Bayfield[3], to the civil power, as one of the crimes for which he was to be cursed by the church and burnt in the fire[4]. And whilst the arduous duties attached to the post of lord chancellor did not prevent More from composing a folio of 326 pages, as his 'Confutacyon of Tyndale's Answer,' he was also using the authority of his office to

[1] Offor's Mem. of Tyndale, pp. 67—9. Anderson, pp. 277—9. The original is in the British Museum, Cotton. MSS. Galba. B. x. ol. 5, 6.

[2] Anderson, Vol. I. p. 279.

[3] See pp. 33—4.

[4] Foxe, Acts and Mon. Vol. IV. p. 685.

extort such statements from persons under suspicion of heresy, as might enable him to convince the king that Vaughan was secretly a disciple of Tyndale, and that his favourable mention of Tyndale was part of a conspiracy to deceive his majesty[5].

The endeavours made under Cromwell's influence to persuade Tyndale to come home upon conditions, were consequently brought altogether to a close; and the king resumed his previous purpose of procuring the reformer's arrest. As for Tyndale himself, he had again shrunk into concealment; and he was again supplying his countrymen with valuable instruction, in the shape of a Prologue to the prophet Jonas, accompanied perhaps by a translation of that prophet; besides publishing 'An exposition of the first epistle of St John.'

It was Sir Thomas Elyot, a practised diplomatist and an accomplished scholar, who had now consented to be employed in the mean work of trepanning Tyndale, to gratify the king's evil passions; whilst in the sight of the world he had the honourable employment of representing the English sovereign at the imperial court. On the 14th of March, 1532, he wrote from Ratisbon to the duke of Norfolk, then lord high treasurer, expressing his wish to be allowed to return to England; and he adds, "Albeit the king willeth me, by his grace's letters, to remain at Brussels for some space of time, for the apprehension of Tyndale, which somewhat minisheth my hope of soon return; considering that like as he is in wit moveable, semblably so is his person uncertain to come by: and, as far as I can perceive, hearing of the king's diligence in the apprehension of him, he withdraweth him into such places where he thinketh to be farthest out of danger. In me there shall lack none endeavour[6]."

Such was the labour which the worldling had in view; and which was to be in vain. Tyndale also kept his labour in view; but his was the service of the King of kings, and his object was to deliver captives from their bondage. Whilst Sir Thomas Elyot mocked at his being obliged to move from place to place, he was continuing the work of translating the Hebrew scriptures; and also composing and printing an Ex-

[5] Vaughan's Letter to Cromwell, Dec. 9, 1531; in Anderson, B. I. § 8. Vol. I. pp. 309, 13.

[6] Brit. Museum, Cotton MSS. Vitell. B. XXI. fol. 54. Cited in Anderson, Vol. I. p. 323.

position of Matthew, chapters v. vi. and vii.; or, in other words, Lectures on our Lord's sermon on the mount. Nor was Tyndale's labour in vain; for we find an unwilling witness, Sir Thomas More, giving the following testimony to the extensive circulation of Tyndale's writings, at this time, in his native country, and of the zeal with which his labours were seconded. "There be fled out of this realm for heresy," says he, "a few ungracious folk; what manner folk, their writing and their living sheweth. For the captains be priests, monks, and friars, that neither say mass nor matins, nor never come at church; talking still of faith, and full of false heresies; would seem Christ's apostles, and play the devil's dicers; speaking much of the Spirit, with no more devotion than dogs; divers of them priests, monks, and friars, not let to wed harlots, and then call them wives. And when they have once villained the sacrament of matrimony, then would they make us violate the sacrament of the altar too, telling us, as Tyndale doth, that it is sin to do the blessed body of Christ in that sacrament any honour or reverence, but only take it for a token.—These fellows, that nought had here, and therefore nought carried hence, nor nothing finding there to live upon, be yet sustained and maintained with money sent them by some evil-disposed persons out of this realm thither, and that for none other intent but to make them sit and seek out heresies, and speedily send them hither. Which books albeit that they neither can be there printed without great cost, nor here sold without great adventure and peril; yet cease they not, with money sent from hence, to print them there, and send them hither by whole vats full at once; and in some places, looking for no lucre, cast them abroad by night,—so great a pestilent pleasure have some devilish people caught, with the labour, travail, cost, charge, peril, harm and hurt of themselves, to seek the destruction of other. As the devil hath a deadly delight to beguile good people, and bring their souls into everlasting torment without any manner winning, and not without final increase of his own eternal pain; so do these heretics, the devil's disciples, by set their whole pleasure and study, to their own final damnation, in the training of simple souls to hell by their devilish heresies[1]."

[1] Preface to Sir T. More's Confutacyon of Tyndale's Answer. Lond. Printed by W. Rastell, 1532. Verso of Sign. Bb. ii.

It was in this same year that Tyndale lost the aid and society of Frith, who had been to him such as Timothy was to Paul. "As a son with the father, he had served with him in the gospel;" and we shall find Tyndale saying of him that he had no associate "like-minded." And now as Tychicus by Paul, so Frith seems to have been sent by Tyndale, that *he might know the estate of* certain brethren in England, and *comfort their hearts.* His proceedings in England were however betrayed to More and to Stokesley, bishop of London; and when he had withdrawn to the coast of Essex, to seek the means of returning to the continent and to Tyndale, he was seized near Milton and committed to the Tower. Before the sad tidings of his being thus fallen into the hands of his enemies had reached Tyndale, he had written the following letter to Frith; addressing him by the name of Jacob, which Frith had probably assumed to avoid being known:

"The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart. Amen.

"Dearly beloved brother Jacob, mine heart's desire in our Saviour Jesus is, that you arm yourself with patience, and be cold, sober, wise, and circumspect, and that you keep you alow by the ground, avoiding high questions that pass the common capacity. But expound the law truly, and open the vail of Moses to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sinners, and all deeds under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and damnable: and then, as a faithful minister, set abroad the mercy of our Lord Jesus. And let the wounded consciences drink of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto you, and feel that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them, I mean the law of God and mercy of Christ, that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification refuse, If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.

"Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons be sore on

the affirmative; whether constant or obstinate, I remit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French king. There be in Antwerp that say they saw him come into Paris with a hundred and fifty horses; and that they spoke with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them. George Joye would have put forth a treatise of the matter, but I have stopped him as yet: what he will do if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons, little serving the purpose. My mind is that nothing be put forth, till we hear how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leisure of both parties. If you be required, shew the phrases of the scripture, and let them talk what they will. For to believe that God is every where, hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where but within the heart, in spirit and verity: even so to believe that the body of Christ is every where, though it cannot be proved, hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where save in the faith of his gospel. You perceive my mind: howbeit, if God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.

"I guessed long ago, that God would send a dazing into the head of the spiritualty, to be catched themselves in their own subtlety; and I trust it is come to pass. And now methinketh I smell a council to be taken, little for their profits in time to come. But you must understand that it is not of a pure heart, and for love of the truth; but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whore's flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things to him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not: and ever among thrust in, that the scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But and if aught be required contrary to the glory of God and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit yourself to God; and be not overcome of men's persuasions, which haply shall say we see no other way to bring in the truth.

"Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom mine heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth herself, as in you, not the

thousand part so much for your learning and what other gifts else you have, as that you will creep alow by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain; in fear, and not in boldness; in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help or hinder, whether they be so or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions; insomuch that if you be sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure, you will defer, or say (till other agree with you), 'Methink the text requireth this sense or understanding:' yea, and that if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men; and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of me. For I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself, in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his laws.

"Finally, if there were in me any gift that could keep at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God: my soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil-favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted. Your part shall be to supply that lacketh in me, remembering that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority; but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babbling.

"Sir, as concerning purgatory, and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the spiritualty hath so led you; and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached you all such things out of God's word, and alleged a thousand texts; by reason of which texts you believed as they taught you. But now you find

them liars, and that the texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer; but are as ye were before they taught you, and believe no such thing: howbeit you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it; for without proof you cannot believe them, when you have found them with so many lies, &c. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still, or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost.

"My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black reddish head, and was once my scholar; he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen: whither he is gone, an embassador secret, I wot not.

"The mighty God of Jacob be with you to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph; and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in him; and his is the glory. Amen.

WILLIAM TYNDALE.

I hope our redemption is nigh."

The above letter is undated; but it reached Frith in his prison. And in the 'Book made by John Frith, prisoner in the Tower,' in answer to Sir Thomas More's attack upon him as a teacher of the poison, which Tyndale and Luther, and "other beasts" had previously taught, he says: "Tyndale, I trust, liveth well content with such a poor apostle's life as God gave his Son Christ and his faithful ministers in this world, which is not sure of so many mites as ye be yearly of pounds; although I am sure that, for his learning and judgment in scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein, among other matters, he writeth thus, '*I call God to record, against the day we shall appear:*'"—and continuing his quotation to the words 'his laws,' Frith then says: "Judge, Christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, and innocent heart. And as for his behaviour is such, that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin; howbeit no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the heart[1]." In a preceding paragraph

[1] Frith's Works in Day's ed. of 1573. p. 118.

Frith had reminded More of the offer which we have seen that Tyndale had made to Vaughan; and he had again pledged Tyndale and himself to the same. "This," said he, "hath been offered you, is offered, and shall be offered. Grant that the word of God (I mean the text of scripture) may go abroad in our English tongue, as other nations have it in their tongues; and my brother William Tyndale and I have done, and will promise you to write no more. If you will not grant this condition, then will we be doing while we have breath, and shew in few words that the scripture doth in many, and so at the least save some[2]."

Whilst Frith in his prison was thus boldly bearing testimony to the character, learning, and purposes of Tyndale, the latter in his exile continued to make common cause with his beloved fellow-labourer. After writing the above letter, he seems to have quitted Antwerp for Nuremberg in central Germany, to take advantage of the printing presses in that free city for the publication of an exposition of "The supper of the Lord, after the true meaning of John vi. and of 1 Cor. xi.;" wherein "incidently," to use Foxe's expression, "is confuted the letter of Master More against John Frith[3]." It was issued without the author's name, from the press of Nicholas Twonson, April 5, 1533; but at its close he says, "As for Master More, whom the verity most offendeth, he knoweth my name well enough."

Returning once more to Antwerp, which was now become a very perilous place of abode for any known abettor of the reformation, Tyndale heard that Frith was in the hands of his enemies, and that to deny the truth, or to suffer in the fire for it, was the alternative likely to be soon presented to him, if not already forced upon his choice; and with the spirit of a martyr, he wrote and sent the following "Letter from William Tyndale unto John Frith, being prisoner in the Tower of London."

"THE grace and peace of God our Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord, be with you. Amen. Dearly beloved brother John, I have heard say how the hypocrites, now that they have overcome that great business which letted them, or at the least way have brought it at a stay, they return to

[2] Ib. p. 115.

[3] Title in Day's edition.

their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all.

"Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father and most kind Lord, and fear not men that threat, nor trust men that speak fair: but trust him that is true of promise, and able to make his word good. Your cause is Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and that oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the cause right. If when we be buffeted for well-doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God; for to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for us: therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him: who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto him.

"Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may at his coming be made like to his immortal: and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, which chose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that nothing. Stick at necessary things; and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying, 'They find none but that will abjure rather than suffer the extremity.' Moreover, the death of them that come again after they have once denied, though it be accepted with God and all that believe, yet is it not glorious; for the hypocrites say, 'He must needs die; denying helpeth not: but might it have holpen, they would have denied five hundred times: but seeing it would not help them, therefore of pure pride, and mere malice together, they spake with their mouths that their conscience knoweth false.' If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself wholly and only to your loving Father; then shall his power be in you and make you strong,

and that so strong, that you shall feel no pain, which should be to another present death: and his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise. He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine. Yea, and you are not yet dead; though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have sworn your death. *Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*[1]. To look for no man's help bringeth the help of God to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites: yea, it shall make God to carry you through thick and thin for his truth's sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair till his hour be come: and when his hour is come, necessity carrieth us hence, though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thanks.

"Fear not the threatening, therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words; with which twain the hypocrites shall assail you. Neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart; no, though they be your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you. Let not their vizor beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. If the pain be above your strength, remember, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will give it you.' And pray to your Father in that name, and he shall cease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you. Amen.

"WILLIAM TYNDALE.

"Two have suffered in Antwerp, *in die sanctæ crucis*[2], unto the great glory of the gospel: four at Riselles in Flanders; and at Luke hath there one at the least suffered, and all the same day. At Roan in France they persecute; and at Paris are five doctors taken for the gospel. See, you are not alone. Be cheerful; and remember that among the hard-hearted in England there is a number reserved by grace: for whose sakes, if need be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, how short soever it be, forget it not; that we may know how it goeth with you, for our hearts'

[1] The only safe way for the vanquished is to hope for no safety.

[2] On holy-rood day, or Sept. 14th.

ease. The Lord be yet again with you, with all his plenteousness, and fill you that you flow over. Amen.

"If, when you have read this, you may send it to Adrian[1], do, I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.

"George Joye at Candlemas, being at Barrow, printed two leaves of Genesis in a great form, and sent one copy to the king, and another to the new queen, with a letter to N. for to deliver them; and to purchase licence, that he might so go through all the bible. Out of this is sprung the noise of the new bible; and out of that is the great seeking for English books at all printers and bookbinders in Antwerp, and for an English priest that should print.

"This chanced the 9th day of May.

"Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not, for her sake, have the glory of God hindered.

WILLIAM TYNDALE."

This seasonable letter could not have reached Frith more than a very few weeks, perhaps but a few days, before his martyrdom; and as he was advised in this letter to do, so by the grace of God he did to the last.

Thus was Tyndale bereaved of the friend of whom he had fondly said, "It shall be your part to supply that lacketh in me." But in his season of great affliction the Lord seems to have given him especial favour in the eyes of his countrymen, the English merchants dwelling at Antwerp. For it must have been at this period of Tyndale's sojourn in that city, that Foxe heard what he has related of his manner of life there: how being "a great student and earnest labourer, namely in the setting forth of the scriptures of God, he reserved or hallowed to himself two days in the week, which he named his days of pastime; and those days were Monday the first day in the week, and Saturday the last day in the week. On the Monday he visited all such poor men and women as were fled out of England by reason of persecution into Antwerp; and those, well understanding their good exercises and qualities, he did very liberally comfort and relieve;

[1] "John Byrte, otherwise calling himself Adrian, otherwise John Bookbinder; and yet otherwise I cannot tell what." So speaks Sir Thos. More, to make this friend of the reformer's contemptible.

and in like manner provided for the sick and diseased persons. On the Saturday he walked round about the town in Antwerp, seeking out every corner and hole, where he suspected any poor person to dwell; and where he found any to be well occupied, and yet overburdened with children, or else were aged or weak, those also he plentifully relieved. And thus he spent his two days of pastime, as he called them. And truly his alms was very large and great: and so it might well be; for his exhibition, that he had yearly of the English merchants, was very much; and that for the most part he bestowed upon the poor, as afore said. The rest of the days in the week he gave him wholly to his book, wherein most diligently he travailed. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one merchant's chamber or other, whither came many other merchants: and unto them would he read some one parcel of scripture, either out of the old Testament or out of the new; the which proceeded so fruitfully, sweetly and gently from him, (much like to the writings of St John the evangelist,) that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience to hear him read the scripture; and in like wise, after dinner, he spent an hour in the aforesaid manner[2]."

In 1534 the demand for Tyndale's New Testaments had so much increased as to induce the Antwerp printers to issue no less than four new editions of them[3]. But whilst Tyndale was taking time to give his translation a careful revision, and before he could complete it, he had the mortification of discovering that one of these printers had been employing George Joye to correct the sheets of a surreptitious edition, in which he had ventured, without consulting Tyndale, to make such alterations in the language as nothing but ignorance of the Greek original could have led him to suppose allowable[4]. This could not but tend to make Tyndale's readers distrust the accuracy of his version, especially as they would see that Joye's edition corresponded more closely with the Latin Vulgate; to which he had in fact looked for guidance in most of the changes he had introduced. Hence Tyndale rebuked him sharply; and Joye's reply, published under the

[2] Foxe's Life of Tyndale, prefixed to Day's edition of his works.

[3] Anderson, B. I. § 11. Vol. I. p. 392, and Vol. II. ap. p. viii.

[4] The only known copy of the edition corrected by Joye is in Mr Grenville's bequest to the British Museum.

title of An Apology[1], has eventually supplied a direct proof, for the satisfaction of such as might still think it needed, of Tyndale's knowledge of both the languages of the inspired original text of the scriptures. For Joye has there said, "I am not afraid to answer Master Tyndale in this matter, for all his high learning in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin[2]." On the other hand, Tyndale himself seems to have felt that it was needed that he should satisfy his contemporaries respecting his opinions about the condition of those who have departed this life in the faith of Christ. He therefore introduced the following protest, or solemn attestation[3] of his belief on this head, into the preface of his own revised version of the new Testament, sent forth this year, printed at Antwerp by Marten Emperowr.

"A protestation made by William Tyndale, touching the resurrection of the bodies, and the state of the souls after this life. Abstracted out of a preface of his, that he made to the new Testament which he set forth in the year 1534[4].

"Concerning the resurrection, I protest before God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and before the universal congregation that believeth in him, that I believe, according to the open and manifest scriptures and catholic faith, that Christ is risen again in the flesh which he received of his mother the blessed virgin Mary, and body wherein he died: and that we shall all, both good and bad, rise both flesh and body, and appear together before the judgment-seat of Christ, to receive every man according to his deeds: and that the bodies of all that believe, and continue in the true faith of Christ, shall be

[1] Dated Feb. 28, 1535.

[2] Quoted in Anderson, An. of Eng. Bible, Vol. I. p. 397.

[3] The word *protestation* is Foxe's, as editor for Day of Tyndale's works, where he has placed this document as their introduction. Tyndale uses the word *protest* as was then customary, in the Latin sense, for 'I declare before the world.'

[4] Such is Foxe's heading to this document. In the Bristol copy of the new Testament, with which Day's reprint has been collated, there are two addresses to the reader; and this protest occurs in the second, which is thus headed, "William Tyndale yet once more to the Christian reader."

endued with like immortality and glory as is the body of Christ.

"And I protest before God, and our Saviour Christ, and all that believe in him, that I hold of the souls that are departed as much as may be proved by manifest and open scripture, and think the souls departed in the faith of Christ, and love of the law of God, to be in no worse case than the soul of Christ was from the time that he delivered his spirit into the hands of his Father until the resurrection of his body in glory and immortality. Nevertheless, I confess openly, that I am not persuaded that they be already in the full glory that Christ is in, or the elect angels of God are in. Neither is it any article of my faith; for if it so were, I see not but then the preaching of the resurrection of the flesh were a thing in vain. Notwithstanding yet I am ready to believe it, if it may be proved with open scripture.

"Moreover, I take God (which alone seeth the heart) to record to my conscience, beseeching him that my part be not in the blood of Christ, if I wrote, of all that I have written throughout all my book, aught of an evil purpose, of envy or malice to any man, or to stir up any false doctrine or opinion in the church of Christ, or to be author of any sect, or to draw disciples after me, or that I would be esteemed or had in price above the least child that is born; save only of pity and compassion I had, and yet have, on the blindness of my brethren, and to bring them unto the knowledge of Christ, and to make every one of them, if it were possible, as perfect as an angel of heaven; and to weed out all that is not planted of our heavenly Father, and to bring down all that lifteth up itself against the knowledge of the salvation that is in the blood of Christ. Also my part be not in Christ, if mine heart be not to follow and live according as I teach; and also if mine heart weep not night and day for mine own sin and other men's indifferently, beseeching God to convert us all, and to take his wrath from us, and to be merciful as well to all other men as to mine own soul; caring for the wealth of the realm I was born in, for the king and all that are thereof, as a tender-hearted mother would do for her only son.

"As concerning all I have translated or otherwise written,

I beseech all men to read it for that purpose I wrote it, even to bring them to the knowledge of the scripture; and as far as the scripture approveth it, so far to allow it; and if in any place the word of God disallow it, there to refuse it, as I do before our Saviour Christ and his congregation. And where they find faults, let them shew it me, if they be nigh, or write to me if they be far off; or write openly against it, and improve it; and I promise them, if I shall perceive that their reasons conclude, I will confess mine ignorance openly."

Neither was Tyndale wanting to himself, when it became him to shew that he could acknowledge, with grateful respect, any countenance given by his earthly superiors to the circulation of God's holy word. He must have heard, with happy thankfulness, of the interference of Anne Boleyn in behalf of an Antwerp merchant, who had suffered losses and imprisonment for aiding to circulate his testaments. On the 14th of May she had written, as queen, to secretary Cromwell, telling him that whereas she was "credibly informed that Richard Harman, merchant and citizen of Antwerp, was put and expelled from his freedom and fellowship of and in the English house there, for nothing else but only for that he, like a good Christian man, did both with his goods and policy, to his great hurt and hinderance in this world, help to the setting forth of the new Testament in English: We therefore desire and instantly pray you, that with all speed and favour convenient ye will cause this good and honest merchant to be restored to his pristine freedom, liberty, and fellowship aforesaid; and the sooner at this our request[1]." The simple and becoming gift by which Tyndale acknowledged his respect for a queen of England, who could thus use her influence, was an unique copy of his new Testament, printed on vellum, and made handsome at a cost to which the grateful merchant doubtless contributed; not dedicated to her in words of flattery, but marked with her name and title on its margins, whilst his own was suppressed[2].

In 1535, Tyndale was doubtless employing himself on

[1] And. Vol. I. p. 411. The original letter is in the Brit. Museum, Cleop. E. v. fol. 330.

[2] This relic is in the British Museum.

the continuance of his version of the old Testament. Towards the close of that year, he was still at Antwerp, and hospitably lodged there in the house of Mr Thomas Poyntz, an English merchant, who had a brother in the king's household, and was himself a lover of the gospel. It was avowedly from this merchant's testimony that Foxe gathered the account which we shall now transcribe:

"About this time there came one out of England [to Antwerp], whose name was Henry Philips, his father being customer[3] of Poole, a comely fellow, like as he had been a gentleman, having a servant with him; but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell. Master Tyndale divers times was desired forth to dinner and supper among merchants: by the means whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him; so that within short space M. Tyndale had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging to the house of Thomas Poyntz, and had him also once or twice with him to dinner and supper, and further entered such friendship with him that, through his procurement, he lay in the same house of the said Poyntz: to whom he shewed moreover his books and other secrets of his study; so little did Tyndale then mistrust this traitor.

"But Poyntz, having no great confidence in the fellow, asked master Tyndale how he came acquainted with this Philips. Master Tyndale answered, that he was an honest man, handsomely learned, and very conformable. Then Poyntz, perceiving that he bare such favour unto him, said no more; thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said Philips, being in the town three or four days, upon a time desired Poyntz to walk with him forth of the town, to shew him the commodities thereof; and, in walking together about the town, had communication of divers things, and some of the king's affairs. By the which talk Poyntz as yet suspected nothing; but after, by the sequel of the matter, he perceived more what he intended. In the mean time this he well perceived, that he bare no great favour either to the setting forth of any good thing, either to the proceedings of the king of England. But after, when

[3] Collector of the customs.

the time was past, Poyntz perceived this to be his mind,—to feel if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter, for lucre of money to help him to his purpose; for he perceived before that he was monied, and would that Poyntz should think no less; but by whom, it was unknown. For he had desired Poyntz before to help him to divers things; and such things as he named, he required might be of the best: For, said he, I have money enough. But of this talk came nothing, but that men should think he had some things to do; for nothing else followed of his talk.—From Antwerp Philips went to the court of Brussels, the king having there no ambassador; for at that time the king of England and the emperor were at a controversy for the question betwixt the king and Catharine, who was aunt to the emperor; so that Philips, as a traitor both against God and the king, was there the better retained, as also other traitors more besides him, who, after he had betrayed master Tyndale into their hands, shewed himself against the king's own person, and there set forth things against the king. To make short, the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him, to Antwerp, that procuror general which is the emperor's attorney, with other certain officers: the which was not done with small charges and expense, from whomsoever it came.

"Within a while after, Poyntz sitting at his door, Philips' man came unto him, and asked whether master Tyndale were there; and said, his master would come to him; and so departed. But whether his master, Philips, were in the town or not, it was not known: but at that time Poyntz heard no more, neither of the master nor of the man. Within three or four days after, Poyntz went forth to the town of Barrow, being eighteen English miles from Antwerp, where he had business to do for the space of a month or six weeks; and in the time of his absence, Henry Philips came again to Antwerp to the house of Poyntz, and coming in, spake with his wife, asking her for Master Tyndale, and whether he could dine there with him; saying, 'What good meat shall we have?' she answered, 'Such as the market will give.' Then went he forth again (as it is thought) to provide and

set the officers, which he brought with him from Brussels, in the street and about the door. Then about noon he came again, and went to master Tyndale, and desired him to lend him forty shillings: 'For,' said he, 'I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and Mechlin.' So Master Tyndale took him forty shillings; the which was easy to be had of him, if he had it; for in the wily subtilties of this world he was simple and unexpert.

"Then said Philips, 'Master Tyndale, you shall be my guest here this day.' 'No,' said master Tyndale, 'I go forth this day to dinner; and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome.' So when it was dinner-time, master Tyndale went forth with Philips; and at the going out of Poyntz' house was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in a front. Master Tyndale would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but put master Tyndale afore; for that he pretended to shew great humanity. So master Tyndale, being a man of no great stature, went before; and Philips, a tall comely person, followed behind him, who had set officers on either side of the door upon two seats, (which, being there, might see who came in the entry;) and coming through the same entry Philips pointed with his finger over master Tyndale's head down to him, that the officers, which sat at the door, might see that it was he whom they should take; as the officers, that took master Tyndale, afterward told Poyntz; and said to Poyntz, when they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see his simplicity when they took him. Then they brought him to the emperor's attorney, where he dined. Then came the said attorney to the house of Poyntz, and sent away all that was there of master Tyndale's, as well his books as other things: and from thence Tyndale was had to the castle of Vilford[1], eighteen English miles from Antwerp; and there he remained until he was put to death."

Foxe proceeds to say that, 'by the help of English merchants,' letters were immediately sent to the court of Brussels in favour of Tyndale. But the Cotton MSS. have been found to contain a letter from Poyntz to his brother John, dated from Antwerp, Aug. 25, 1535, in the postscript of which he

[1] Vilvorden between Brussels and Mechlin.

says, "I think that if Walter Marsch, now being governor [of the English factory], had done his duty effectually here at this time, there would have been a remedy found for this man." In the same letter he says to his brother, the seizure of Tyndale "was done by procurement out of England, and, as I suppose, unknown to the king's grace till it was done." He also tells him, "It was said here, the king had granted his gracious letters in the favour of William Tyndale, for to have been sent hither; the which is in prison, and like to suffer death, except it be through his gracious help. But it is thought those letters be stopped.—By the means that this poor man, William Tyndale, has lain in my house three quarters of a year, I know that the king has never a truer-hearted subject to his grace this day living; and, for that he does know that he is bound by the law of God to obey his prince, I wot well he would not do the contrary, to be made lord of the world, however the king's grace may be informed.—The death of this man would be a great hinderance to the gospel; and to the enemies of it one of the highest pleasures. But and if it should please the king's highness to send for this man, so that he might dispute his articles with him at large, which they lay to him, it might by the mean thereof be so opened to the court and the council of this country, that they would be at another point with the bishop of Rome within a short space. And I think he shall be shortly at a point to be condemned; for there are two Englishmen at Louvaine that do and have applied it sore, taking great pains to translate out of English into Latin those things that may make against him—so that the clergy here may understand it and condemn him, as they have done all others for keeping opinions contrary to their business, the which they call *The order of holy church*. Brother, the knowledge that I have of this man causes me to write as my conscience binds me; for the king's grace should have of him, at this day, as high a treasure as of any one man living, that has been of no greater reputation[1]. Therefore I desire you that this matter may be solicited to his grace for this man, with as good effect as shall be in you,

[1] This last clause, having been misprinted in Anderson, has been corrected by an examination of the original.

or by your means to be done; for, on my conscience, there be not many perfecter in this day living, as knows God, who have you in keeping.

Your brother,

THOMAS POYNTZ[2]."

This letter was probably the means of inducing Cromwell to send his next dispatch in Tyndale's behalf, if indeed it was not his first, to a merchant named Flegge, rather than to Marsch. Flegge's reply announces that he received it on the 10th of September, along with a letter from the English secretary of state to the archbishop of Palermo, president of the princess regent's council, and another for the margrave of Bergen[3]; and that such steps were consequently taken by the English merchants as Foxe has described in the paragraphs immediately succeeding our last quotation from him; beginning as follows, from the account of Tyndale's removal to Vilvorden:

"Then incontinent, by the help of English merchants, were letters sent in the favour of Tyndale to the court of Brussels. Also not long after, letters were directed out of England to the council at Brussels[4], and sent to the merchants

[2] The whole letter is given in Anderson, B. I. §. 12. Vol. I. p. 426, from the Cotton MSS. in the Brit. Mus. Galba X. fol. 60. It is but justice to the character of some of Tyndale's adversaries to observe, that whilst the calamities which had befallen bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More are sufficient to exempt them from any suspicion of being implicated in the treacherous design on Tyndale, the correspondence of Cromwell, and other contemporary documents in the British Museum, equally exonerate Henry VIII. Cromwell had sent one Thomas Tebold to the continent to gather information, and this man had several conversations with Philips; whose arrest the king was endeavouring to procure for his abuse of him, and whose coadjutor Tebold discovered to have been a monk, named Gabriel Donne. Mr Anderson's researches have discovered a connection between this monk and bishop Gardiner; and that he was rewarded, at this very time, from the patronage of Vesey, bishop of Exeter, a bitter persecutor of the reformers. Anderson, ibid.

[3] Mr Flegge's letter is copied by Anderson. B. I. §. 12. Vol. I. p. 429, from Cotton MSS. Galba, B. X. fol. 62.

[4] Foxe's margin says, 'By the lord Crumwell and others'; but his expression *not long after* comprehends an interval which could scarcely be less than six or seven months.

adventurers at Antwerp, commanding them to see that with speed they should be delivered. Then such of the chiefest of the merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required the said Poyntz to take in hand the delivery of those letters, with letters also from them in the favour of master Tyndale, to the lord of Barrowe and others; the which lord of Barrowe (as it was told Poyntz by the way) at that time was departed from Brussels, as the chiefest conductor of the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark to be married to the palsgrave: who, after he heard of his departure, did ride after the next way, and overtook him at Akon[1], where he delivered to him his letters; the which when he had received and read, he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting said, 'There were of their countrymen that were burned in England, not long before;' as indeed there were anabaptists burnt in Smithfield, and so Poyntz said to him. 'Howbeit,' said he, 'whatsoever the crime was, if his lordship or any other nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, he thought they should not have been denied.' 'Well,' said he, 'I have no leisure to write; for the princess is ready to ride.' Then said Poyntz, 'If it shall please your lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting-place;' which was at Maestricht. 'If you so do,' said the lord, 'I will advise myself by the way, what to write.' So Poyntz followed him from Akon to Maestricht, the which are fifteen English miles asunder; and there he received letters of him, one to the council there, another to the company of the merchants adventurers, and another also to the lord Cromwell. So Poyntz rode from thence to Brussels, and then and there delivered to the council the letters out of England, with the lord of Barrowe's letters also; and received eftsoons answer into England of the same by letters, which he brought to Antwerp to the English merchants, who required him to go with them into England[2]; and he, very desirous to have master Tyndale out of prison, let not for to take pains, with loss of time in his own business and occupying, but diligently followed with the said letters, which he there delivered to the council, and was commanded by them to

[1] Alkhen.

[2] On the 22nd of September; as appear from Flegge's reply to Cromwell.

tarry until he had other letters, of the which he was not dispatched thence in a month after. At length, the letters being delivered him, he returned again, and delivered them to the emperor's council at Brussels, and there tarried for answer of the same.

"When the said Poyntz had tarried three or four days, it was told him, of one that belonged to the chancery, that master Tyndale should have been delivered to him according to the tenor of the letters; but Philips, being there, followed the suit against master Tyndale, and hearing that he should be delivered to Poyntz, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew none other remedy but to accuse Poyntz, saying, that he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, and there had been a succourer of Tyndale, and was one of the same opinion, and that all this was only his own labour and suit, to have master Tyndale at liberty, and no man's else.

"Thus, upon his information and accusation, Poyntz was attached by the procuror general, and delivered to the keeping of two serjeants of arms; and the same evening was sent to him one of the chancery with the procuror general, who ministered unto him an oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him; thinking they would have had no other examinations of him, but of his message. The next day likewise they came again, and had him in examination, and so five or six days, one after another, upon not so few as an hundred articles, as well of the king's affairs as of the message concerning Tyndale, of his aiders and of his religion. Out of the which examinations the procuror general drew twenty-three or twenty-four articles, and declared the same against the said Poyntz: the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer thereunto, and permitted him to have an advocate and proctor. And order was taken, that eight days after he should deliver unto them his answer; and from eight days to eight days to proceed, till the process were ended; also that he should send no messenger to Antwerp, where his house was, nor to any other place but by the post of the town of Brussels; nor to send any letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but written in Dutch; and the procuror general, who was party against him, to read them, before they were sent or delivered.

Neither might any be suffered to speak or talk with Poyntz in any other tongue or language, except only in the Dutch tongue, so that his keepers, who were Dutchmen, might understand what the contents of the letters or talk should be; saving that at one certain time the provincial of the white friars came to dinner where Poyntz was prisoner, and brought with him a young novice, being an Englishman, whom the provincial, after dinner, of his own accord did bid to talk with the said Poyntz, and so with him he was licensed to talk. The purpose, and great policy therein, was easy to be perceived.——After this[1] Poyntz delivered up his answer to the procuror general; and then after, at the days appointed, went forth with replication duplicke with other answers each to other, in writing what they could. As the commissioners came to Poyntz, Philips the traitor accompanied them to the door, in following the process against him; as he also did against master Tyndale; for so they, that had Poyntz in keeping, shewed him. Thus Poyntz for master Tyndale was sore troubled, and long kept in prison; but at length, when he saw no other remedy, by night he made his escape, and avoided their hands."

In the mean while, Tyndale had been immured twelve months in Vilvorden castle: but the Lord was with him, and shewed him his mercy, and gave him favour in the sight of the keeper of his prison; so that, according to Foxe, "he converted the keeper, and his daughter and others of his household; and the rest, that were conversant with him in the castle, reported of him, that if he were not a good christian man, they could not tell whom to trust." But if it was given to him to be the means of turning some sinners within the walls of his prison from the error of their ways by his faithful words and holy example, the favour of the prison-keeper enabled him to continue his labours, so that from those prison-walls "sounded out the word of the Lord" into all parts where the English tongue was spoken. Foxe says that after Tyndale's seizure "there were certain things of his doing found, which he had intended to have put forth to the furtherance of God's word, among which was the testament of M. Tracy, expounded by himself." But Mr Anderson seems

[1] That is, on Christmas eve, 1535, as appears from the fuller narrative in the first edition of Foxe.

to have discovered, that Tyndale's exposition of Tracy's testament, in which he sets forth the dishonour done to the only Mediator between God and man by seeking the aid of departed saints for a departed sinner, was actually published this year along with Wicliffe's Wicket, a tract on the words "This is my body[2]," then printed for the first time. There was also a third edition of Tyndale's Obedience printed this year at Strasburg; and three editions of his new Testament are believed to have been printed at Antwerp in 1535. It is probable that none of these editions of his works and translations were carried through the press without some communication with their author. One at least of them lays claim to having been prepared for publication under his especial care; being entitled "The newe Testament, dylygently corrected and compared with the Greeke, by Willyam Tyndale: and fynesshed in the yere of our Lorde God MD and XXXV." In this edition his diligent and tender care for his poor countrymen does indeed appear, in a very remarkable manner. We have seen that before he had begun the work of translation, he had pledged himself that 'if God spared his life, he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the scriptures' than a popish priest. In 1535, he saw plainly that his life was not to be spared much longer. Laying aside therefore all that display of good writing in which a scholar would have prided himself, he prepared this edition for the instruction of the plough-boys in his native country, by printing it in what might properly be called the vulgar tongue, conforming the spelling to their rude pronunciation[3], whilst to help them to the understanding of the subjects treated of, he put headings, for the first time, to the chapters.

The imprisoned reformer was at the same time defending the doctrines he had taught, in a series of replies to attacks made upon him by the theologians of Louvaine; but of these, whether conversations only, or written answers to written charges, no relic remains. But though suffering trouble as an evil doer even unto bonds, Tyndale might well say as the

[2] Anderson, B. I. §. 12. Vol. I. p. 433.

[3] In this edition, of which the Camb. Univ. Library contains a perfect copy, and Mr Offor's collection another copy, father is spelt faether; master, maester; stone, stoene; once, oones; worse, whorsse, &c.

apostle did, "The word of God is not bound;" for he too had his Timothy, his own son in the faith, who was carefully preserving, and probably already beginning to print, the fruits of Tyndale's continued labours as a translator of the Hebrew scriptures. This person was John Rogers, who had been educated at Cambridge, and invited to Antwerp, to fill the place of chaplain to the English factory. There he had read the scriptures with Tyndale, and in the scriptures he had found the way of salvation. It could scarcely have been without some English merchant's pecuniary aid (and some have supposed that Thomas Matthew was the merchant's name,) that Rogers commenced in secret the printing of that noble English folio Bible, called Matthew's Bible; which begins with a reprint of Tyndale's pentateuch, as it closes with a reprint of his new Testament, incorporating his instructive preface; and further contains, what had never before been printed, a translation by Tyndale of all the historical Hebrew scriptures to the end of the second book of Chronicles.

And now this good and faithful servant William Tyndale had done his appointed work, except that it was also to be given to him to glorify God by his death.

Foxe says that it was reported, that whilst he was prisoner, "there was much writing, and great disputation, to and fro," between him and the Romanists in the neighbouring university of Louvaine; and that the court, which sat in judgment upon him, observed its usual custom of offering him permission to have an advocate and a proctor, "to make answer in the law. But he refused to have any such, saying, that he would answer for himself; and so he did." Nor does his defence of himself seem to have been useless; for if it is true that the emperor's attorney was constrained to acknowledge, that he was "a learned, a good, and a godly man," the answers and demeanour, which extorted this confession from the official prosecutor, must have been well fitted to speak to the consciences of all present, in testimony that the cause, for which this holy man was ready to give up his life, was the cause of God.

"At last," says Foxe, "after much reasoning, when no reasoning would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburgh; and upon the same brought forth to the

place of execution; was there tied to the stake; and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterward with fire consumed, in the morning [of October 6th[1]], at the town of Vilvorden, in the year 1536; crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeal and a loud voice, 'Lord, open the king of England's eyes'."

The dying martyr's prayer was thus far answered, that the king of England's eyes were opened to the folly of continuing to fight against the circulation of Tyndale's versions of the scriptures. Before the waning year had come to its close, the first volume of holy scripture, ever printed on English ground, came forth from the press of the king's own printer; and that volume was a folio Testament, Tyndale's own version, with his prologues too, and with the long-proscribed name of William Tyndale openly set forth on its title-page[2]. Nor was this all that Henry was to sanction, towards the fulfilling of Tyndale's fervent desires for his beloved country. The subsequently eminent English printers, Grafton and Whitchurch, undertook the cost of completing, though not at an English press, that bible which Rogers had begun. So much of the scriptures as Tyndale had not lived to translate, was filled up from Coverdale's secondary translation of the whole bible, made in 1535; and the whole was completed, with a dedication to the king, and a copy of it presented to archbishop Cranmer by Grafton, before the 4th of the following August; on which day we find the archbishop sending Grafton and his bible to Cromwell, and requesting him to shew it to the king, and to obtain, if possible, his royal "licence that the same may be sold, and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary[3]." That bible said, "The king's heart is in the hands of the Lord; as the rivers of water he turneth it whithersoever he will;" and the heart of this wayward king was now turned to sanction what he had pronounced detestable. On the 13th of August Cranmer wrote

[1] Foxe gives this date in his calendar.

[2] See its description in And. B. I. § 13. Vol. I. p. 549. A copy of this edition is in the Bodleian.

[3] Park. Soc. edition of Cranmer's Works, Vol. II. p. 344, Lett. 194; or Jenkyns's Cranmer's Remains, Vol. I. p. 197, Lett. 188.

again to Cromwell[1], as follows: "Whereas I understand that your lordship, at my request, hath not only exhibited the bible which I sent unto you to the king's majesty, but also hath obtained of his grace that the same shall be allowed, by his authority, to be bought and read within this realm; my lord, for this your pains, taken in this behalf, I give unto you my most hearty thanks; assuring your lordship, for the contentation of my mind, you have shewed me more pleasure herein, than if you had given me a thousand pound; and I doubt not but that hereby such fruit of good knowledge shall ensue, that it shall well appear hereafter what high and acceptable service you have done unto God and the king.—As for me, you may reckon me your bondman for the same; and I dare be bold to say, so may ye do my lord of Worcester[2]."

Tyndale had said to Vaughan, "If the king would grant only a bare text of the scripture to be put forth among his people, be it the translation of what person soever he shall please, I will promise never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts." He was to write no more; and he no longer abode on this earth; but more than he had asked had been given him by the King of kings. The scripture was licensed to be put forth; and his own translation was accepted; and his instructive prefaces were not to be expunged, but to be more than tacitly acknowledged to contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, necessary for those times.

And now, in old John Foxe's words, "Thus much of William Tyndale, who, for his notable pains and travail, may be worthily called an apostle of England."

[1] Ib. Lett. 197; or Jenkyns, Lett. 191.
[2] Bishop Latimer.

A

PATHWAY

INTO

THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

[TYNDALE.]

111671

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

[The first original composition from Tyndale's pen, of which any trace or account has come down to us, is his 'Prologue' to the quarto edition of his translation of the New Testament. Indeed, the Rev. C. Anderson has not hesitated to say[1], that we have, in that Prologue, 'the very first language addressed by him to the Christians of England:' and if so, that first language is to be found in the 'Pathway into the Holy Scripture.' For the 'Pathway' is, in *fact*, a reprint of that Prologue; with such alterations as Tyndale either thought requisite to adapt it for separate publication, or expedient to prevent its identity with the reprobated Prologue from being detected at first sight. The precise date of the first publication of the Pathway, as a separate treatise, has not been ascertained It is however mentioned by Dibdin[2], as having been printed by Thomas Godfray, London. Now the Prologue itself was undeniably printed in 1525, and Th. Godfray printed nothing after 1532; so that we have thus certain limits, between which the Pathway must have passed through the press. But farther, in Sir Thos. More's preface to his 'Confutation of Tyndale's Answer' to his Dialogue, which Confutation bears on its title-page that it was printed in 1532, we find him mentioning the Pathway, and apparently ignorant then that Tyndale was its author.

More had been recapitulating the titles of such works as had then come out in Tyndale's name, accompanying the recapitulation with brief but coarsely abusive comments, to prove him a 'setter-forth of heresies as evil as the Alchorane;' and then he proceeds to assail 'friar Barns, sometime doctor in Cambridge,' charging him with holding the heresy of Zuinglius 'concerning the sacrament of the altar,' (though Barnes's creed was in reality Lutheran,) for which, and for his demeanour, More says 'he might lawfully be burned,' as 'having clearly broken and forfeited the king's safe-conduct.' 'Then,' says he, 'have we farther yet, beside Barnes' book, the A. B. C. for children[3]. And because there is no grace therein, lest we should lack prayers, we have the Prymer, and the Ploughman's Prayer, and a book of other small devotions, and then the whole Psalter too[4]. After

[1 Annals of the English Bible. B. I. sec. 2. p. 65. of first ed.]

[2 Dibdin, Typographical Antiquities, Vol. III. p. 71.]

[3 Styled in the prohibitory lists, 'A. B. C. against the clergy.']

[4 A proclamation forbidding the king's subjects 'to bring into this realm, to sell, receive, take, or detain,' any of a list of books comprehending all the above, and also 'The Sum of Scripture' mentioned in the next sentence, but not the Pathway, had been issued by Henry VIII. in 1529, under More's influence. Anderson's Annals,

the Psalter, children were wont to go to their Donat and their Accydence; but now they go straight to scripture. And thereto have we, as a Donat, the book of *The Pathway to Scripture;* and for an Accydence, because we should be good scholars shortly and be soon sped, we have the whole Sum of Scripture in a little book: so that after these books well learned, we be meet for Tyndale's Pentateukes, and Tyndale's Testament, and all the other high heresies that he and Jaye, and Fryth, and friar Barns, teach in all their books beside; of all which heresies the seed is sown, and prettily sprung up in these little books before[1].'

The proclamations and episcopal mandates against the circulation of Tyndale's Testaments particularly notice the appended *glosses;* which belonged, exclusively, to the edition prefaced by that Prologue which was the prototype of the Pathway. And whilst that edition was well nigh stifled in its birth by the anti-reforming zeal of Cochlæus, as noticed in the life of Tyndale, its prologue and pointed notes seem to have provoked the ruling powers at home to hunt it out for destruction with such successful zeal, that the fact of its ever having existed had begun to be overlooked, till a fragment of the portion printed at Cologne, probably lost by Tyndale in his hasty flight with the few finished sheets, was recently discovered in London, bound up with a contemporary production; and being purchased by the late Rt. Hon. Thomas Grenville, has just been added, by his considerate bequest, to the literary treasures of the British Museum. The account of this discovery, and the evidence for the genuineness of this fragment, which commences with the prologue, are stated by Mr Anderson as follows:—

"Mr Thomas Rodd, of Great Newport-street, a respectable bookseller in London, having exchanged with a friend, who did not recollect how he came by it, a quarto tract by Œcolampadius, without any cover, there was attached to it, by binding, a portion in the English language, black letter; and though it was evidently the gospel of Matthew, with *the prologge* of 14 pages preceding, neither Mr Rodd nor his friend understood, at the time, what it actually was. 'The accidental discovery,' says Mr R., 'of the remarkable initial letter Y, with which this page, the first of the prologue, is decorated, in another book printed at Cologne in 1534, first led me to search other books printed at the same place; and I succeeded in finding every cut and letter, with the exception of one, in other books from the same printing-office, that of Peter Quentel. I have found the type in which

B. i. sect. 6. pp. 234—5. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, Vol. iv. pp. 676—9. Lond. 1837. There was again a royal proclamation, issued May 24, 1530, with an appended list of prohibited books, which takes no notice of the Pathway. Anderson's Annals, pp. 257—9.]

[1 The Confutacyon of Tyndale's answere, made by Syr Thomas More, Knyght, lord chancellor of Englonde. Prentyd at London, By Wyllyam Rastell, 1532, Cum privilegio. Preface to the Christian Reader, Sign. Bb. ii.]

this portion of the New Testament is printed, and the cuts with which it is decorated, used in other books printed at Cologne from the year 1521 to 1540.' The fact is," proceeds Mr Anderson, "that though the tract entitled, *A Pathway into the Holy Scripture*, contains the most of it, the prologue was never printed entire in any subsequent edition, nor, above all, its important and beautiful introduction. Independently however of these proofs, there is incontrovertible evidence presented to the eye. The first page of the sacred text is preceded by a large, spirited cut of the evangelist Matthew at his work, dipping his pen into the inkstand, held out to him by an angel; and by this specimen, though the title-page be wanting, we are able to prove, not only that the printer was Peter Quentel, but that the year of printing was 1525. Rupert's commentary on Matthew, sent from Liege to Cologne, a closely-printed folio volume, was finished at Quentel's press so early as the 12th of June, 1526. Now as far back as the beginning of this folio, or page second, we have the identical large wood-cut of Matthew, which had been used to adorn the preceding New Testament; but, before being employed in the work of Rupert, better to fit the page, the block had been pared down, so as to deprive it of the pillar on the left side, the angel of the points of his pinions, and both pillars of their bases at the bottom. Thus also it was placed on the title-page, and again, next year, before Matthew, in a beautiful folio Latin Bible. In the New Testament of Tyndale, on the contrary, the block will be seen entire; consequently it must have been the prior publication, and must have been used accordingly in 1525[2]."

By the kind indulgence of the late Mr Grenville, the editor was permitted to collate his unique copy of the Prologue. Such a collation was particularly desirable, because he has not been able to ascertain the existence of any copy of the Pathway, as separately printed: so that the only ancient edition of it, accessible to him, has been the copy inserted in Day's folio black-letter reprint of the works of Frith, Barnes, and Tyndale, published in 1573.

Those portions of the Prologue which are omitted in the Pathway will be given to the reader in the notes appended to their proper places; and, on the other hand, such portions of the Pathway as were not parts of the Prologue will be distinguished, by including them within brackets. The marginal notes also, which appeared in the Prologue, and therefore passed under Tyndale's eye, will have the initials, W. T., affixed to them; whilst those that are only found

[2 Anderson's Annals of E. Bib. B. i. sect. 2. p. 63. In the appendix to his second volume, Mr Anderson has given the public fac-similes of this wood-cut, as also of the first pages of the Prologue and translations; the Prologue being the first specimen extant of Tyndale's composition, and the Translation the first extant of his efforts as a translator. For though the 4to Testament, with marginal glosses, was preceded in its issue from the press by the small 8vo edition, once forming part of the Harleian Library, and now in the Baptists' Museum at Bristol, Mr A. has decisively proved that so much of the 4to as was printed at Cologne, was the first part of an entire English New Testament put into the press.]

in Day's edition will be marked Ant. ed., to express that they are not modern, and that yet it would not be just to hold Tyndale responsible for them, since they may have been no more than an editor's remarks, as it is obvious that some of the marginal notes in Day's volume must have been.]

A PATHWAY

INTO

THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

[I DO marvel greatly, dearly beloved in Christ, that ever any man should repugn or speak against the scripture to be had in every language, and that of every man. For I thought that no man had been][1] so blind to ask why light should be shewed to them that walk in darkness, where they cannot but stumble, and where to stumble is the danger of eternal damnation; other[2] so despiteful that he would envy any man (I speak not his brother) so necessary a thing; or so Bedlam mad to affirm that good is the natural cause of evil, and darkness to proceed out of light, and that lying should be grounded in truth and verity; and not rather clean contrary, that light destroyeth darkness, and verity reproveth all manner lying.

Scriptures should be translated into every language. Ant. ed.

[Nevertheless, seeing that it hath pleased God to send unto our Englishmen, even to as many as unfeignedly desire

[1] The Prologue began as follows:—

'I have here translated, brethren and sisters, most dear and tenderly beloved in Christ, the New Testament, for your spiritual edifying, consolation, and solace; exhorting instantly and beseeching those that are better seen in the tongues than I, and that have better gifts of grace, to interpret the sense of the Scripture, and meaning of the Spirit, than I, to consider and ponder my labour, and that with the spirit of meekness; and if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue, or meaning of the scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do. For we have not received the gifts of God for ourselves only, or for to hide them; but for to bestow them unto the honouring of GOD and Christ, and edifying of the congregation, which is the body of Christ.

'The causes that moved me to translate, I thought better that other should imagine, than that I should rehearse them. Moreover I supposed it superfluous; for who is so blind, &c.']

[2] Other, i. e. or.]

it, the scripture in their mother tongue, considering that there be in every place false teachers and blind leaders; that ye should be deceived of no man, I supposed it very necessary to prepare this Pathway into the scripture for you[1], that ye might walk surely, and ever know the true from the false: and, above all,[2]] to put you in remembrance of certain points, which are, that ye well understand what these words mean; the Old Testament; the New Testament; the law; the gospel; Moses; Christ; nature; grace; working and believing; deeds and faith; lest we ascribe to the one that which belongeth to the other, and make of Christ Moses; of the gospel, the law; despise grace, and rob faith; and fall from meek learning into idle disputations[3]; brawling and scolding about words.

The cause of the edition of this Pathway. Ant. ed.

What are contained in the Old Testament. W. T.

The Old Testament is a book, wherein is written the law of God, and the deeds of them which fulfil them, and of them also which fulfil them not.

The contents of the New Testament. W. T.

The New Testament is a book, wherein are contained the promises of God; and the deeds of them which believe them, or believe them not.

The Gospel, or Evangelion. W. T.

Evangelion (that we call the gospel) is a Greek word; and signifieth good, merry, glad and joyful tidings, that maketh a man's heart glad, and maketh him sing, dance, and leap for joy: as when David had killed Goliah the giant, came glad tidings unto the Jews, that their fearful and cruel enemy was slain, and they delivered out of all danger: for gladness whereof, they sung, danced, and were joyful. In like manner is the Evangelion of God (which we call gospel, and the New Testament) joyful tidings; and, as some say,

[1 Up to the date of 1532, no translations of either the old or new Testament, into their mother tongue, had been sent to Englishmen through the press, except Tyndale's, so that his manner of speaking here makes it evident, that when he first published the Pathway, it was anonymously.]

[2 In the Prologue this paragraph began as follows:

'After it had pleased GOD to put in my mind, and also to give me grace to translate this fore-rehearsed New Testament into our English tongue, howsoever we have done it, I supposed it very necessary to put you,' &c.]

[3 In the Prologue the word is *dispicions;* which appears, from several instances in sir Thomas More's controversial works, to have been equivalent to *disputations.*]

a good hearing published by the apostles throughout all the world, of Christ the right David; how that he hath fought with sin, with death, and the devil, and overcome them: whereby all men that were in bondage to sin, wounded with death, overcome of the devil, are, without their own merits or deservings, loosed, justified, restored to life and saved, brought to liberty and reconciled unto the favour of God, and set at one[4] with him again: which tidings as many as believe laud, praise, and thank God; are glad, sing and dance for joy.

This Evangelion or gospel (that is to say, such joyful tidings) is called the New Testament; because that as a man, when he shall die, appointeth his goods to be dealt and distributed after his death among them which he nameth to be his heirs; even so Christ before his death commanded and appointed that such Evangelion, gospel, or tidings should be declared throughout all the world, and therewith to give unto all that [repent, and] believe, all his goods: that is to say, his life, wherewith he swallowed and devoured up death; his righteousness, wherewith he banished sin; his salvation, wherewith he overcame eternal damnation. Now can the wretched man (that [knoweth himself to be wrapped] in sin, and in danger[6] to death and hell) hear no more joyous a thing, than such glad and comfortable tidings of Christ; so that he cannot but be glad, and laugh from the low bottom of his heart, if he believe that the tidings are true.

Why the Evangelion is called a Testament[5]. W. T.

No greater comfort can happen to a sinner, being penitent, than the promises of the gospel. W. T.

To strength[7] such faith withal, God promised this his Evangelion in the Old Testament by the prophets, as Paul saith, (Rom. i.), how that he was chosen out to preach God's

The gospel was promised of God, in the Old Testament, by the prophets. W. T. Rom. i.

[4 At one. So Tyndale has translated Εἰς εἰρήνην in Acts vii. 26; and his rendering has been continued in our authorised version. The same idiomatic expression occurs in our homilies; as in that for Good Friday, 'Without payment God the Father would never be at one with us.' Hence, as is well known, comes the verb *atone.*]

[5 Tyndale has elsewhere informed his readers that he uses the word Testament, to express 'An appointment made between God and man, and God's promises.' *Table expounding certain words in Genesis.*]

[6 Danger. This word was used to signify subjection to an offended power. Thus bishop Fisher says, 'What suppose ye that Luther would do, if he had the pope's holiness in his danger?']

[7 Strength: strengthen.]

Evangelion, which he before had promised by the prophets in the Scriptures, that treat of his Son which was born of the seed of David. In Gen. iii. God saith to the serpent, "I will put hatred between thee and the woman, between thy seed and her seed; that self seed shall tread thy head under foot." Christ is this woman's seed: he it is that hath trodden under foot the devil's head, that is to say, sin, death, hell, and all his power. For without this seed can no man avoid sin, death, hell, and everlasting damnation.

Christ hath overthrown the devil and all his power. W. T.

Gen. xxii.

Again, (Gen. xxii.), God promised Abraham, saying, "In thy seed shall all the generations of the earth be blessed."

Gal. iii.

Christ is that seed of Abraham, saith St Paul (Gal. iii). He hath blessed all the world through the gospel. For where Christ is not, there remaineth the curse, that fell on Adam as soon as he had sinned, so that they are in bondage under damnation[1] of sin, death, and hell. Against this curse, blesseth now the gospel all the world inasmuch as it crieth openly, [unto all that knowledge[2] their sins and repent, saying,] Whosoever believeth on the seed of Abraham shall be blessed; that is, he shall be delivered from sin, death, and hell, and shall henceforth continue righteous[3], and saved for ever; as

John xi.

Christ himself saith in the eleventh of John, 'He that believeth on me, shall never more die.'

John i. The law was given by Moses, grace and truth by Jesus Christ. W. T.

"The law" (saith the gospel of John in the first chapter[4]) "was given by Moses: but grace and verity by Jesus Christ." The law (whose minister is Moses) was given to bring us unto the knowledge of ourselves, that we might thereby feel and perceive what we are, of nature. The law condemneth us and

2 Cor. iii.

all our deeds; and is called of Paul (in 2 Cor. iii.) the ministration of death. For it killeth our consciences, and driveth us to desperation; inasmuch as it requireth of us that which is unpossible for our nature[5] to do. It requireth of us the deeds of an whole man. It requireth perfect love, from the low bottom and ground of the heart, as well in all things which we suffer, as in the things which we do. But, saith John in the same place, "grace and verity is given us in Christ:" so that,

The law requireth of us that which is impossible for our nature to do. W. T.

[1 Prol. has *domination.*]
[2 Knowledge: acknowledge.]
[3 Prol., 'righteous, living, and saved.']
[4 So in Prol. Day's edition of the Pathway has *saith John* i.]
[5 Prol. *impossible for us.*]

when the law hath passed upon us, and condemned us to death (which is his nature to do), then we have in Christ grace, that is to say, favour, promises of life, of mercy, of pardon, freely, by the merits of Christ; and in Christ have we verity and truth, in that God [for his sake] fulfilleth all his promises to them that believe. Therefore is the Gospel the ministration of life. Paul calleth it, in the fore-rehearsed place of the 2 Cor. iii. the ministration of the Spirit and of righteousness. In the gospel, when we believe the promises, we receive the spirit of life; and are justified, in the blood of Christ, from all things whereof the law condemned us. [And we receive love unto the law, and power to fulfil it, and grow therein daily.] Of Christ it is written, in the fore-rehearsed John i. This is he of whose abundance, or fulness, all we have received grace for grace, or favour for favour. That is to say, For the favour that God hath to his Son Christ, he giveth unto us his favour and good-will, [and all gifts of his grace,] as a father to his sons. As affirmeth Paul, saying, "Which loved us in his Beloved before the creation of the world." [So that Christ bringeth the love of God unto us, and not our own holy works[6].] Christ is made Lord over all, and is called in scripture God's mercy-stool: whosoever therefore flieth to Christ, can neither hear nor receive of God any other thing save mercy.

When the law hath condemned us, Christ granteth us free pardon. W. T.

2 Cor. iii.

John i.

Christ is God's mercy-stool, so that no mercy cometh from God, but through Christ. W. T.

In the Old Testament are many promises, which are nothing else but the Evangelion or gospel, to save those that believed them from the vengeance of the law. And in the New Testament is oft made mention of the law, to condemn them which believe not the promises. Moreover, the law and the gospel may never be separate: for the gospel and promises serve but for troubled consciences, which are brought to desperation, and feel the pains of hell and death under the law, and are in captivity and bondage under the law. In all my deeds I must have the law before me, to condemn mine unperfectness. For all that I do (be I never so perfect) is yet damnable sin, when it is compared to the law, which requireth the ground and bottom of mine heart. I must therefore have always the law in my sight, that I

The law must ever be in

[6 Instead of the last sentence, the Prologue had: 'For the love that God hath to Christ, he loveth us, and not for our own sakes'.]

sight, to make us humble-spirited: and the gospel also before our eyes, to comfort us. W. T.

may be meek in the spirit, and give God all the laud and praise, ascribing to him all righteousness, and to myself all unrighteousness and sin. I must also have the promises before mine eyes, that I despair not; in which promises I see the mercy, favour, and good-will of God upon me in the blood of his Son Christ, which hath made satisfaction for mine unperfectness, and fulfilled for me that which I could not do.

Two manner of people deceived: those which justify themselves by their works; and those that through their blind opinion of faith utterly pervert the lively faith. W. T.

Here may ye perceive that two manner of people are sore deceived. First, they which justify themselves with outward deeds, in that they abstain outwardly from that which the law forbiddeth, and do outwardly that which the law commandeth. They compare themselves to open sinners; and in respect of them justify themselves, condemning the open sinners. They set a vail on Moses' face, and see not how the law requireth love from the bottom of the heart, [and that love only is the fulfilling of the law.] If they did, they would not condemn their neighbours. "Love hideth the multitude of sins," saith St Peter in his first epistle. For whom I love from the deep bottom and ground of mine heart, him condemn I not, neither reckon his sins; but suffer his weakness and infirmity, as a mother the weakness of her son until he grow up into a perfect man.

Those also are deceived which, without all fear of God, give themselves unto all manner[1] vices with full consent and full delectation, having no respect to the law of God (under whose vengeance they are locked up in captivity); but say, God is merciful, and Christ died for us; supposing that such dreaming and imagination is that faith which is so greatly commended in holy scripture. Nay, that is not faith, but rather a foolish blind opinion, springing of their own [corrupt] nature, and is not given them of the Spirit of God, [but rather of the spirit of the devil, whose faith now-a-days the popish compare and make equal unto the best trust, confidence, and belief, that a repenting soul can have in the blood of our Saviour Jesus, unto their own confusion, shame, and uttering[2] what they are within. But] true faith is (as

[1 The style of a little later date would require that *of* should follow manner. Tyndale sometimes subjoins *of*, as in the last paragraph; but more frequently omits it.]

[2 To utter, is continually used by Tyndale for, to detect, to make

saith the apostle Paul) the gift of God; and is given to sinners, after the law hath passed upon them, and hath brought their consciences unto the brim of desperation and sorrows of hell.

They that have this right faith, consent to the law, that it is righteous and good; and justify God which made the law; and have delectation in the law (notwithstanding that they cannot fulfil it [as they would,] for their weakness); and they abhor whatsoever the law forbiddeth, though they cannot [always] avoid it. And their great sorrow is, because they cannot fulfil the will of God in the law; and the Spirit, that is in them, crieth to God night and day for strength and help, with tears (as saith Paul) that cannot be expressed with tongue. Of which things the belief of our popish (or of their) father, whom they so magnify for his strong faith, hath none experience at all.

He that hath a right faith delighteth in the law, although his weakness cannot fulfil the same. W. T.

The first, that is to say, he[3] which justifieth himself with his outward deeds, consenteth not to the law inward, neither hath delectation therein, yea, he would rather that no such law were. So justifieth he not God, but hateth him as a tyrant; neither careth he for the promises, but will with his own strength be saviour of himself: no wise glorifieth he God, though he seem outward to do.

A justiciary. W. T.

He that justifieth himself, rejecteth the law and promises. Ant. ed.

The second, that is to say, the sensual person, as a voluptuous swine, neither feareth God in his law, neither is thankful to him for his promises and mercy, which is set forth in Christ to all them that believe.

A sensual man. W. T.

The right christian man consenteth to the law that it is righteous, and justifieth God in the law; for he affirmeth that God is righteous and just, which is author of the law. He believeth the promises of God; and[4] justifieth God, judg-

A Christian man. W. T.

public or manifest, to bring out; of which last meaning we have still a relic in use, when a person is charged with *uttering* forged money. Thus Tyndale, translating ἔκδηλος ἔσται in 2 Tim. iii. 9, says, 'Their madness *shall be uttered.*' And in Foxe's Acts and Mon. Vol. IV. 227, he says, 'Marian Morden was forced upon her oath to utter James Morden, her own brother, for teaching her the Pater-noster, Ave, and Creed in English.' Whilst a little farther, meaning to express the same thing, he says, 'John Clerke was forced by his oath to detect Richard Vulford for speaking against images.']

[3 Instead of *he*, Prol. has *a justiciary.*]

[4 Prol. *And so justifieth.*]

ing him true, and believing that he will fulfil his promises. With the law he condemneth himself, and all his deeds, and giveth all the praise to God. He believeth the promises, and ascribeth all truth to God: thus, everywhere, justifieth he God, and praiseth God.

Nature. W. T.

By nature, through the fall of Adam, are we the children of wrath, heirs of the vengeance of God by birth, yea, and from our conception. And we have our fellowship with the damned devils, under the power of darkness and rule of Satan, while we are yet in our mother's wombs; and though we shew not forth the fruits of sin [as soon as we are born,] yet are we full of the natural poison, whereof all sinful deeds spring, and cannot but sin outwards, (be we never so young,) [as soon as we be able to work,] if occasion be given: for our nature is to do sin, as is the nature of a serpent to sting. And as a serpent, yet young, or yet unbrought forth, is full of poison, and cannot afterward (when the time is come, and occasion given) but bring forth the fruits thereof; and as an adder, a toad, or a snake, is hated of man, not for the evil that it hath done, but for the poison that is in it, and hurt which it cannot but do: so are we hated of God, for that natural poison, which is conceived and born with us, before we do any outward evil. And as the evil, which a venomous worm doth, maketh it not a serpent; but because it is a venomous worm, doth it[1] evil and poisoneth: and as the fruit maketh not the tree evil; but because it is an evil tree, therefore bringeth it forth evil fruit, when the season of the fruit is: even so do not our evil deeds make us [first] evil, [though ignorance and blindness, through evil working, hardeneth us in evil, and maketh us worse and worse;] but because that of nature we are evil, therefore we both think and do evil, and are under vengeance under the law, convict to eternal damnation by the law, and are contrary to the will of God in all our will, and in all things consent to the will of the fiend.

A proper similitude. Ant. ed.

We are plucked from Adam and graffed in Christ, by grace. W. T.

By grace (that is to say, by favour) we are plucked out of Adam, the ground of all evil, and graffed in Christ, the root of all goodness. In Christ God loved us, his elect and chosen, before the world began, and reserved us unto the knowledge of his Son and of his holy gospel; and, when

[1 Prol. *therefore doth it.*]

the gospel is preached to us, openeth our hearts, and giveth us grace to believe, and putteth the Spirit of Christ in us; and we know him as our Father most merciful, and consent to the law, and love it inwardly in our heart, and desire to fulfil it, and sorrow because we cannot: which will (sin we of frailty never so much) is sufficient, till more strength be given us; the blood of Christ hath made satisfaction for the rest; the blood of Christ hath obtained all things for us of God. Christ is our satisfaction, Redeemer, Deliverer, Saviour, from vengeance and wrath. Observe and mark in Paul's, Peter's and John's epistles, and in the gospel, what Christ is unto us.

The blood of Christ hath obtained all things for us of God. W. T.

By faith are we saved only, in believing the promises. And though faith be never without love and good works, yet is our saving imputed neither to love nor unto good works, but unto faith only. For love and works are under the law, which requireth perfection and the ground and fountain of the heart, and damneth[2] all imperfectness. Now is faith under the promises, which damn not; but give pardon[3], grace, mercy, favour, and whatsoever is contained in the promises.

Faith, love, works. W. T.

Righteousness is divers: [for] blind reason imagineth many manner of righteousness[4]. There is the righteousness of works (as I said before), when the heart is away, and feeleth not how the law is spiritual, and cannot be fulfilled, but from the bottom of the heart: as the just ministration of all manner of laws, and the observing of them, [for a worldly purpose and for our own profit, and not of love unto our neighbour, without all other respect,] and moral virtues,

Righteousness, otherwise justifying, or justice. W. T.

Sundry sorts of righteousness. Ant. ed.

[2 In our old writers this word means simply *to condemn;* and does not define whether the condemnation be to hell, or to something very much less. Thus in an act of parliament, 11 Hen. VII. c. 19, respecting cushions or pillows stuffed with mixed materials, it is said, 'unlawful corrupt stuffs' may not be sold, 'but utterly to be damned.']

[3 Instead of *pardon, grace,* Prol. has *all grace.*]

[4 The next sentence is both in the Prologue and the Pathway; but in the former in a different place, being inserted between the words *blood of Christ* and *There is a full,* in the middle of the next page. Besides this difference, Day has *is not felt,* where Prol. has *feeleth not.*]

wherein philosophers put their felicity and blessedness, which all are nothing in the sight of God [in respect of the life to come.] There is in like manner the justifying of ceremonies, which some imagine[1] their ownselves, some counterfeit[2] other, saying in their blind reason, Such holy persons did thus and thus, and they were holy men; therefore if I do so likewise, I shall please God. But they have none answer of God, that that pleaseth. The Jews seek righteousness in their ceremonies, which God gave unto them, not for to justify, but to describe and paint Christ unto them: of which Jews testifieth Paul, saying, how that they have affection to God, but not after knowledge; for they go about to stablish their own justice, and are not obedient to the justice or righteousness that cometh of God, [which is the forgiveness of sin in Christ's blood unto all that repent and believe.]

Man's sensual reason cannot perceive the virtue of Christ's blood. W. T.

The cause is verily, that except a man cast away his own imagination and reason, he cannot perceive God, and understand the virtue and power of the blood of Christ. There is a full righteousness; when the law is fulfilled from the ground of the heart. This had neither Peter nor Paul in this life perfectly, [unto the uttermost, that they could not be perfecter,] but sighed after it. They were so far forth blessed in Christ, that they hungred and thirsted after it. Paul had this thirst; he consented to the law of God, that it ought so to be, but he found another lust in his members, contrary to the lust[3] and desire of his mind, [that letted him,] and therefore cried out, saying, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death? thanks be to God through Jesus Christ." The righteousness that before God is of value, is to believe the promises of God, after the law hath confounded the conscience: as when the temporal law ofttimes condemneth the thief or murderer, and bringeth him to execution, so that he seeth nothing before him but present death; and then cometh good tidings, a charter from the king, and delivereth him. Likewise, when God's law hath brought the sinner into knowledge of himself, and hath con-

[1 For *which some imagine*, Prol. has, *some imagine them*.]

[2 The verb *counterfeit* is continually used by Tyndale for, *to imitate*, or *copy*, in a harmless sense.]

[3 *Lust* is used by Tyndale for the *wish* or *will*, whether it be holy or unholy.]

founded his conscience and opened unto him the wrath and vengeance of God; then cometh good tidings. The Evangelion sheweth unto him the promises of God in Christ, and how that Christ hath purchased pardon for him, hath satisfied the law for him, and appeased the wrath of God. And the poor sinner believeth, laudeth and thanketh God through Christ, and breaketh out into exceeding inward joy and gladness, for that he hath escaped so great wrath, so heavy vengeance, so fearful and so everlasting a death. And he henceforth is an hungred and athirst after more righteousness, that he might fulfil the law; and mourneth continually, commending his weakness unto God in the blood of our Saviour, Christ Jesus.

Here shall ye see compendiously and plainly set out the order and practice of every thing afore rehearsed.

Adam's fall brought us in bondage to the devil. Ant. ed.

The fall of Adam hath made us heirs of the vengeance and wrath of God, and heirs of eternal damnation; and hath brought us into captivity and bondage under the devil. And the devil is our lord, and our ruler, our head, our governor, our prince, yea, and our god. And our will is locked and knit faster unto the will of the devil, than could an hundred thousand chains bind a man unto a post. Unto the devil's will consent we with all our hearts, with all our minds, with all our might, power, strength, will and lusts; [so that the law and will of the devil is written as well in our hearts as in our members, and we run headlong after the devil with full zeal, and the whole swing of all the power we have; as a stone cast up into the air cometh down naturally of his own self, with all the violence and swing of his own weight.]

Adam bringeth us to bondage. W. T.

The natural corruption of the minds of Adam's heirs plainly set forth. W. T.

With what poison[4], deadly, and venomous hate hateth a man his enemy! With how great malice of mind, inwardly, do we slay and murder! With what violence and rage, yea, and with how fervent lust commit we advoutry[5], fornication, and such like uncleanness! With what pleasure and delectation, inwardly, serveth a glutton his belly! With what diligence deceive we! How busily seek we the things of this world! Whatsoever we do, think, or imagine, is abominable in the sight of God. [For we can refer nothing unto the honour of

[4 Poison, i. e., poisonous; as the word is again used in the next page.]

[5 Adultery.]

God; neither is his law, or will, written in our members or in our hearts: neither is there any more power in us to follow the will of God, than in a stone to ascend upward of his own self.] And [beside that,] we are as it were asleep in so deep blindness, that we can neither see nor feel what misery, thraldom, and wretchedness we are in, till Moses come and wake us, and publish the law. When we hear the law truly preached, how that we ought to love and honour God with all our strength and might, from the low bottom of the heart, [because he hath created us, and both heaven and earth for our sakes, and made us lord thereof;] and our neighbours (yea, our enemies) as ourselves, inwardly, from the ground of the heart, [because God hath made them after the likeness of his own image, and they are his sons as well as we, and Christ hath bought them with his blood, and made them heirs of everlasting life as well as us; and how we ought to] do[1] whatsoever God biddeth, and abstain from whatsoever God forbiddeth, with all love and meekness, with a fervent and a burning lust from the center of the heart; then beginneth the conscience to rage against the law, and against God. No sea, be it ever so great a tempest, is so unquiet. For it is not possible for a natural man to consent to the law, that it should be good, or that God should be righteous which maketh the law; [inasmuch as it is contrary unto his nature, and damneth him and all that he can do, and neither sheweth him where to fetch help, nor preacheth any mercy; but only setteth man at variance with God, (as witnesseth Paul, Rom. iv.) and provoketh him and stirreth him to rail on God, and to blaspheme him as a cruel tyrant. For it is not possible for a man, till he be born again, to think that God is righteous to make him of so poison a nature, either for his own pleasure or for the sin of another man, and to give him a law that is impossible for him to do, or to consent to[2];] his wit, reason, and will being so fast glued, yea, nailed and chained unto the will of the devil. Neither can any creature loose the bonds, save the blood of Christ [only].

Rom. iv.

Man before his regeneration cannot think well of God. Ant. ed.

This is the captivity and bondage, whence Christ delivered us, redeemed and loosed us. His blood, his death, his

Christ setteth us at liberty. W. T.

[1] Prol. has, *heart; and do whatsoever.*]

[2] Prol. *maketh the law; man's wit, reason, and will, are so, &c.*]

patience in suffering rebukes and wrongs, his prayers and fastings, his meekness and fulfilling of the uttermost point of the law, appeased the wrath of God; brought the favour of God to us again; obtained that God should love us first, and be our Father, and that a merciful Father, that will consider our infirmities and weakness, and will give us his Spirit again (which was taken away in the fall of Adam) to rule, govern, and strength us, and to break the bonds of Satan, wherein we were so strait bound. When Christ is thuswise preached, and the promises rehearsed, which are contained in the prophets, in the psalms, and in divers places of the five books of Moses, [which preaching is called the Gospel or glad tidings;] then the hearts of them which are elect and chosen, begin to wax soft and melt at the bounteous mercy of God, and kindness shewed of Christ. For when the evangelion is preached, the Spirit of God entereth into them which God hath ordained and appointed unto eternal life; and openeth their inward eyes, and worketh such belief in them. When the woful consciences feel and taste how sweet a thing the bitter death of Christ is, and how merciful and loving God is, through Christ's purchasing and merits; they begin to love again, and to consent to the law of God, how that it is good and ought so to be, and that God is righteous which made it; and desire to fulfil the law, even as a sick man desireth to be whole, and are an hungred and thirst after more righteousness, and after more strength, to fulfil the law more perfectly. And in all that they do, or omit and leave undone, they seek God's honour and his will with meekness, ever condemning the unperfectness of their deeds by the law.

The hearts of the elect do even melt at the preaching of God's mercy, and Christ's kindness. Ant. ed.

The evangelion bringeth faith, faith bringeth love, love worketh. W. T.

Now Christ standeth us in double stead; and us serveth, two manner wise. First, he is our Redeemer, Deliverer, Reconciler, Mediator, Intercessor, Advocate, Attorney, Solicitor, our Hope, Comfort, Shield, Protection, Defender, Strength, Health, Satisfaction and Salvation. His blood, his death, all that he ever did, is ours. And Christ himself, with all that he is or can do, is ours. His blood-shedding, and all that he did, doth me as good service as though I myself had done it. And God (as great as he is) is mine, with all that he hath, [as an husband is his wife's,] through Christ and his purchasing.

Christ left nothing undone that might be to our salvation. Ant. ed.

Christ bringeth all goodness freely, and giveth an ensample how to bestow it godly. W. T.

Secondarily, after that we be overcome with love and

kindness, and now seek to do the will of God (which is a Christian man's nature), then have we Christ an example to counterfeit; as saith Christ himself in John, "I have given you an example." And in another evangelist he saith, "He that will be great among you, shall be your servant and minister; as the Son of man came to minister, and not to be ministered unto." And Paul saith, "Counterfeit Christ[1]." And Peter saith, "Christ died for you, and left you an example to follow his steps." Whatsoever therefore faith hath received of God through Christ's blood and deserving, that same must love shed out, every whit, and bestow it on our neighbours unto their profit, yea, and that though they be our enemies. [What faith receiveth of God through Christ's blood, that we must bestow on our neighbours, though they be our enemies.] By faith we receive of God, and by love we shed out again. And that must we do freely, after the example of Christ, without any other respect, save our neighbour's wealth[2] only; and neither look for reward in the earth, nor yet in heaven, for [the deserving and merits of] our deeds, [as friars preach; though we know that good deeds are rewarded, both in this life and in the life to come.] But of pure love must we bestow ourselves, all that we have, and all that we are able to do, even on our enemies, to bring them to God, considering nothing but their wealth, as Christ did ours. Christ did not his deeds to obtain heaven thereby, (that had been a madness;) heaven was his already, he was heir thereof, it was his by inheritance; but did them freely for our sakes, considering nothing but our wealth, and to bring the favour of God to us again, and us to God. And no natural[3] son, that is his father's heir, doth his father's will because he would be heir; that he is already by birth; his father gave him that ere he was born, and is loather that he should go without it, than he himself hath wit to be; but of pure love doth he that he doth. And ask him, Why he doth any thing that he

Faith receiveth of God, and love bestoweth the same on his neighbour. W. T.

Christ did not good deeds to merit heaven, for that was his already, but freely, for our sakes. Ant. ed.

[1 The text meant is probably Ephes. v. i, Γίνεσθε οὖν μιμηταὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ; which Tyndale has rendered, 'Be ye counterfeiters of God,' and where he might think, that by God is meant Christ, from the introduction of the name of Christ in a similar relation in the next clause.]

[2 Wealth: welfare.]

[3 Natural: ordinary, as being a partaker of the father's nature.]

doth? he answereth, My father bade; it is my father's will; it pleaseth my father. Bond-servants work for hire, children for love: for their father, with all he hath, is theirs already. So doth a Christian man freely all that he doth; considereth nothing but the will of God, and his neighbour's wealth only. If I live chaste, I do it not to obtain heaven thereby; for then should I do wrong to the blood of Christ; Christ's blood hath obtained me that; Christ's merits have made me heir thereof; he is both door and way thitherwards: neither that I look for an higher room[4] in heaven, than they shall have which live in wedlock, other than a whore of the stews (if she repent); for that were the pride of Lucifer: but freely to wait on the evangelion; [and to avoid the trouble of the world, and occasions that might pluck me therefrom,] and to serve my brother withal; even as one hand helpeth another, or one member another, because one feeleth another's grief, and the pain of the one is the pain of the other. Whatsoever is done to the least of us (whether it be good or bad), it is done to Christ; and whatsoever is done to my brother (if I be a Christian man), that same is done to me. Neither doth my brother's pain grieve me less than mine own: neither rejoice I less at his wealth than at mine own, [if I love him as well and as much as myself, as the law commandeth me.] If it were not so, how saith Paul? "Let him that rejoiceth, rejoice in the Lord," that is to say, Christ, which is Lord over all creatures. If my merits obtained me heaven, or a higher place[5] there, then had I wherein I might rejoice besides the Lord.

A true Christian man believeth that heaven is his already, and therefore loveth, and worketh, to honour God only, and to draw all things to God. W. T.

Here see ye the nature of the law, and the nature of the evangelion; how the law is the key that bindeth and damneth all men, and the evangelion [is the key that] looseth them again. The law goeth before, and the evangelion followeth. When a preacher preacheth the law, he bindeth all consciences; and when he preacheth the gospel, he looseth them again. These two salves (I mean the law and the gospel) useth God and his preacher, to heal and cure sinners withal. The law driveth out the disease and maketh it appear, and is a sharp salve, and a fretting corosy[6], and killeth

The law bindeth, and the gospel looseth all men. W. T.

The force of the law. W. T.

[4 Room: place.]
[5 In the Prol. the word is *room*.]
[6 Corrosive, or caustic.]

the dead flesh, and looseth and draweth the sores out by the roots, and all corruption. It pulleth from a man the trust and confidence that he hath in himself, and in his own works, merits, deservings and ceremonies, [and robbeth him of all his righteousness, and maketh him poor.] It killeth him, sendeth him down to hell, and bringeth him to utter desperation, and prepareth the way of the Lord, as it is written of John the Baptist. For it is not possible that Christ should come to a man, as long as he trusteth in himself, or in any worldly thing, [or hath any righteousness of his own, or riches of holy works.] Then cometh the evangelion, a more gentle pastor, which suppleth and suageth the wounds of the conscience, and bringeth health. It bringeth the Spirit of God; which looseth the bonds of Satan, and coupleth us to God and his will, through strong faith and fervent love, with bonds too strong for the devil, the world, or any creature to loose them.

The uprising sinner feeleth such joy in the gospel that he thinketh it impossible that God should forsake him. Ant. ed.

And the poor and wretched sinner feeleth so great mercy, love, and kindness in God, that he is sure in himself how that it is not possible that God should forsake him, or withdraw his mercy and love from him; and boldly crieth out with Paul, saying, "Who shall separate us from the love that God loveth us withal?" That is to say, What shall make me believe that God loveth me not? Shall tribulation? anguish? persecution? Shall hunger? nakedness? Shall sword?

A Christian man feeleth the working of the Holy Ghost in his soul; and in all tribulations and adversities feeleth God a merciful father and a loving. W. T.

Nay, "I am sure that neither death, nor life, neither angel, neither rule nor power, neither present things nor things to come, neither high nor low, neither any creature, is able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesu our Lord." In all such tribulations a Christian man perceiveth that God is his Father, and loveth him even as he loved Christ when he shed his blood on the cross. Finally, as before, when I was bond to the devil and his will, I wrought all manner evil and wickedness, not for hell's sake, which is the reward of sin, but because I was heir of hell by birth and bondage to the devil, did I evil, (for I could none otherwise do; to do sin was my nature:) even so now, since I am coupled to God by Christ's blood, do I well, not for heaven's sake, [which is yet the reward of well doing;] but because I am heir of heaven by grace and Christ's purchasing, and have the Spirit of God, I do good freely, for so is my nature: as a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree evil

fruit. By the fruits shall ye know what the tree is. A man's deeds declare what he is within, but make him neither good nor bad; [though, after ye be created anew by the Spirit and doctrine of Christ, we wax perfecter alway, with working according to the doctrine, and not with blind works of our own imagining.] We must be first evil ere we do evil, as a serpent is first poisoned ere he poison. We must be also good ere we do good, as the fire must be first hot, ere it [heat another][1] thing. Take an example: As those blind and deaf, which are cured in the gospel, could not see nor hear, till Christ had given them sight and hearing[2]; and those sick could not do the deeds of an whole man, till Christ had given them health; so can no man do good in his soul, till Christ have loosed him out of the bonds of Satan, and have given him wherewith to do good, yea, and first have poured into him that self good thing which he sheddeth forth afterward on other. Whatsoever is our own, is sin. Whatsoever is above that, is Christ's gift, purchase, doing and working. He bought it of his Father dearly, with his blood, yea, with his most bitter death, and gave his life for it. Whatsoever good thing is in us, that is given us freely, without our deserving or merits, for Christ's blood's sake. That we desire to follow the will of God, it is the gift of Christ's blood. That we now hate the devil's will (whereunto we were so fast locked, and could not but love it), is also the gift of Christ's blood; unto whom belongeth the praise and honour of our good deeds, and not unto us[3].

All sin in us is of ourselves, and all goodness of Christ. W. T.

[Our deeds do us three manner of service. First, they certify us that we are heirs of everlasting life, and that the Spirit of God, which is the earnest thereof, is in us; in that our hearts consent unto the law of God, and we have power in our members to do it, though imperfectly. And secondarily, we tame the flesh therewith, and kill the sin that remaineth yet in us; and wax daily perfecter and perfecter in

Works certify us of everlasting inheritance, kill sin in us, and relieve the necessity of our neighbour.

[1 Prol. *warm any.*]

[2 Prol. As those blind, which are cured in the evangelion, could not see till Christ had given them sight; and deaf could not hear, till Christ had given them hearing.]

[3 With these words the Prologue ends: the remaining marginal notes are consequently all of them from Day's edition.]

the Spirit therewith; and keep[1] that the lusts choke not the word of God that is sown in us, nor quench the gifts and working of the Spirit, and that we lose not the Spirit again. And thirdly, we do our duty unto our neighbour therewith, and help their necessity unto our own comfort also, and draw all men unto the honouring and praising of God.

Gifts of grace belong to our brother as much as to ourselves.

And whosoever excelleth in the gifts of grace, let the same think that they be given him, as much to do his brother service as for his own self, and as much for the love which God hath to the weak, as unto him unto whom God giveth such gifts. And he that withdraweth aught that he hath from his neighbour's need, robbeth his neighbour, and is a thief. And he that is proud of the gifts of God, and thinketh himself by the reason of them better than his feeble neighbour, and not rather (as the truth is) knowledgeth himself a servant unto his poor neighbour, by the reason of them; the same hath Lucifer's spirit in him, and not Christ's.

These things to know: first, the law; how that it is natural right, and equity; that we have but one God to put our hope and trust in, and him to love with all the heart, all the soul, and all our might and power, and neither to move heart nor hand but at his commandment, because he hath first created us of nought, and heaven and earth for our sakes; and afterwards when we had marred ourself through sin, he forgave us, and created us again, in the blood of his beloved Son:

And that we have the name of our one God in fear and reverence; and that we dishonour it not, in swearing thereby about light trifles or vanity, or call it to record for the confirming of wickedness or falsehood, or aught that is to the dishonour of God, which is the breaking of his laws, or unto the hurt of our neighbour:

And inasmuch as he is our Lord and God, and we his double possession, by creation and redemption, and therefore ought (as I said) neither to move heart or hand without his commandment; it is right that we have needful holy days to come together, and learn his will, both the law which he

Holy days necessary to come together in, and learn Christ's will.

[1 Keep: take care. 'Wymmen ne kepte of,' i.e. Women took no care of, or, Women had no regard for. Hearne's Glossary to Robt. of Gloucester's Chronicle. And Wickliffe, Luke x. 40. 'Lord, takist thou no *kepe*.']

will have us ruled by, and also the promises of mercy which he will have us trust unto; and to give God thanks together for his mercy, and to commit our infirmities to him through our Saviour Jesus, and to reconcile ourselves unto him, and each to other, if aught be between brother and brother that requireth it. And for this purpose and such like, as to visit the sick and needy, and redress peace and unity, were the holy days ordained only; and so far forth are they to be kept holy from all manner works that may be conveniently spared for the time, till this be done, and no further, but then lawfully to work:

And that it is right that we obey father and mother, master, lord, prince and king, and all the ordinances of the world, bodily and ghostly, by which God ruleth us, and ministereth freely his benefits unto us all: and that we love them for the benefits that we receive by them, and fear them for the power they have over us to punish us, if we trespass the law and good order. So far yet are the worldly powers or rulers to be obeyed only, as their commandments repugn not against the commandment of God; and then, ho[2]. Wherefore we must have God's commandment ever in our hearts, and by the higher law interpret the inferior: that we obey nothing against the belief of one God, or against the faith, hope and trust that is in him only, or against the love of God, whereby we do or leave undone all things for his sake; and that we do nothing, for any man's commandment, against the reverence of the name of God, to make it despised, and the less feared and set by; and that we obey nothing to the hinderance of the knowledge of the blessed doctrine of God, whose servant the holy day is. Notwithstanding, though the rulers which God hath set over us command us against God, or do us open wrong, and oppress us with cruel tyranny; yet because they are in God's room, we may not avenge ourselves, but by the process and order of God's law, and laws of man made by the authority of God's law, which is also God's law, ever by an higher power, and remitting the vengeance unto God, and in the mean season suffer until the hour be come:

Worldly rulers to be obeyed so far forth as their laws impugn not God's laws.

Though rulers appointed of God oppress us, yet we may not avenge, they being in God's room.

And on the other side, to know that a man ought to love his neighbour equally and fully as well as himself, be-

We must love our neighbour as ourself.

[2 Ho: halt; come to a stop.]

cause his neighbour (be he never so simple) is equally created of God, and as full redeemed by the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Out of which commandment of love spring these: Kill not thy neighbour: defile not his wife: bear no false witness against him; and finally, not only do not these things in deed, but covet not in thine heart his house, his wife, his man-servant, maid-servant, ox, ass, or whatsoever is his: so that these laws, pertaining unto our neighbour, are not fulfilled in the sight of God, save with love. He that loveth not his neighbour keepeth not this commandment, 'Defile not thy neighbour's wife,' though he never touch her, or never see her, or think upon her. For the commandment is, Though thy neighbour's wife be never so fair, and thou have never so great opportunity given thee, and she consent, or haply provoke thee (as Potiphar's wife did Joseph), yet see thou love thy neighbour so well, that for very love thou cannot find in thine heart to do that wickedness. And even so he that trusteth in any thing, save in God only and in his Son Jesus Christ, keepeth no commandment at all, in the sight of God. For he that hath trust in any creature, whether in heaven or in earth, save in God and his Son Jesus, can see no cause to love God with all his heart, &c. neither to abstain from dishonouring his name, nor to keep the holy day for the love of his doctrine, nor to obey lovingly the rulers of this world; nor any cause to love his neighbour as himself, and to abstain from hurting him, where he may get profit by him, and save himself harmless. And in like wise, against this law, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' I may obey no worldly power, to do aught at any man's commandment unto the hurt of my neighbour that hath not deserved it, though he be a Turk:

And to know how contrary this law is unto our nature, and how it is damnation not to have this law written in our hearts, though we never commit the deeds; and how there is no other means to be saved from this damnation, than through repentance toward the law, and faith in Christ's blood; which are the very inward baptism of our souls, and the washing and the dipping of our bodies in the water is the outward sign. The plunging of the body under the water signifieth that we repent and profess to fight against sin and lusts, and to kill them every day more and more, with the help of God,

and our diligence in following the doctrine of Christ and the leading of his Spirit; and that we believe to be washed from our natural damnation in which we are born, and from all the wrath of the law, and from all the infirmities and weaknesses that remain in us after we have given our consent unto the law, and yielded ourself to be scholars thereof; and from all the imperfectness of all our deeds done with cold love, and from all actual sin which shall chance on us, while we enforce the contrary and ever fight there against, and hope to sin no more. And thus repentance and faith begin at our baptism, and first professing the laws of God; and continue unto our lives' end, and grow as we grow in the Spirit: for the perfecter we be, the greater is our repentance, and the stronger our faith. And thus, as the Spirit and doctrine on God's part, and repentance and faith on our part, beget us anew in Christ, even so they make us grow, and wax perfect, and save us unto the end; and never leave us until all sin be put off, and we clean purified, and full formed, and fashioned after the similitude and likeness of the perfectness of our Saviour Jesus, whose gift all is:

The perfecter we are, the greater is our repentance and the stronger is our faith.

And finally, to know that whatsoever good thing is in us, that same is the gift of grace, and therefore not of deserving, though many things be given of God through our diligence in working his laws, and chastising our bodies, and in praying for them, and believing his promises, which else should not be given us; yet our working deserveth not the gifts, no more than the diligence of a merchant in seeking a good ship bringeth the goods safe to land, though such diligence doth now and then help thereto: but when we believe in God, and then do all that is in our might, and not tempt him, then is God true to abide by his promise, and to help us, and perform alone when our strength is past:

Our works deserve not the gifts of grace.

These things, I say, to know, is to have all the scripture unlocked and opened before thee; so that if thou wilt go in, and read, thou canst not but understand. And in these things to be ignorant, is to have all the scripture locked up; so that the more thou readest it, the blinder thou art, and the more contrariety thou findest in it, and the more tangled art thou therein, and canst nowhere through: for if thou had a gloss in one place, in another it will not serve. And therefore, because we be never taught the profession of our bap-

The principles of scripture perfectly learned, all the rest is more easy.

tism, we remain always unlearned, as well the spiritualty, for all their great clergy and high schools (as we say), as the lay people. And now, because the lay and unlearned people are taught these first principles of our profession, therefore they read the scripture, and understand and delight therein. And our great pillars of holy church, which have nailed a veil of false glosses on Moses's face, to corrupt the true understanding of his law, cannot come in. And therefore they bark, and say the scripture maketh heretics, and it is not possible for them to understand it in the English, because they themselves do not in Latin. And of pure malice, that they cannot have their will, they slay their brethren for their faith they have in our Saviour, and therewith utter their bloody wolfish tyranny, and what they be within, and whose disciples. Herewith, reader, be committed unto the grace of our Saviour Jesus; unto whom, and God our Father through him, be praise for ever and for ever. Amen.

THE

WICKED MAMMON.

THE

PARABLE

OF

THE WICKED MAMMON.

Published

In the year 1527, the 8th of May,

By

William Tyndale.

Romans III. Chap.

We hold that a man
is justified by faith,
without the works
of the law.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

[As the 'Pathway into the Holy Scripture' was, in its original form, the first of Tyndale's compositions, which we can ascertain him to have put into the press, so 'The Parable of the Wicked Mammon' was the first printed with his name. It was written at Worms; and there seems to be no reason for doubting the correctness of the date of its publication as given in the title page, which is a transcript of its heading in Day's folio volume of the works of Frith, Barnes, and Tyndale[1]. If however it be thought desirable that this date should receive some confirmation from older authority, such may be collected from the language used by Tyndale in the last sentence of his 'Practice of Prelates:' for whereas that treatise was undeniably published in 1530, Tyndale there says, 'Well towards three years agone, I sent forth *The True Obedience of a Christian Man*;' and we know that 'The Obedience' preceded 'The Wicked Mammon' (as each is briefly styled) by an interval of a few months; so that the publication of The Wicked Mammon could not be consistently assigned to any date which should differ much from that found in Day's folio.

Mr Anderson says, that a second edition was finished by Hans Luft, printer at Marburg in Hesse, on the same day in the following year; and that its title was changed, in an edition by J. Nycholson, Southwark, 1536, to that of 'A Treatise of Justification by Faith only; otherwise called, The Parable of the Wicked Mammon[2].' This addition would give additional disgust to many; but was well fitted to make known what was its chief topic. Abundant evidence of its circulation and influence, in the mean while, may be gathered from various contemporary documents of hostile origin. It is well known that Foxe has frequently entered events, in his Acts and Monuments, rather as they fell under his notice than in the chronological order in which they occurred; and 'The Wicked Mammon' thus appears in a list of prohibited books immediately following a mandate dated Oct. 23, 1526, issued by Cuthbert Tonstal then bishop

[1 The title only differs from that heading in not spelling the author's name Tyndall, but Tyndale; as Day himself does, a few lines lower, in the same page. The text from Romans is not appended as a motto in Day, but is so placed in the title-page of Coplande's ancient black-letter edition; which must be confessed however, to contain one palpable misprint, as 1536, the year of Tyndale's death, is there made the date of his compiling this Treatise; a date contradictory to so many public documents, then recent and well known, that no editor could have meant to say it was then compiled by Tyndale.]

[2 Annals of the English Bible. B. 1, sec. 4. pp. 139 and 518.]

of London, and insisting on the surrender of all English New Testaments to his officials[1]. This has misled Strype into saying, after a brief mention of the same mandate, 'Other books of this nature were *then* forbid;' and transcribing Foxe's list, inclusive of The Wicked Mammon, as an enumeration of their titles[2]. But whilst the date of the inhibition of Tyndale's Wicked Mammon, thus apparently given by Foxe, and mistakenly by Strype, is earlier than its publication, Foxe has copied the date of April 21, 1529, from the register of Tonstal, as that in which John Tewkesbury, a London tradesman, was brought before that prelate, (Henry Standish, bishop of St Asaph, and the abbot of Westminster being his assessors,) and was examined by them, as to whether he would stand to the contents of the book named The Wicked Mammon; to which he replied that he would. Twice more, within a few days, he was again obliged to appear before bishop Tonstal, Nicholas West, bishop of Ely, and John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and was questioned upon articles extracted from The Wicked Mammon; and, being driven from his firmness, he recanted and abjured his alleged heresies, on May 8th. He was then sentenced to carry a fagot publicly to two churches, and to three of the city markets, on different days, and to wear the sign of a fagot worked on each of his sleeves all his lifetime, as a confession to the beholders that he deserved the fire; to submit to be shut up in a monastery, till the bishop should give him leave to come out; and then to confine himself to residing within his diocese of London. Two years after this he was apprehended again, and brought before Sir Thomas More and the bishop of London; in which office Stokesley had succeeded Tonstal, who had been promoted to Durham. He was then charged with having 'had The Wicked Mammon in his custody, and read it since his abjuration, which the said Tewkesbury confessed[3].' This account is confirmed by Sir Thomas More, in the Preface to his 'Confutacion of Tyndale's answer', (Lond. 1532) folio x, where he says, 'In Tewkesbury's house was found Tyndale's book of Obedience, which he well allowed, and his wicked book also of The Wicked Mammon, saying at his examination, that all the heresies therein were good and Christian faith, being indeed as full of false heresies, and as frantic as ever heretic made any, since Christ was born.' More adds his belief that Tewkesbury owed his heretical opinions to 'Tyndale's ungracious books: for which the poor wretch lieth now in hell, and crieth out on him; and Tyndale, if he do not amend in time, he is like to find him, when they come together, an hot firebrand burning at his back.' So wrote Sir Thomas More, a few months after poor Tewkesbury had been burnt at Smithfield, in execution of a sentence of which Foxe tells us that it was passed upon him

[1 Foxe's Acts and Mon. Vol. IV. p. 667. Lond. ed. 1837.]
[2 Eccles. Memorials, ch. XXIII. p. 254. Oxf. 1822.]
[3 Foxe, ibid, pp. 689—93.]

in Sir Thomas's house, at Chelsea, and sentence pronounced against him by bishop Stokesley[4].

An entry in bishop Stokesley's register, though necessarily of a later date than the entry of Tewkesbury's appearance before Tonstal, affords a still earlier proof of the beneficial influence of 'The Wicked Mammon.' For first, Foxe relates how Richard Bayfield, a Benedictine monk, being chamberlain in the abbey of Bury St Edmond's, was thus brought into intercourse with 'Dr Barnes, and two godly men of London, brickmakers, Master Maxwell and Master Stacy, wardens of their company; who were grafted in the doctrine of Jesus Christ;' and that 'Dr Barnes gave him a New Testament in Latin, and the other two gave him Tyndale's Testament in English, with a book called The Wicked Mammon and The Obedience of a Christian Man;' that from these books he learned such things as occasioned his being 'cast into the prison of his house[5],' where he suffered for three quarters of a year, till Dr Barnes' influence with one of the superiors of the abbey procured his enlargement. After this, Maxwell and Stacy sent him abroad 'with substance,' and he became a large purchaser of Tyndale's publications and other works favourable to the reformation[6]. It was while thus employed that he fell into the hands of bishop Tonstal; who terrified him also into abjuring: but he too repented of having thus denied his faith, and returned to his work, till he was again apprehended, and shut up in the famous Lollards' tower. From Stokesley's register he is afterwards found to have been brought before that bishop, sitting with Gardiner and other prelates for his assessors, Nov. 10, 1531; when certain charges were laid against him, of which the fourth was as follows: 'That in the year of our Lord 1528, he was detected and accused to Cuthbert, then bishop of London, for affirming and holding certain articles contrary to the holy church, and especially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to saints or creatures.' It may be gleaned from others of these charges, that by 1528 was meant that portion of the year, legally so styled, which fell between January 1st and March 25, of what would now be called 1529. But if it be supposed that Bayfield's appearance before Tonstal was as late as March 1529, the events already mentioned, as having intervened between his conversion by the perusal of the books given him[7] and that appearance, must lead to the conclusion that he was reading the Mammon and Obedience very early in 1528. In reply to the charges brought against him, Bayfield confessed to the bishops that 'he had read a book called The Parable of the Wicked Mam-

[4 Id. ibid. p. 694.]

[5 Meaning the dungeon of his monastery.]

[6 The list of books brought into England by Bayfield, in the last two years of his life, is given in the sentence which condemned him to the flames, and seems to comprehend nearly every book that had then been published either in Latin or English, on the side of the reformation. See the sentence in Foxe, Vol. IV. p. 685.]

[7 More is here again a witness to the influence of Tyndale's pen; for he says, 'Tyndale's books brought Bayfelde to burning.' Preface to Conf. of Tyndale's Ans. sign. Cc.]

mon, in the presence and hearing of others whom he knew not; as also The Obedience of a Christian Man.' 'And being demanded whether he believed the aforenamed books' (including others with these) 'to be good and of the true faith? he answered that he judged they were good, and of the true faith.' A few days after this confession, Bayfield was delivered over to the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, as a relapsed heretic, to be burned in the fire.

The pointed inquiries made, at this time, respecting the having and reading of Tyndale's books, were for the purpose of bringing the accused persons under sentences which had received additional authority from steps which the king had been induced to take, by his chancellor More and the prelates, in 1530. Some short time before the 25th of March in that year, he had, for the first time, placed the civil power by a royal proclamation at the disposal of the bishops, to aid them in detecting and punishing, even with death by fire, the authors, importers, or retainers of any book or work, printed or written, against the faith catholic and ordinances of holy church; and the bishops had published a list of such books, including by name The Mammon, and Obedience, and whatever else Tyndale was then known to have written, as well as his versions of different parts of the scriptures[1]. The next step was probably thought necessary to justify, as well as confirm, this rigorous proclamation. Some time must have been occupied in its preparation, and yet it came forth before the end of May in the same year. Archbishop Warham, and the bishops Tonstal and Gardiner, aided by Sir Thomas More, to whom Tonstal had given permission in 1527 to read heretical works for such purposes[2], had all been at work by the king's command: and the fruit of their labours was a list of two hundred heretical propositions, the larger half of which they charged upon Tyndale and Frith, distinguishing particularly which were extracted for condemnation from the Mammon and Obedience; and at the head of those was, 'Faith only justifieth.' Of this list the king permitted the archbishop to announce his royal will, in the following terms: 'All which great errors and pestilent heresies being contagious and damnable, with all the books containing the same, with the translation also of scripture corrupted by William Tyndale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and all other books in English containing such errors, the king's highness present in person, by one whole advice and assent of the prelates and clerks, as well of the universities as of all other assembled together, determined utterly to be repelled and rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not to be suffered to get abroad among his subjects.' There was also a 'bill in English, to be published by the preachers,' who were required by it to say to their congregations: 'Wherefore you that have the books called the Obe-

[1 Foxe's Acts and Mon. Vol. IV. pp. 667—70, and the Proclamation itself, pp. 676—9. Also Anderson's Annals of Eng. Bib., B. I. sec. 6, Vol. I. pp. 233—5.]

[2 This letter of permission may be seen in Foxe, Vol. IV. p. 697.]

dience of a Christian Man, Mammon, the Matrimony of Tyndale, the New Testament in English of the translation that is now printed—detest them, abhor them, keep them not in your hands, deliver them to the superiors, such as call for them: and if by reading of them heretofore any thing remains in your breast of that teaching, either forget it, or by information of the truth expel it. This you ought to do. The prelates of the church ought to compel you, and your prince to punish and correct you, not doing the same. Having of the whole scripture in English is not necessary to christian men; and like as the having of the scripture in the vulgar tongue, and in the common people's hands, hath been, by the holy fathers of the church, heretofore in some times thought meet and convenient, so at another time it hath been thought not expedient to be communicated among them. Wherein forasmuch as the king's highness, by the advice and deliberation of his council, and the agreement of the great learned men, thinketh in his conscience that the divulging of this scripture at this time, in the English tongue, to be committed to the people, should rather be to their farther confusion and destruction, than the edification of their souls; it was thought there, in that assembly, to all and singular in that congregation, that the king's highness, and the prelates, in so doing, and not suffering the scripture to be divulged and communicate to the people in the English tongue, at this time, do well. And I also think and judge the same.'

At the close of this document, it is said, 'His Grace's highness being in person in the chapel called the Old Chapel, within his Grace's palace at Westminster, upon the 24th day of May, the year of our Lord 1530, then and there, in the presence of all the personages there assembled, required the three notaries to make public and authentic instruments, and us (i.e. the archbishop) to set thereunto our seal[3].'

It was after this that Mr. James Bainham, son of a Gloucestershire knight, and himself a member of the Middle Temple, was carried off from his chambers to Sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea; and, after being flogged there, was sent to the Tower, and racked in More's presence, for the purpose of extorting from him the names of other Templars, friendly to the reformation. He had the courage to bear the torment without betraying them; but he afterwards confessed before

[3] Foxe's Acts and Mon., B. xi. Vol. vii. pp. 503—5. Also Anderson's Annals of Eng. Bib., B. i. sec. 7, Vol. i. pp. 257—8; and Wilkins' Concilia, Vol. iii. 737—42.

Mr. Anderson says that 'The original document, closely written on eight skins of parchment, may still be seen in the library of Lambeth Palace.' In the list of names appended to it by the notaries, as 'then and there present,' is found that of 'Master Hugh Latimer,' in consequence of which, Henry Wharton, the compiler of the Anglia sacra, charges Latimer with having 'solemnly subscribed' Archbishop Warham's declaration, 'that the publication of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue is not necessary to Christians.' On this Mr. Anderson has observed, that no one subscribed this declaration but the notaries; and that Latimer gave undeniable evidence of his not assenting to the decision of the majority in that assembly, in a letter which he had the courage to address to the king, when circumstances had given him some reason to hope that Henry would bear with his faithfully, condemning their resolutions.]

Bishop Stokesley, that he had lately 'had in his keeping, The wicked Mammon, The Obedience of a Christian Man, The Practice of Prelates, and the Answer of Tyndale to Thomas More's Dialogue[1].' The rigour of Stokesley, in inquiring after possessors of Tyndale's works, must have exposed him at this time to frequent mortifications of the same kind. For in the extracts made by Foxe from his episcopal register, for the years 1530-2, more than a third of the persons summoned before him, from the county of Essex, were such as he had discovered to have Tyndale's Testaments, and generally some of his other works; and when there is a list of them, the Mammon is usually one[2]. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that Sir Thomas More, having such evidence continually breaking out around him, of the Mammon's being greedily sought after, notwithstanding such royal and episcopal prohibitions, and notwithstanding also his own previous controversial attacks upon its doctrine, should give a final testimony of his consciousness of its great influence, by writing of it as follows, in 1532, in the preface to his Confutacion of Tyndale's answer to his Dialogue: 'Then have we, by Tyndale, the wicked Mammona, by which many a man hath been beguiled, and brought into many wicked heresies: which thing (saving that the devil is ready to put out men's eyes, that are content willingly to wax blind) were else, in good faith, to me no little wonder; for never was there made a more foolish frantic book.'

The copies collated throughout with the Rev. Th. Russell's recent edition, are that contained in Day's folio of the works of Frith, Barnes, and Tyndale, London, 1573; and a 12mo edition of the Parable of the Wicked Mammon, 'Imprinted at London in the Vyntre, upon the thre Krayned Wharfe, by Wyllyam Coplande,' in Edward the Sixth's reign. Besides these, the editor has been kindly allowed by Geo. Offor, Esq., of Hackney, to examine his copies of the small 8vo, printed at Malborow (Marburg in Hesse) by Hans Luft, May 8th, 1528 (supposed by Mr. Anderson to be the second edition); of a small 4to, printed at the same time at the same press, as though one edition was intended for the poorer reader, and the other for such as might like a more sightly book; and of another small 4to by William Hill, Sept. 15th, without date of year, but probably of 1548, or 1549.]

[1 Foxe, Vol. iv. pp. 698—9, and Anderson, pp. 331—3. Bainham, like Tewkesbury and Bayfield, was wearied and terrified into denying his religion and recanting; but, like them, he found mercy from the Lord, being 'never quiet in mind and conscience, until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness.' 'He came the next Sunday to St Austin's, with the New Testament in his hand, in English, and The Obedience of a Christian Man in his bosom; and stood up there before the people in his pew, declaring openly, with weeping tears, that he had denied God; and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he had done.' After this he was strengthened, and bore the cruel death by fire with remarkable courage.—Foxe, pp. 702—5.]

[2 Foxe, Vol. v. pp. 29—40.]

WILLIAM TYNDALE,

OTHERWISE CALLED HITCHINS,

TO THE READER.

GRACE and peace, with all manner spiritual feeling and living, worthy of the kindness of Christ, be with the reader, and with all that thirst[1] the will of God. Amen.

The cause why I set my name before this little treatise, and have not rather done it in the New Testament, is, that then I followed the counsel of Christ, which exhorteth men (Matt. vi.) to do their good deeds secretly, and to be content with the conscience of well-doing, and that God seeth us; and patiently to abide the reward of the last day, which Christ hath purchased for us: and now would I fain have done likewise, but am[3] compelled otherwise to do.

The cause why W. Tyndale put his name to some books, and left it out in some[2]. Ant. ed.

While I abode[4] a faithful companion, which now hath taken another voyage upon him, to preach Christ where, I suppose, he was never yet preached, (God, which put in his heart thither to go, send his Spirit with him, comfort him, and bring his purpose to good effect!) one William Roye, a man somewhat crafty, when he cometh unto new acquaint-

William Roye a false disciple. Ant. ed.

[1 So Copland's ed.: but in Day's folio the word is *trust*. We shall find Tyndale again using the verb *thirst*, without subjoining either *for*, or *after*.]

[2 It has been thought desirable again to distinguish the margins found in the oldest editions from those not known to occur earlier than in Day's folio, by fixing the initials W. T. to the former, as probably the author's own, and Ant. ed. to the latter, to mark that they also are not modern.]

[3 Day reads, am I compelled.]

[4 Abode: waited for.—The faithful companion has been supposed to mean John Frith; but Mr. Anderson observes, that he was at Cambridge, at the date implied, not having taken his degree there till December, 1525; and that he did not escape from Oxford to the continent till August or September, 1526. The person meant may more probably have been George Joy, whom More calls 'Jaye the priest that is wedded now.'—Pref. to Conf^{n}.]

ance, and before he be thorough known, and namely when all is spent, came unto me and offered his help. As long as he had no money, somewhat I could rule him; but as soon as he had gotten him money, he became like himself again. Nevertheless, I suffered all things till that was ended, which I could not do alone without one, both to write, and to help me to compare the texts together. When that was ended, I took my leave, and bade him farewell for our two lives, and (as men say) a day longer. After we were departed, he went and gat him new friends; which thing to do he passeth all that ever I yet knew. And there when he had stored him of money, he gat him to Argentine[1], where he professeth wonderful faculties, and maketh boast of no small things. A year after that, and now twelve months before the printing of this work, came one Jerome, a brother of Greenwich also[2], through Worms to Argentine, saying that he intended to be Christ's disciple another while, and to keep (as nigh as God would give him grace) the profession of his baptism, and to get his living with his hands, and to live no longer idly, and of the sweat and labour of those captives, which they had taught not to believe in Christ, but in cut shoes and russet coats. Which Jerome with all diligence I warned of Roye's boldness, and exhorted him to beware of him, and to walk

Jerome a brother of Greenwich. Ant. ed.

[1 Strasburgh.]

[2 Jerome and Roye were Franciscan friars of the reformed order which took the name of Observants, of whose monastery at Greenwich they were both of them members. Several of the monks of that monastery took a prominent part in the great questions brought under debate in Henry's reign. When he was on the eve of having his marriage with Catharine of Arragon dissolved, and was attending divine service in the chapel attached to the royal residence at Greenwich, friar Peto, the same who was confessor to Queen Mary, and made a cardinal, denounced heavy judgments against the king from the pulpit; and was justified aloud for so doing by Elstow, 'a brother of Greenwich also.' It may be supposed that this did not retard the dissolution of their monastery; and though Henry let them escape, at the time, with no heavier penalty than a reprimand from the privy council, they and all other Observants were shortly after banished the kingdom. Previous to the dissolution of the monasteries, such monks as could not conscientiously continue their required round of superstitious and idolatrous observances had no alternative but that of suffering, or else renouncing their source of maintenance, and making their escape to foreign lands, as Roye and Jerome had done.]

quietly, and with all patience and long-suffering, according as we have Christ and his apostles for an ensample; which thing he also promised me.

Nevertheless, when he was come to Argentine, William Roye (whose tongue is able not only to make fools stark mad, but also to deceive the wisest, that is, at the first sight and acquaintance,) gat him to him, and set him a-work to make rhymes, while he himself translated a dialogue out of Latin into English, in whose prologue he promiseth more a great deal than I fear me he will ever pay[3]. Paul saith,

[3 Mr. Anderson says: 'After leaving Tyndale's service, Roye had proceeded to Strasburgh, where he published his *Dialogue between the Father and the Son*, about the end of 1526. Soon after this came out his *Rede me, and be not wrothe*, a satire on Wolsey and the monastic orders, frequently denounced under the name of *The Burying of the Mass*. It was first published in small 8vo, black letter, with a wood-cut of the cardinal's coat of arms. Wolsey was so annoyed by it, that he spared neither pains nor expense to procure the copies, employing more than one emissary for the purpose. Hence its extreme rarity; a copy of it having been sold for as high a sum as sixteen or twenty guineas. It is reprinted, however, in the supplement to the Harleian Miscellany, by Park.'—Annals of Eng. Bib., B. I. sec. 4, Vol. I. p. 136.

The Dialogue between the Father and the Son is mentioned in two short lists of prohibited books given by Foxe, between the dates of 1526 and 1529. The first of those lists is also copied by Strype, Eccles. Mem. ch. XXIII. p. 165. In Park's first supplementary volume, p. 3, the piece is described as 'a dialogue, translated out of Latin into English, by friar Roye, against the mass; whose original author is unknown, but whose original and proper title was, *Inter patrem Christianum et filium contumacem Dialogus Christianus.*'

The rhymes made by Roye, on the burying of the mass, are likewise in the form of a dialogue, introduced by the following motto,—

'Rede me, and be not wrothe;
For I saye no thinge but trothe.'

Then commences a dialogue between the author and his 'Little treatous' (*treatise*), of which the first four stanzas may serve to shew how he connects his two subjects, the cardinal and the mass, though they do not fully exhibit that railing which Tyndale thought it right to condemn.

The Author:

Go forth, little treatise, nothing afraid,
To the cardinal of York dedicate;
And tho' he threaten thee, be not dismayd,
To publish his abominable estate:
For tho' his power he doth elevate,
Yet the season is now verily come,
Ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.

2 Tim. ii. With God's word ought a man to rebuke wickedness, and not with railing rhymes. W. T.

(2 Tim. ii.) "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be peaceable unto all men, and ready to teach, and one that can suffer the evil with meekness, and that can inform them that resist; if God at any time will give them repentance for to

The Treatise:

O my author! how shall I be so bold
Afore the Cardinal to show my face?
Seeing all the clergy with him doth hold;
Also in favour of the king's grace:
With furious sentence they will me chase,
Forbidding any person to read me;
Wherefore, my dear author, it cannot be.

The Author:

Thou knowest very well what his life is,
Unto all people greatly detestable;
He causeth many to do amiss,
Thro' his example abominable:
Wherefore it is no thing reprobable,
To declare his mischief and whoredom,
Ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.

The Treatise:

Though his life of all people is hated,
Yet in the Mass they put much confidence,
Which throughout all the world is dilated,
As a work of singular magnificence.
Priests also they have in reverence,
With all other persons of the spiritualte.
Wherefore, my dear author, it cannot be.

The last stanza of this dialogue is—

Blessed be they which are cursed of the Pope,
And cursed are they whom he doth bless;
Accursed are all they that have any hope,
Either in his person, or else in his:
For of Almighty God accursed he is
Per omnia sæcula sæculorum,
Ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.

Then immediately follows 'The Lamentation,' which is succeeded by another dialogue, between two priests' servants, Watkin and Jeffrey, in which Roye took care to introduce the praises of the city which then afforded him a temporary asylum, and of its ministers, as follows:—

Jeffrey:

I would hear, marvellously fayne,
In what place the Mass deceased?

Watkin:

In Strasburgh, that noble town,
A city of most famous renown,
Where the gospel is freely preached.

&c. &c.—From Park's reprint, in first supplementary volume to Harleian Miscell. 4to, London, 1812.]

know the truth." It becometh not then the Lord's servant to use railing rhymes, but God's word; which is the right weapon to slay sin, vice, and all iniquity[1]. The scripture of God is good to teach and to improve[2]. Paul speaking of Antichrist saith, "Whom the Lord shall destroy with the spirit or breath of his mouth;" that is, with the word of God. And, "The weapons of our war are not carnal things (saith he), but mighty in God to cast down strong holds," and so forth; that is, to destroy high buildings of false doctrine. The word of God is that day whereof Paul speaketh, which shall declare all things, and that fire which shall try every man's work, and consume false doctrine: with that sword ought men sharply to fight, and not to rail with foolish rhymes. Let it not offend thee, that some walk inordinately; let not the wickedness of Judas cause thee to despise the doctrine of his fellows. No man ought to think that Stephen

2 Tim. iii. 2 Thess. ii.

2 Cor. x.

1 Cor. iii.

[1 It was not without good reason that Tyndale endeavoured to mark thus distinctly, that he had no share in the composition of Roye's satire; for the perils to which he was exposed had been increased by the prevalence of an opinion, that he was the real author of this cutting attack on Wolsey. Even what he now said was insufficient, for a while, to induce his enemies to acquit him of this charge. In the Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, which was written in 1528, and left the press in June, 1529, having alluded first to the New Testament, and then to the satire, this question is put: '*But who made that second book? Forsooth, quoth I, it appeareth not in the book; for the book is put forth nameless, and was in the beginning reckoned to be made by Tyndale; and whether it be so or not, we be not yet very sure. Howbeit since that time Tyndale hath put out, in his own name, another book, entitled Mammona; and yet hath he, since then, put forth a worse also, named, The Obedience of a Christian Man. In the preface of his first book, called Mammona, he saith that one friar Hierome made the other book that we talk of, and that afterward he left him, and went unto Roye, who is, as I think ye know, another apostate.*' Such was More's language then; but by the time that he came to publish his *Supplication for Souls in Purgatory*, his tone is altered respecting the authorship. Enumerating the books in order, he then says: *Sending forth Tyndale's translation of the New Testament—the well-spring of all their heresies. Then came, soon after, out in print the dialogue of friar Roye and friar Hierome, between the father and the son, against the sacrament of the altar, and the blasphemous book entitled The Burying of the Mass.* Then came forth *Tyndale's wicked book of Mammona, and after that his more wicked book of Obedience.*']

[2 To improve: to reprove, to rebuke.]

Acts vi. was a false preacher, because that Nicholas, which was chosen fellow with him to minister unto the widows, fell after into great heresies, as histories make mention. Good and evil go always together; one cannot be known without the other[1].

Antichrist, what it is. Ant. ed. Antichrist is as much to say as, against Christ; and is nothing but a preacher of false doctrine. W. T.

Mark this also above all things, that Antichrist is not an outward thing, that is to say, a man that should suddenly appear with wonders, as our fathers talked of him. No, verily; for Antichrist is a spiritual thing[2]; and is as much to say as, against Christ; that is, one that preacheth false doctrine, contrary to Christ. Antichrist was in the Old testament, and fought with the prophets; he was also in the time of Christ and the apostles, as thou readest in the epistles of John, and of Paul to the Corinthians and Galatians, and other epistles. Antichrist is now, and shall (I doubt not) endure till the world's end. But his nature is (when he is uttered, and overcome with the word of God) to go out of the play for a season, and to disguise himself, and then to come in again with a new name and new raiment. As thou seest how Christ rebuketh the scribes and Pharisees in the gospel, (which were very Antichrists,) saying: "Woe be to you, Pharisees! for ye rob widows' houses; ye pray long prayers under a colour; ye shut up the kingdom of heaven, and suffer not them that would to enter in; ye have taken away the key of knowledge; ye make men break God's commandments with your traditions:" ye beguile the people

Antichrist was ever. W. T.

Scribes and Pharisees were very Antichrists. Ant. ed. The properties of Antichrist. Ant. ed.

[1 If these latter sentences were dictated by Tyndale's disapprobation of Roye's manner of writing, the poor man met with still harder judgment from the parties he had unsparingly lashed. 'In this year also (1531),' says Foxe, 'as we do understand by divers notes of old registers and otherwise, friar Roy was burned in Portugal; but what his examination, or articles, or cause of his death was, we can have no understanding; but what his doctrine was, it may be easily judged, from the testimonies which he left here in England.'—Vol. iv. p. 696. Sir Thomas More has confirmed this, in the preface to his Confutation of Tyndale's answer, published in 1532, where he says: 'As Bayfield, another heretic, and late burned in Smithfield, told unto me, friar Roy made a meet end at last, and was burned in Portyngale.']

[2 When Tewkesbury was examined in 1529, before Tonstal, bishop of London, Nicholas West bishop of Ely, Longland bishop of Lincoln, and Clark bishop of Bath and Wells, they asked him what he thought of what Tyndale has here said. 'Whereunto he answered and said, That he findeth no fault in it.'—Foxe, Vol. iv. p. 690.]

with hypocrisy and such like; which things all our prelates do, but have yet gotten them new names, and other garments and weeds[3], and are otherwise disguised. There is difference in the names between a pope, a cardinal, a bishop, and so forth, and to say a scribe, a Pharisee, a senior, and so forth; but the thing is all one. Even so now, when we have uttered him, he will change himself once more, and turn himself into an angel of light. Read the place, I exhort thee, whatsoever thou art that readest this, and note it well. The Jews look for Christ, and he is come fifteen hundred years ago, and they not aware: we also have looked for Antichrist, and he hath reigned as long, and we not aware: and that because either of us looked carnally for him, and not in the places where we ought to have sought. The Jews had found Christ verily, if they had sought him in the law and the prophets, whither Christ sendeth them to seek. We also had spied out Antichrist long ago, if we had looked in the doctrine of Christ and his apostles; where because the beast seeth himself now to be sought for, he roareth, and seeketh new holes to hide himself in, and changeth himself into a thousand fashions, with all manner wiliness, falsehood, subtilty, and craft. Because that his excommunications are come to light, he maketh it treason unto the king to be acquainted with Christ. If Christ and they may not reign together, one hope we have, that Christ shall live ever. The old Antichrists brought Christ unto Pilate, saying, "By our law he ought to die;" and when Pilate bade them judge him after their law, they answered, "It is not lawful for us to kill any man:" which they did to the intent that they which regarded not the shame of their false excommunications, should yet fear to confess Christ, because that the temporal sword had condemned him. They do all things of a good zeal, they say; they love you so well, that they had rather burn you, than that you should have fellowship with Christ. They are jealous over you amiss, as saith St Paul. They would divide you from Christ and his holy testament; and join you to the pope, to believe in his testament and promises.

2 Cor. xi.

Antichrist hath been among us long time. Ant. ed.

John v.

Antichrist is a spiritual thing, and cannot be seen, but in the light of God's word. W. T.

Antichrist accounteth it treason to be acquainted with Christ. Ant. ed.

The prelates have a burning zeal to their children. W. T.

Gal. iv.

Some man will ask, peradventure, Why I take the labour to make this work, inasmuch as they will burn it, seeing they burnt the gospel? I answer, In burning the new

[3 Day omits *and weeds*.]

Testament they did none other thing than that I looked for: no more shall they do, if they burn me also, if it be God's will it shall so be.

Nevertheless, in translating the New Testament I did my duty, and so do I now, and will do as much more as God hath ordained me to do. And as I offered that to all men, to correct it, whosoever could, even so I do this. Whosoever, therefore, readeth this, compare it unto the scripture. If God's word bear record unto it, and thou also feelest in thine heart that it is so, be of good comfort, and give God thanks. If God's word condemn it, then hold it accursed, and so do all other doctrines: as Paul counselleth his Galatians. Believe not every spirit suddenly, but judge them by the word of God, which is the trial of all doctrine, and lasteth for ever. Amen.

THE PARABLE

OF

THE WICKED MAMMON.

"There was a certain rich man which had a steward, that was accused unto him, that he had wasted his goods: and he called him, and said unto him, How is it that I hear this of thee? Give account of thy stewardship; for thou mayest be no longer my steward. The steward said within himself, What shall I do, for my master will take away from me my stewardship? I cannot dig, and to beg I am ashamed. I wot what to do, that when I am put out of my stewardship, they may receive me into their houses. Then called he all his master's debtors, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my master? And he said, An hundred tons of oil. And he said to him, Take thy bill[1], and sit down quickly, and write fifty. Then said he to another, What owest thou? And he said, An hundred quarters of wheat. He said to him, Take thy bill, and write fourscore. And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely. For the children of this world are in their kind wiser than the children of light. And I say also unto you, Make you friends of the wicked mammon, that when ye shall have need, they may receive you into everlasting habitations." Luke xvi.

Forasmuch as with this, and divers such other texts, many have enforced to draw the people from the true faith, and from putting their trust in the truth of God's promises, and in the merits and deserving of his Christ, our Lord; and have also brought it to pass, (for "many false prophets shall arise and deceive many, and much wickedness must also be," saith Christ; and Paul saith, "Evil men and deceivers shall prevail in evil, while they deceive, and are deceived themselves;") and have taught them to put their trust in their own Matt. xxiv 2 Tim. iii.

[1 Bill. For γράμμα in v. 6, the Vulgate has *cautionem*, and in v. 7, *litteras;* and Wicliffe accordingly has *caucion* and *lettris*. Tyndale introduced the word *bill*, which remains in our authorised version, though now confined in its ordinary acceptance to a statement of monies due.]

merits, and brought them in belief that they shall be justified in the sight of God by the goodness of their own works, and have corrupted the pure word of God, to confirm their Aristotle withal; (for though that the philosophers and worldly wise men were enemies above all enemies to the gospel of God; and though the worldly wisdom cannot comprehend the wisdom of God, as thou mayest see '1 Cor. i. and ii.; and though worldly righteousness cannot be obedient unto the righteousness of God, yet whatsoever they read in Aristotle, that must be first true; and to maintain that, they rend and tear the scriptures with their distinctions[1], and expound them violently, contrary to the meaning of the text, and to the circumstances that go before and after, and to a thousand clear and evident texts:) wherefore I have taken in hand to expound this gospel, and certain other places of the new Testament; and (as far forth as God shall lend me grace) to bring the scripture unto the right sense, and to dig again the wells of Abraham, and to purge and cleanse them of the earth of worldly wisdom, wherewith these Philistines have stopped them. Which grace grant me God, for the love that he hath unto his Son, Jesus our Lord, unto the glory of his name. Amen.

1 Cor. i. & ii. Rom. x.

They give more faith to Aristotle than to Christ. W.T.

That faith only before all works and without all merits, but Christ's only, justificth and setteth us at peace with God[2],

Faith only justifieth. Ant. ed.

[1 As the first part of the authoritative epitome of the papal law, the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, was arranged by Gratian under 101 heads, which he entitled *distinctions*, and each distinction was subdivided into sections, sometimes styled *canons*, and sometimes *capitula*; the schoolmen made a similar arrangement in their systems of theology, giving to their affirmations of various doctrines, more or less disputable, the title of *distinctions*.]

[2 The list of 'great errors and pestilent heresies' collected from this treatise by archbishop Warham, and his brother commissioners, as mentioned in the introductory notice, begins with this, as its Art. I. 'Faith only Justifieth.' To which Foxe appends the following remark: 'This article being a principle of the scripture, and the ground of our salvation, is plain enough by St Paul, and the whole body of scripture; neither can any make this a heresy, but they must make St Paul a heretic, and shew themselves enemies unto the promises of grace, and to the cross of Christ.'

When Tewkesbury was examined by Tonstal and three other bishops in April 1529, as mentioned before, they demanded of him, What he thought of this article? To which he replied, 'That if he

is proved by Paul in the first chapter to the Romans. "I am not ashamed (saith he) of the gospel," that is to say, of the glad tidings and promises which God hath made and sworn to us in Christ: "for it (that is to say the gospel) is the power of God unto salvation to all that believe." And it followeth in the foresaid chapter, "the just or righteous must live by faith." Rom. i.

For in the faith which we have in Christ and in God's promises find we mercy, life, favour, and peace. In the law we find death, damnation, and wrath; moreover, the curse and vengeance of God upon us. And it (that is to say, the law) is called of Paul the ministration of death and damnation. In the law we are proved to be the enemies of God, and that we hate him. For how can we be at peace with God and love him, seeing we are conceived and born under the power of the devil, and are his possession and kingdom, his captives and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hearts, so that it is impossible for us to consent to the will of God, much more is it impossible for a man to fulfil the law of his own strength and power, seeing that we are by birth and of nature the heirs of eternal damnation, as saith Paul, Eph. ii.? We (saith he) "are by nature the children of wrath;" which thing the law doth but utter only, and helpeth us not, yea, requireth impossible things of us[3]. The law when it com- Faith bringeth life. Ant. ed. The law bringeth death. Ant. ed. 2 Cor. iii. The law, death; and the promises life. W. 1. Eph. ii. The law, when it is preached,

should look to deserve heaven by works, he should do wickedly; for works follow faith; and Christ redeemed us all, with the merits of his passion.' Foxe, Vol. IV. p. 690.]

[3 Art. II. of alleged heresies and errors, was, 'The law maketh us to hate God, because we be born under the power of the devil.' Art. III. 'It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God.' Art. IV. 'The law requireth impossible things of us.' On these articles Foxe only remarks: 'I beseech thee indifferently to read the places, and then to judge.' Vol. V. p. 570—1. Tewkesbury's examiners had questioned him as to what he held respecting this same paragraph in Tyndale. To the first question, whether the author was right in saying, 'The devil holdeth our hearts so hard that it is impossible for us to consent unto God's law?' he answered, 'That he found no fault in it.' To the next question, which turned on Art. IV. he answered, 'That the law of God doth command that thou shalt love GOD above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself, which never man could do: and in that he doth find no fault in his conscience.' Id. Vol. IV. p. 690.]

giveth no power to fulfil the same. W. T.

mandeth that thou shalt not lust, giveth thee not power so to do, but damneth thee, because thou canst not so do.

If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God, and love him, thou must turn to the promises of God, and to the gospel, which is called of Paul, in the place before rehearsed to the Corinthians, the ministration of righteousness, and of the Spirit. For faith bringeth pardon and forgiveness freely purchased by Christ's blood, and bringeth also the Spirit; the Spirit looseth the bonds of the devil, and setteth us at liberty. For "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," saith Paul in the same place to the Corinthians: that is to say, there the heart is free, and hath power to love the will of God; and there the heart mourneth that he cannot love enough. Now is that consent of the heart unto the law of God eternal life; yea, though there be no power yet in the members to fulfil it. Let every man therefore (according to Paul's counsel in the sixth chapter to the Ephesians) arm himself with the armour of God; that is to understand, with God's promises. And "above all things (saith he) take unto you the shield of faith, wherewith ye may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, that ye may be able to resist in the evil day of temptation," and namely at the hour of death.

The gospel is the ministration of righteousness. Ant. ed.

2 Cor. iii.

The consenting unto the law with the heart is eternal life. W. T.

Eph. vi.

Resist the devil with the shield of faith. Ant. ed.

See therefore thou have God's promises in thine heart, and that thou believe them without wavering: and when temptation ariseth, and the devil layeth the law and thy deeds against thee, answer him with the promises; and turn to God, and confess thyself to him, and say it is even so, or else how could he be merciful? But remember that he is the God of mercy and of truth, and cannot but fulfil his promises. Also remember, that his Son's blood is stronger than all the sins and wickedness of the whole world; and therewith quiet thyself, and thereunto commit thyself, and bless thyself in all temptation (namely at the hour of death) with that holy candle. Or else perishest thou, though thou hast a thousand holy candles about thee, a hundred ton of holy water, a shipfull of pardons, a cloth-sack full of friars' coats, and all the ceremonies in the world, and all the good works, deservings, and merits of all the men in the world, be they, or were they, never so holy. God's word only lasteth for ever; and that

Faith is the holy candle wherewith we must bless ourselves at the last hour. Ant. ed.

which he hath sworn doth abide, when all other things perish. So long as thou findest any consent in thine heart unto the law of God, that it is righteous and good, and also displeasure that thou canst not fulfil it, despair not; neither doubt but that God's Spirit is in thee, and that thou art chosen for Christ's sake to the inheritance of eternal life.

And again, "We suppose that a man is justified through faith, without the deeds of the law." And likewise, "We say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness." Also, "Seeing that we are justified through faith, we are at peace with God." Also, "With the heart doth a man believe to be made righteous." Also, "Received ye the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by hearing of the faith? Doth he which ministereth the Spirit unto you, and worketh miracles among you, do it of the deeds of the law, or by hearing of faith? Even as Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him for righteousness. Understand therefore (saith he) that the children of faith are the children of Abraham. For the scripture saw before that God would justify the heathen or gentiles by faith, and shewed before glad tidings unto Abraham, In thy seed shall all nations be blessed. Wherefore they which are of faith are blessed, that is to wit made righteous, with the[1] righteous Abraham. For as many as are of the deeds of the law, are under curse: for it is written (saith he), Cursed is every man that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law, to fulfil them."

Rom. iii. Rom. iv. Faith is accounted to us for righteousness. Ant. ed. Rom. v. Rom. x. Gal. iii. The children of faith are the children of Abraham. Ant. ed.

Item, Gala. ii. where he resisted Peter in the face, he saith: "We which are Jews by nation, and not sinners of the Gentiles, know that a man is not justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and have therefore believed on Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law; for by the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified." Item, in the same place he saith: "Touching that I now live, I live in the faith of the Son of God, which loved me, and gave himself for me: I despise not the grace of God; for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain."

Gal. ii. Faith only justifieth us. W. T.

And of such like ensamples are all the epistles of Paul

[1 So C.'s ed. In D. *the* is omitted.]

full. Mark how Paul laboureth with himself to express the exceeding mysteries of faith in the epistle to the Ephesians and in the epistle to the Colossians. Of these and many such like texts are we sure, that the forgiveness of sins and justifying is appropriate unto faith only, without the adding to of works.

Matt vii. Take forth also the similitude that Christ maketh: "A good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and a bad tree bringeth forth bad fruit." There seest thou, that the fruit maketh not the tree good, but the tree the fruit; and that the tree must aforehand be good, or be made good, ere it can bring forth Matt. xii. good fruit. As he also saith, "Either make the tree good and his fruit good also, either make the tree bad and his fruit bad also. How can ye speak well while ye yourselves are evil?" So likewise is this true, and nothing more true, that a man before all good works must first be good; and that it is impossible that works should make him good, if he were not A principle taught by Christ. Ant. ed. good before, ere he did good works. For this is Christ's principle, and (as we say) a general rule. "How can ye speak well, while ye are evil?" so likewise how can ye do good, while ye are evil?

A man must have some goodness in his heart, before he bring forth good works. W. T. This is therefore plain, and a sure conclusion, not to be doubted of, that there must be first in the heart of a man, before he do any good work, a greater and a preciouser thing than all the good works in the world, to reconcile him to God, to bring the love and favour of God to him, to make him love God again, to make him righteous and good in the sight of God, to do away his sin, to deliver him and loose him out of that captivity wherein he was conceived and born, in which he could neither love God nor the will of God. Or else, how can he work any good work that should please God, if there were not some supernatural goodness in him, given of God freely, whereof the good work must spring? even as a sick man must first be healed or made whole, ere he can do the deeds of an whole man; and as the blind man must first have sight given him, ere he can see; and he that hath his feet in fetters, gives, or stocks, must first be loosed, ere he can go, walk or run; and even as they which thou readest of in the gospel, that they were possessed of the devils, could not laud God till the devils were cast out.

That precious thing which must be in the heart, ere[1] a man can work any good work, is the word of God, which in the gospel preacheth, proffereth, and bringeth unto all that repent and believe, the favour of God in Christ. Whosoever heareth the word and believeth it, the same is thereby righteous; and thereby is given him the Spirit of God, which leadeth him unto all that is the will of God; and is loosed from the captivity and bondage of the devil; and his heart is free to love God, and hath lust to do the will of God. Therefore it is called the word of life, the word of grace, the word of health, the word of redemption, the word of forgiveness, and the word of peace: he that heareth it not, or believeth it not, can by no means be made righteous before God. This confirmeth Peter in the fifteenth of the Acts, saying that God through faith doth purify the hearts. For of what nature soever the word of God is, of the same nature must the hearts be which believe thereon, and cleave thereunto. Now is the word living, pure, righteous, and true; and even so maketh it the hearts of them that believe thereon.

Faith being joined with the word of God bringeth forth good fruit. Ant. ed.

Acts xv.

If it be said that Paul (when he saith in the third to the Romans, "No flesh shall be, or can be justified by the deeds of the law") meaneth it of the ceremonies or sacrifices, it is an untrue saying[2]. For it followeth immediately, "By the law cometh the knowledge of sin." Now are they not the ceremonies that utter sin, but the law of commandments. In the fourth he saith, "The law causeth wrath;" which cannot be understand of the ceremonies; for they were given to reconcile the people to God again after they had sinned. If, as they say, the ceremonies, which were given to purge sin and to reconcile, justify not, neither bless but temporally only, much more the law of commandments justifieth not. For that which proveth a man sick, healeth him not; neither doth the cause of wrath bring to favour; neither can that which damneth save a man. When the mother commandeth her child but even to rock the cradle, it grudgeth: this[3] commandment doth but utter the poison that lay hid, and setteth him at

The law uttereth sin, and setteth us at debate. W. T.

The law cannot justify us. Ant. ed.

[1 *Or*, C. *Yer*, i.e. ere, D.]
[2 So D. It is a lie, verily. C.]
[3 So C., but D. has *the*.]

debate[1] with his mother, and maketh him believe she loveth him not.

These commandments also, Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not lust, desire, or wish after thy neighbour's wife, servant, maid, ox, or ass, or whatsoever pertaineth unto thy neighbour, give me not power so to do; but utter the poison that is in me, and damn me[2], because I cannot so do; and prove that God is wroth with me, seeing that his will and mine are so contrary. Therefore saith Paul:

Gal. iii. "If there had been given such a law that could have given life, then, no doubt, righteousness had come by the law: but the scripture concludeth all under sin (saith he), that the promise might be given unto them that believe through the faith that is in Jesus Christ."

Faith in Christ's promises doth justify us. Ant. ed. The promises justify. W.T. The promises, when they are believed, are they that justify; for they bring the Spirit, which looseth the heart, giveth lust to the law, and certifieth us of the good-will of God unto usward. If we submit ourselves unto God, and desire him to heal us, he will do it, and will in the mean time (because of the consent of the heart unto the law) count us for full whole, and will no more hate us, but pity us, cherish us, be tender-hearted to us, and love us as he doth Christ himself. Christ is our Redeemer, Saviour, peace, atonement, and satisfaction; and hath made amends or satisfaction to Godward for all the sin which they that repent (consenting to the law and believing the promises) do, have

Christ is the storehouse of mercy for us. Ant. ed. done, or shall do. So that if through fragility we fall a thousand times in a day, yet if we do repent again, we have alway mercy laid up for us in store in Jesus Christ our Lord.

Matt. xxv. What shall we say then to those scriptures which go so sore upon good works? As we read Matt. xxv., "I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat," &c. and such like. Which all sound as though we should be justified, and accepted unto the favour of God in Christ, through good works. Thiswise answer I: Many there are, which when they hear or read of faith, at once they consent thereunto, and have a certain imagination or opinion of faith: as when a man telleth a story

[1 So C., but D. has *at bate.*]

[2 In modern language, Detect the poison that is in me, and condemn me.]

or a thing done in a strange land, that pertaineth not to them at all; which yet they believe, and tell as a true thing: and this imagination, or opinion, they call faith. They think no farther than that faith is a thing which standeth in their own power to have, as do other natural works which men work; but they feel no manner working of the Spirit, neither the terrible sentence of the law, the fearful judgments of God, the horrible damnation and captivity under Satan. Therefore, as soon as they have this opinion or imagination in their hearts, that saith, Verily this doctrine seemeth true, I believe it is even so; then they think that the right faith is there. But afterward when they feel in themselves, and also see in other, that there is none alteration, and that the works follow not, but that they are altogether even as before, and abide in their old estate; then think they that faith is not sufficient, but that it must be some greater thing than faith that should justify a man.

The definition of true faith. Ant. ed.

So fall they away from faith again, and cry, saying, Faith only justifieth not a man, and maketh him acceptable to God. If thou ask them, Wherefore? they answer, See how many there are that believe, and yet do no more than they did before. These are they which Judas in his epistle calleth dreamers, which deceive themselves with their own fantasies. For what other thing is their imagination, which they call faith, than a dreaming of the faith, and an opinion of their own imagination wrought without the grace of God? These must needs be worse at the latter end than at the beginning. These are the old vessels that rend when new wine is poured into them; that is, they hear God's word, but hold it not, and therefore wax worse than they were before. But the right faith springeth not of man's fantasy, neither is it in any man's power to obtain it; but it is altogether the pure gift of God poured into us freely, without all manner doing of us, without deserving and merits, yea, and without seeking for of us; and is (as saith Paul in the second to the Ephesians) even God's gift and grace, purchased through Christ. Therefore is it mighty in operation, full of virtue, and ever working; which also reneweth a man, and begetteth him afresh, altereth him, changeth him, and turneth him altogether into a new nature and conversation; so that a man feeleth

[Jude, 8.]

Faith that bringeth not forth fruit, is but a dream. Ant. ed.

Matt. ix. Old vessels that new wine is put in. W. T.

Faith is the gift of God. Ant. ed.

Eph. ii.

his heart altogether altered and changed, and far otherwise disposed than before; and hath power to love that which before he could not but hate; and delighteth in that which before he abhorred; and hateth that which before he could not but love. And it setteth the soul at liberty, and maketh her free to follow the will of God, and doth to the soul even as health doth unto the body, after that a man is pined and wasted away with a long soking[1] disease: the legs cannot bear him, he cannot lift up his hands to help himself, his taste is corrupt, sugar is bitter in his mouth, his stomach abhorreth[2], longing after slibbersauce and swash[3] at which a whole stomach is ready to cast his gorge. When health cometh, she changeth and altereth him clean; giveth him strength in all his members, and lust to do of his own accord that which before he could not do, neither could suffer that any man exhorted him to do; and hath now lust in wholesome things, and his members are free and at liberty, and have power to do, of their own accord, all things which belong to an whole man to do, which afore they had no power to do, but were in captivity and bondage. So likewise in all things doth right faith to the soul.

The Spirit of God accompanieth faith. Ant. ed.

The Spirit of God accompanieth faith, and bringeth with her light, wherewith a man beholdeth himself in the law of God, and seeth his miserable bondage and captivity, and humbleth himself, and abhorreth himself: she[4] bringeth God's promises of all good things in Christ. God worketh with his word, and in his word: and when[5] his word is preached, faith rooteth herself in the hearts of the elect; and as faith entereth, and the word of God is believed, the power of God looseth the heart from the captivity and bondage under sin, and knitteth and coupleth him to God and to the will of God; altereth him, changeth him clean, fashioneth, and forgeth him anew; giveth him power to love, and to do that

[1 Soking: absorbing and consuming the strength.]

[2 Abhorreth: loatheth; but here used in a neuter sense.]

[3 So D.; but C. has, *slibbersause* only. Mr Russell cites an old satire amongst papers printed abroad, he says, without name, place, or date, but which he thinks may be ascribed to Bale, and in which the same words occur, but are spelt *swyber, swashe.*]

[4 That is, faith.]

[5 So C., but Day has *as* instead of *when*.]

which before was impossible for him either to love or do; and turneth him unto a new nature, so that he loveth that which he before hated, and hateth that which he before loved; and is clean altered, and changed, and contrary disposed; and is knit and coupled fast to God's will, and naturally bringeth forth good works, that is to say, that which God commandeth to do, and not things of his own imagination. And that doth he of his own accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of her own accord. And as thou needest not to bid a tree to bring forth fruit, so is there no law put unto him that believeth, and is justified through faith, as saith Paul in the first epistle to Timothy, the first chapter. Neither is it needful; for the law of God is written and graved in his heart, and his pleasure is therein. And as without commandment, but even of his own nature, he eateth, drinketh, seeth, heareth, talketh, and goeth; even so of his own nature, without coaction or compulsion of the law, bringeth he forth good works. And as a whole man, when he is athirst, tarrieth but for drink, and when he hungreth, abideth but for meat, and then drinketh and eateth naturally; even so is the faithful ever athirst and an hungred after the will of God, and tarrieth but for occasion. And whensoever an occasion is given, he worketh naturally the will of God: for this blessing is given to all them that trust in Christ's blood, that they thirst and hunger to do God's will[6]. He that hath not this faith, is but an unprofitable babbler of faith and works; and wotteth neither what he babbleth, nor what he meaneth, or whereunto his words pertain: for he feeleth not the power of faith, nor the working of the Spirit in his heart; but interpreteth the scriptures, which speak of faith and works, after his own blind reason and foolish fantasies, and not of any feeling that he hath in his heart; as a man rehearseth

Faith of herself bringeth forth good fruits, that is, good works. Ant. ed.

True faith is not without good works. Ant. ed.

[6 Art. V. of alleged errors and heresies, charged Tyndale with affirming that 'The Spirit of God turneth us and our nature, that we do good as naturally as a tree doth bring forth fruit:' on which Foxe only remarks, 'The place is this.' Tewkesbury's examiners demanded what he thought of Tyndale's saying, 'That as the good tree bringeth forth fruit, so there is no law put to him that believeth and is justified through faith?' And the record of his reply is, 'To that he answered, and said, He findeth no ill in it.']

a tale of another man's mouth, and wotteth not whether it be so or no as he saith, nor hath any experience of the thing itself.

True faith and good works are the gift of God, and come not of ourselves. Ant. ed.

Now doth the scripture ascribe both faith and works, not to us, but to God only, to whom they belong only, and to whom they are appropriate, whose gift they are, and the proper work of his Spirit. Is it not a froward and perverse blindness, to teach how a man can do nothing of his own self; and yet presumptuously take upon them the greatest and highest work of God, even to make faith in themselves of their own power, and of their own false imagination and thoughts? Therefore, I say, we must despair of ourselves, and pray God (as Christ's apostles did) to give us faith, and to increase our faith. When we have that, we need no other thing more: for she bringeth the Spirit with her; and he not only teacheth us all things, but worketh them also mightily in us, and carrieth us through adversity, persecution, death, and hell, unto heaven and everlasting life.

Mark diligently, therefore, seeing we are come to answer. The scripture (because of such dreams and feigned faith's sake) useth such manner of speakings of works, not that a man should thereby be made good to God-ward, or justified; but to declare unto other, and to take of other, the difference between false feigned faith and right faith. For where right faith is, there bringeth she forth good works: if there follow not good works, it is (no doubt) but a dream and an opinion, or feigned faith.

The difference between false faith, and right faith. Ant. ed.

As the tree is known by his fruit, so right faith is known by her fruit. Ant. ed.

Wherefore look, as the fruit maketh not the tree good, but declareth and testifieth outwardly that the tree is good, (as Christ saith, "Every tree is known by his fruit,") even so shall ye know the right faith by her fruit.

Example. Ant. ed. Luke vii.

Take for an ensample Mary, that anointed Christ's feet. When Simon, which bade Christ to his house, had condemned her, Christ defended her, and justified her, saying, "Simon, I have a certain thing to say unto thee; and he said, Master, say on. There was a certain lender which had two debtors; the one owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty. When they had nothing to pay, he forgave them both. Which of them, tell me, will love him most? Simon answered and

said, I suppose that he to whom he forgave most. And he said to him, Thou hast truly judged. And he turned him to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, and thou gavest me no water to my feet; but she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. Thou gavest me no kiss; but she, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou hast not anointed; and she hath anointed my feet with costly and precious ointment. Wherefore I say unto thee, many sins are forgiven her, for she loveth much. To whom less is forgiven, the same doth love less," &c. Hereby see we, that deeds and works are but outward signs of the inward grace of the bounteous and plenteous mercy of God, freely received without all merits of deeds, yea, and before all deeds. Christ teacheth to know the inward faith and love by the outward deeds. Deeds are the fruits of love; and love is the fruit of faith. Love, and also the deeds, are great or small according to the proportion of faith. Where faith is mighty and strong, there is love fervent, and deeds plenteous, and done with exceeding meekness: where faith is weak, there is love cold, and the deeds few and seldom, as[1] flowers and blossoms in winter.

The fruits of faith. Ant. ed.

Simon believed, and had faith, yet but weakly; and, according to the proportion of his faith, loved coldly, and had deeds thereafter: he bade Christ unto a simple and bare feast only, and received him not with any great humanity. But Mary had a strong faith, and therefore burning love and notable deeds, done with exceeding profound and deep meekness. On the one side she saw herself clearly in the law, both in what danger she was in, and her cruel bondage under sin, her horrible damnation, and also the fearful sentence and judgment of God upon sinners. On the other side, she heard the gospel of Christ preached; and in the promises she saw with eagles' eyes the exceeding abundant mercy of God, that passeth all utterance of speech; which is set forth in Christ for all meek sinners, which knowledge[2] their sins; and she

A difference between true faith and feigned faith. Ant. ed.

[1 C. *fadeth as;* Day has *seldom bear flowers;* but Hans Luft's 4to ed. of May 8, 1528, and a later edition by Wm. Hill, both in possession of G. Offor, Esq., contain the evidently more correct reading given in the text.]

[2 Knowledge: acknowledge.]

believed the word of God mightily, and glorified God over his mercy and truth; and being overcome and overwhelmed with the unspeakable, yea, and incomprehensible abundant riches of the kindness of God, did inflame and burn in love; yea, was so swollen in love, that she could not abide, nor hold, but must break out; and was so drunk in love, that she regarded nothing, but even to utter the fervent and burning love of her heart only: she had no respect to herself, though she was never so great and notable a sinner; neither to the curious[1] hypocrisy of the Pharisees, which ever disdain weak sinners; neither the costliness of her ointment; but with all humbleness did run unto his feet, washed them with the tears of her eyes, and wiped them with the hairs of her head, and anointed them with her precious ointment; yea, and would no doubt have run into the ground under his feet, to have uttered her love toward him; yea, would have descended down into hell, if it had been possible. Even as Paul, in the ninth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, was drunk in love, and overwhelmed with the plenteousness of the infinite mercy of God, which he had received in Christ unsought for, wished himself banished from Christ and damned, to save the Jews, if it might have been. For as a man feeleth God in himself, so is he to his neighbour.

Rom. ix.

Mark another thing also. We, for the most part, because of our grossness in all our knowledge, proceed from that which is last and hindmost unto that which is first; beginning at the latter end, disputing and making our arguments backward. We begin at the effect and work, and proceed unto the natural cause. As for an ensample: we first see the moon dark, and then search the cause; and find that the putting of the earth between the sun and the moon is the natural cause of the darkness, and that the earth stoppeth the light. Then dispute we backward, saying, The moon is darkened, therefore is the earth directly between the sun and moon. Now yet is not the darkness of the moon the natural cause that the earth is between the sun and the moon, but the effect thereof, and cause declarative, declaring and leading us unto the knowledge, how that the earth is between the sun and the moon directly, and causeth the darkness, stopping the light of the sun from the moon. And contrariwise, the being

Backward disputations. Ant. ed.

[1] Curious, i.e. fastidious.]

of the earth directly between the sun and the moon is the natural cause of the darkness. Likewise, He hath a son, therefore is he a father; and yet the son is not cause of the father, but contrariwise. Notwithstanding, the son is the cause declarative, whereby we know that the other is a father. After the same manner here, "Many sins are forgiven her, for she loveth much;" thou mayest not understand by the word *for*, that love is the natural cause of the forgiving of sins, but declareth it only; and contrariwise, the forgiveness of sins is the natural cause of love.

The works declare love: and love declareth that there is some benefit and kindness shewed, or else would there be no love. Why worketh one and another not? or one more than another? Because that one loveth and the other not; or that the one loveth more than the other. Why loveth one, and another not; or one more than another? Because that one feeleth the exceeding love of God in his heart, and another not; or that one feeleth it more than another. Scripture speaketh after the most grossest manner. Be diligent therefore that thou be not deceived with curiousness; for men of no small reputation have been deceived with their own sophistry.

The kindness of God moveth us to love God. Ant. ed.

Hereby now seest thou, that there is great difference between being righteous and good in a man's self, and declaring and uttering righteousness and goodness. The faith only maketh a man safe, good, righteous, and the friend of God, yea, and the son and the heir of God, and of all his goodness; and possesseth us with the Spirit of God. The work declareth the same[2] faith and goodness. Now useth the scripture the common manner of speaking, and the very same that is among the people. As when a father saith to his child, Go, and be loving, merciful, and good to such or such a poor man; he biddeth him not therewith to be made merciful, kind, and good; but to testify and declare the goodness that is in him already, with the outward deed, that it may break out to the profit of other, and that other may feel it which have need thereof[3].

The office of faith. W. T.

Faith only maketh us the sons and heirs of God. Ant. ed.

The office of works. W. T.

Faith possesseth the Spirit of God. Ant. ed.

Works declare faith and God's goodness. Ant. ed.

[2 So C.; Day has *self* instead of *same*.]

[3 Heresies and errors charged against Tyndale, Art. VI. 'Works do only declare to thee that thou art justified.' Foxe's remark thereon is: 'If Tyndale says that works do only declare our justification, he

After the same manner shalt thou interpret the scriptures which make mention of works: that God thereby will that we shew forth that goodness which we have received by faith, and let it break forth and come to the profit of other; that the false faith may be known and weeded out by the roots. For God giveth no man his grace, that he should let it lie still and do no good withal; but that he should increase it, and multiply it, with lending it to other, and with open declaring of it with the outward works provoke and draw other to God. As Christ saith in Matthew the fifth chapter, "Let your light so shine in the sight of men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." Or else were it as a treasure digged in the ground, and hid wisdom, in the which there is no profit[1].

God's grace is to be exercised in us. Ant. ed.

The talent, Matt. xxv. W. T.

Matt. v.

Moreover therewith the goodness, favour, and gifts of God which are in thee, not only shall be known unto other, but also unto thine own self; and thou shalt be sure that thy faith is right, and that the true Spirit of God is in thee, and that thou art called and chosen of God unto eternal life, and loosed from the bonds of Satan, whose captive thou wast; as Peter exhorteth, in the first of his second epistle, through good works to make our calling and election (wherewith we are called and chosen of God) sure. For how dare a man presume to think that his faith is right, and that God's favour is on him, and that God's Spirit is in him, when he feeleth not the working of the Spirit, neither himself disposed to any godly thing? Thou canst never know or be sure of thy faith, but by the works: if works follow not, yea, and that of love, without looking after any reward[2], thou mayest be sure that thy faith is but a dream, and not right, and even the same that James calleth in his epistle, the second chapter, dead faith, and not justifying.

2 Pet. i.

Where true faith is, good works follow. Ant. ed.

Abraham through works was sure of his faith to be

doth not thereby destroy good works; but only sheweth the right use and office of good works to be nothing to merit our justification, but rather to testify a lively faith, which only justifieth us. The article is plain by the scripture and St Paul.' Vol. v. p. 571.]

[1 So C.'s edition, but Day *in which what profit is there?*]

[2 In C. *but by works, which works must also come of pure love, without looking, &c.*]

right, and that the true fear of God was in him, when he had offered his son: as the scripture saith, "Now know I that thou fearest God;" that is to say, Now is it open and manifest that thou fearest God, inasmuch as thou hast not spared thy only son for my sake. Gen. xxii.

So now by this abide sure and fast, that a man inwardly in the heart, and before God, is righteous and good through faith only, before all works: notwithstanding, yet outwardly and openly before the people, yea, and before himself, is he righteous through the work; that is, he knoweth and is sure through the outward work, that he is a true believer, and in the favour of God, and righteous and good thorough the mercy of God: that thou mayest call the one an open and an outward righteousness, and the other, an inward righteousness of the heart; so yet, that thou understand by the outward righteousness no other thing save the fruit that followeth, and a declaring of the inward justifying and righteousness of the heart; and not that it maketh a man righteous before God, but that he must be first righteous before him, in the heart; even as thou mayest call the fruit of the tree the outward goodness of the tree, which followeth and uttereth the inward natural goodness of the tree. The outward righteousness and the inward righteousness, what they are. Ant. ed.

This meaneth James in his epistle, where he saith, "Faith without works is dead:" that is, if works follow not, it is a sure and an evident sign, that there is no faith in the heart; but a dead imagination and dream, which they falsely call faith.

Of the same wise is this saying of Christ to be understand: "Make you friends of the unrighteous mammon;" that is, shew your faith openly, and what ye are within in the heart, with outward giving and bestowing your goods on the poor, that ye may obtain friends: that is, that the poor, on whom thou hast shewed mercy, may at the day of judgment testify and witness of thy good works; that thy faith and what thou wast within in thy heart before God, may there appear by thy fruits openly to all men. For unto the right believing shall all things be comfortable, and unto consolation, at that terrible day. And contrariwise, unto the unbelieving all things shall be unto desperation and confusion; and every man shall be judged openly and outwardly, in the presence Outward works declare where true faith is. Ant. ed.

Why he called them friends. W.T.

of all men, according to their deeds and works. So that not without a cause thou mayest call them thy friends, which testify at that day of thee, that thou livedst as a true and a right Christian man, and followedst the steps of Christ in shewing mercy; as no doubt he doth which feeleth God merciful in his heart. And by the works is the faith known, that it was right and perfect. For the outward works can never please God, nor make friend, except they spring of faith: forasmuch as Christ himself disalloweth and casteth away the works of the Pharisees, yea, prophesying, and working of miracles, and casting out of devils; which we count and esteem for very excellent virtues; yet make they no friends with their works, while their hearts are false and impure, and their eye double. Now without faith is no heart true, or eye single: so that we are compelled to confess that the works make not a man righteous or good, but that the heart must first be righteous and good, ere any good work proceed thence.

Good works are witnesses for us before God. Ant. ed.

Matt. vi. & vii.

Secondarily, all good works must be done free with a single eye, without respect of any thing, and that no profit be sought thereby[1].

Matt. x.

That commandeth Christ, where he saith, "Freely have ye received; freely give again." For look, as Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven[2], (for that was his already,) but did *us* service therewith; and neither looked nor sought his own profit, but our profit, and the honour of God the Father only: even so we, with all our works, may not seek our own profit, neither in this world nor in heaven; but must, and ought, freely to work, to honour God withal, and without all manner respect seek our neighbour's profit, and do him service. That meaneth Paul, saying: "Be minded as

Good works must be done freely. W.T.

We must of duty do good works, without hope of reward. Ant. ed.

Phil. ii.

[1 When Tewkesbury was asked what he thought of this, he replied, 'It is truth.' Foxe, iv. p. 691.]

[2 Heresies and errors: Art. VII. 'Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven.' Foxe, 'Read the place.' It is indeed obvious, when *the place is read*, that the artifice of the charge consisted in stopping short with the word 'heaven.'

The same clause was cited by Tewkesbury's examiners, and the minute of his reply is, 'To that he answered, that the text is true as it lieth, and he findeth no fault in it.' Foxe, ibid.]

Christ was, which being in the shape of God, equal unto God, and even very God, laid that apart," that is to say, hid it; "and took on him the form and fashion of a servant." That is, as concerning himself he had enough, that he was full and had all plenteousness of the Godhead, and in all his works sought our profit, and became our servant.

The cause is: forasmuch as faith justifieth and putteth away sin in the sight of God; bringeth life, health, and the favour of God; maketh us the heirs of God; poureth the Spirit of God into our souls; and filleth us with all godly fulness in Christ; it were too great a shame, rebuke and wrong unto the faith, yea, to Christ's blood, if a man would work any thing to purchase that, wherewith faith hath endued him already, and God hath given him freely: even as Christ had done rebuke and shame unto himself, if he would have done good works, and wrought, to have been made thereby God's Son and heir over all, which thing he was already. Now doth faith make us the sons, or children of God. "He gave them might or power to be the sons of God, in that they believed on his name." "If we be sons, so are we also heirs" (Rom. viii. and Gal. iv.). How can or ought we then to work, for to purchase that inheritance withal, whereof we are heirs already by faith?

Faith maketh us the sons and children of God. Ant. ed. Rom. viii. Gal. iv.

What shall we say then to those scriptures, which sound as though a man should do good works, and live well, for heaven's sake or eternal reward? As these are, "Make you friends of the unrighteous mammon." And, "Gather you treasures together in heaven." Also, "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments:" and such like. This say I, that they which understand not, neither feel in their hearts what faith meaneth, talk and think of the reward even as they do of the work; neither suppose they that a man ought to work, but in a respect to the reward. For they imagine, that it is in the kingdom of Christ, as it is in the world among men, that they must deserve heaven with their good works. Howbeit their thoughts are but dreams and false imaginations. Of these men speaketh Malachi: "Who is it among you that shutteth a door for my pleasure, for nought;" that is, without respect of reward? These are servants that seek gains and vantage, hirelings and day-labourers, which

Matt. vi. Matt. xix.

They that seek heaven for their works are such as understand not the treasures of Christ. Ant. ed.

Matt. vi. here on earth receive their rewards, as the Pharisees with their prayers and fastings.

As good works naturally follow faith, so eternal life followeth faith and good living. Ant. ed.

But on this wise goeth it with heaven, with everlasting life and eternal reward. Likewise as good works naturally follow faith (as it is above rehearsed), so that thou needest not to command a true believer to work, or to compel him with any law, (for it is impossible[1] that he should not work; he tarrieth but for an occasion; he is ever disposed of himself; thou needest but to put him in remembrance, and that to know the false faith from the true;) even so naturally doth eternal life follow faith and good living, without seeking for, and is impossible that it should not come, though no man thought thereon. Yet is it rehearsed in the scripture, alleged, and promised, to know the difference between a false believer and a true believer; and that every man may know what followeth good living naturally, and of itself, without taking thought for it.

As good works follow faith, so hell followeth evil works. Ant. ed.

Take a gross ensample: hell, that is, everlasting death, is threatened unto sinners; and yet followeth it sin naturally, without seeking for. For no man doth evil to be damned therefore; but had rather[2] avoid it. Yet[3] the one followeth the other naturally; and though no man told or warned him of it, yet should the sinner find it and feel it. Nevertheless it is therefore threatened, that men may know what followeth evil living. Now then, as after evil living followeth his reward unsought for; even so after good living followeth his reward naturally, unsought for, or unthought upon: even as when thou drinkest wine, be it good or bad, the taste followeth of itself, though thou therefore drink it not. Yet testifieth the scripture, and it is true, that we are by inheritance heirs of damnation; and that ere we be born, we are vessels of the wrath of God, and full of that poison whence naturally all sins spring, and wherewith we cannot but sin, which thing the deeds that follow (when we behold ourselves in the glass of the law of God) do declare and utter; kill our consciences, and shew us what we were and wist not of it; and certify us that we are heirs of damnation. For if we were of God we should cleave to God, and lust after the will of God. But

Of ourselves we are the vessels of the wrath of God, and the heirs of damnation. Ant. ed.

[1 So C.; but in Day *unpossible*.]

[2 So D.; but C. *lever*.] [3 Day's edition inserts *there*.]

now our deeds, compared to the law, declare the contrary; and by our deeds we see ourselves, both what we be and what our end shall be.

So now thou seest that life eternal and all good things are promised unto faith and belief; so that he that believeth on Christ shall be safe. Christ's blood hath purchased life for us, and hath made us the heirs of God; so that heaven cometh by Christ's blood. If thou wouldest obtain heaven with the merits and deservings of thine own works, so didst thou wrong, yea, and shamedst, the blood of Christ[4]; and unto thee were Christ dead in vain. Now is the true believer heir of God by Christ's deservings; yea, and in[5] Christ was predestinate, and ordained unto eternal life, before the world began. And when the gospel is preached unto us, we believe the mercy of God; and in believing we receive the Spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternal life, and we are in eternal life already, and feel already in our hearts the sweetness thereof, and are overcome with the kindness of God and Christ; and therefore love the will of God, and of love are ready to work freely; and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already.

To believe in Christ is salvation. Ant. ed.

To seek heaven by good works were to derogate the dignity of the blood of Christ. Ant. ed.

Now when Christ saith, "Make you friends of unrighteous mammon;" "Gather you treasure together in heaven;" and such like: thou seest that the meaning and intent is no other but that thou shouldst do good; and so will it follow of itself naturally, without seeking and taking of thought, that thou shalt find friends and treasure in heaven, and receive a reward. So let thine eye be single, and look unto good living only, and take no thought for the reward, but be content: forasmuch as thou knowest and art sure, that the reward, and all things contained in God's promises, follow good living naturally; and thy good works do but testify only, and certify thee that the Spirit of God is in thee, whom thou hast received for an[6] earnest of God's truth; and that thou art heir of all the goodness of God, and that

[4 Heresies and errors; Art. VIII. 'Labouring by good works to come to heaven, thou shamest Christ's blood.' To this Foxe is again content with replying, 'Read the place;' viz. from 'If thou wouldest obtain' to 'heirs already.']

[5 C. omits *in*.]

[6 So C.; D. has, *in* earnest.]

All that is good is purchased for us by Christ. Ant. ed.

all good things are thine already, purchased by Christ's blood, and laid up in store against that day, when every man shall receive according to his deeds, that is, according as his deeds declare and testify what he is or was. For they that look unto the reward, are slow, false, subtle and crafty workers, and love the reward more than the work; yea, hate the labour; yea, hate God which commandeth the labour; and are weary both of the commandment, and also of the commander; and work with tediousness. But he that worketh of pure love, without seeking of reward, worketh truly.

Saints cannot help us into heaven. Ant. ed.

Thirdly, that not the saints, but God only receiveth us into eternal tabernacles, is so plain and evident, that it needeth not to declare or prove it. How shall the saints receive us into heaven, when every man hath need for himself that God only receive him to heaven, and every man hath scarce[1] for himself? As it appeareth by the five wise virgins, which would not give of their oil unto the unwise virgins. And Peter saith, in the fourth of his first epistle, that the righteous is with difficulty saved. So seest thou that the saying of Christ, "Make you friends," and so forth, "that they may receive you into everlasting tabernacles," pertaineth not unto the saints which are in heaven, but is spoken of the poor and needy which are here present with us on earth: as though he should say, What, buildest thou churches, foundest abbeys, chauntries and colleges, in the honour of saints, to my mother, St Peter, Paul, and saints that be dead, to make of them thy friends? They need it not; yea, they are not thy friends; but theirs which lived then, when they did of whom they were holpen[2]. Thy friends are the poor, which are

Matt. xxv.

1 Pet. iv.

[1 C. skace; D. scace.]

[2 Arts. IX. and X. of the heresies and errors, with which Tyndale was charged, are founded on this paragraph. The first is thus expressed: 'Saints in heaven cannot help us there.' And Foxe's remark upon it is: 'Whether saints can help us into heaven, see the scripture; and mark well the office of the Son of God, our only Saviour and Redeemer, and thou shalt not need to seek any farther.' To Art. X. he only says, 'Read the place.' Foxe, v. 572.

Tewkesbury's examiners are stated to have asked him what he thought of Tyndale's saying, 'Peter and Paul, and saints that be dead, are not our friends, but their friends whom they did help when they were alive.' The minute of Tewkesbury's reply is, 'To that he said, he findeth no ill in it.' Id. iv. 691. In Vol. v. 572, the clause is quoted agreeably with our text.]

now in thy time, and live with thee; thy poor neighbours which need thy help and succour. Them make thy friends with thy unrighteous mammon; that they may testify of thy faith, and thou mayest know and feel, that thy faith is right, and not feigned.

How we may make friends of the wicked mammon. Ant. ed.

Unto the second: such receiving into everlasting habitations is not to be understand that men shall do it. For many, to whom we shew mercy and do good, shall not come there; neither skilleth[3] it, so we meekly and lovingly do our duty; yea, it is a sign of strong faith and fervent love, if we do well to the evil, and study to draw them to Christ, in all that lieth in us. But the poor give us an occasion to exercise our faith; and the deeds make us feel our faith, and certify us, and make us sure that we are safe, and are escaped and translated from death unto life, and that we are delivered and redeemed from the captivity and bondage of Satan, and brought into the liberty of the sons of God, in that we feel lust and strength in our heart to work the will of God. And at that day shall our deeds appear and comfort our hearts, witness of[4] our faith and trust, which we now have in Christ; which faith shall then keep us from shame, as it is written, "None that believeth in him shall be ashamed." So that good works help[5] our faith, and make us sure in our consciences, and make us feel the mercy of God. Notwithstanding, heaven, everlasting life, joy eternal, faith, the favour of God, the Spirit of God, lust and strength unto the will of God, are given us freely of the bounteous and plenteous riches of God, purchased by Christ, without our deservings, that no man should rejoice but in the Lord only.

To do good to such as are evil, is commendable. Ant. ed.

Rom. ix.

All our righteousness cometh freely from Christ. Ant. ed.

For a farther understanding of this gospel, here may be made three questions, What mammon is? Why it is called unrighteous? and after what manner Christ biddeth us counterfeit and follow the unjust and wicked steward, which with his lord's damage provided for his own profit and advantage[6]? which thing no doubt is unrighteous and sin.

[3 Mattereth.]
[4 So C.; but D. omits *of*.]
[5 C. *heape*.]
[6 So C.; but D. *vantage*.]

Mammon, what it is. Ant. ed.

First, *mammon* is an Hebrew word, and signifieth riches or temporal goods; and namely, all superfluity, and all that is above necessity, and that which is required unto our necessary uses; wherewith a man may help another, without undoing or hurting himself; for *hamon*, in the Hebrew speech, signifies a multitude or abundance, or many; and therehence cometh *mahamon*, or *mammon*, abundance, or plenteousness of goods, or riches[1].

[1 A supposition carelessly formed and penned by Fuller, that Tyndale could only translate the scriptures from the Latin, eventually led others to believe that he was unacquainted with Hebrew; whereas the sentence above contains, in itself, sufficient evidence that Tyndale was not barely acquainted with Hebrew, but felt himself sufficiently master of that language to form an independent opinion, as to the proper solution of a question which has perplexed very eminent Hebrew scholars. The word *mammon* occurs in scripture but four times, viz. in Matt. vi. 24, and in Luke xvi. 9, 11, and 13. It stands there as a word foreign to the Greek language, and yet incorporated into the Greek text. When we add that it does not occur in the old testament; the assertion is equivalent to saying, that it is no where extant in the genuine, pure, Hebrew tongue. And yet we see that Tyndale has ventured to declare that it is a Hebrew word; because he could perceive that from *hamon*, הָמוֹן, the analogy of Hebrew grammar would authorize the formation of mahamon, מַהֲמוֹן; and that by dageshing the second מ, to make up for the omitted ה, we should arrive at מַמּוֹן mammon. Augustine had said that mammon was reported to be the Hebrew name for riches. 'Mammona,' says he, 'apud Hebræos divitiæ appellari dicuntur. Convenit et Punicum nomen: nam lucrum Punice Mammon dicitur.' De Serm. Dom. Lib. II. On the other hand, Jerome is said by Leigh, Critica Sacra, in v. Μαμωνᾶ, to have declared it to be derived from טָמַן to hide; from which indeed comes מַטְמוֹן a treasure. But ט is no servile, and could not therefore disappear. It is not till we come to modern lexicographers, who have examined such questions with more sources of information than earlier writers possessed, that we find Schleusner, after citing various treatises and authorities, venturing to say what he does not seem to have known that Tyndale had said before: 'Rectius fortasse derivatur a voce הָמוֹן, quæ multitudinem, abundantiam et copiam significat.' Lex. Gr. Lat. in Nov. Test.

But though Tyndale's venturing upon this affirmation respecting the origin of the word Μαμωνᾶ or Μαμμωνᾶ, shews him to have felt at home in Hebrew, it may possibly still be thought to belong to one of those languages which became vernacular with the Jews after the cap-

Secondarily, it is called "unrighteous mammon," not because it is got unrighteously, or with usury; for of unrighteous gotten goods can no man do good works, but ought to restore them home again: as it is said, Esay lxi. "I am a God that hateth offering that cometh of robbery;" and Pro. iii. saith, "Honour the Lord of thine own good." But therefore it is called unrighteous, because it is in unrighteous use. As Paul speaketh unto the Ephesians, v. how that "The days are evil," though that God hath made them, and they are a good work of God's making: howbeit they are yet called evil, because that evil men use them amiss; and much sin, occasions of evil, peril of souls are wrought in them. Even so, are riches called evil, because that evil men bestow them amiss, and misuse them. For where riches is, there goeth it after the common proverb, He that hath money, hath what him listeth. And they cause fighting, stealing, laying await, lying, flattering, and all unhappiness against a man's neighbour. For all men hold on riches' part.

Isai. lxi. Prov. iii. Eph. v.

The days are called evil, because evil men use them. Ant. ed.

But singularly, before God, it is called unrighteous mammon, because it is not bestowed and ministered unto our neighbour's need. For if my neighbour need and I give him not, neither depart[2] liberally with him of that which I have, then withhold I from him unrighteously that which is his own; forasmuch as I am bounden to help him by the law of nature, which is, "Whatsoever thou wouldest that another did to thee, that do thou also to him;" and Christ, Matt. v. "Give to every man that desireth thee;" and John, in his

We are bound by the law of nature to help our needy neighbour. Ant. ed.

tivity, rather than to the Hebrew. It is certain that in Chaldee, which may not improperly be termed the intermediate tongue between the Hebrew and the Syriac, the intermediate form of mammon, מָמוֹן occurs as the equivalent to riches in the Targum of Onkelos on Exod. xviii. 21, and xxi. 30; and in that of Jonathan on Judges v. 19, as well as elsewhere: whilst in the Syriac Bible we not only find the word ܡܰܡܳܘܢܳܐ, identical in its form with *Μαμωνᾶ*, in those places where, as in our English Bibles, it might have been inserted as a mere literal copy of the word in the original, but we find it also used by the Syriac translator as the fittest word, in his own tongue, to represent כֹּפֶר, the price of satisfaction, in Exod. xxi. 30, where the English version has 'a sum of money.']

[2 Depart; divide.]

first epistle, "If a man have this world's good, and see his brother need, how is the love of God in him?" And this unrighteousness in our mammon see very few men, because it is spiritual; and in those goods which are gotten most truly and justly are men much beguiled[1]. For they suppose they do no man wrong in keeping them; in that they got them not with stealing, robbing, oppression, and usury, neither hurt any man now with them.

Who is the steward. W. T.

Thirdly, many have busied themselves in studying what, or who, this unrighteous steward is, because that Christ so praiseth him. But shortly and plainly this is the answer,

The unrighteous steward, who it is. Ant. ed.

That Christ praiseth not the unrighteous steward, neither setteth him forth to us to counterfeit because of his unrighteousness, but because of his wisdom only; in that he, with unright, so wisely provided for himself. As if I would provoke another to pray or study, saying[2], The thieves watch all night to rob and steal; why canst not thou watch to pray and to study? here praise not I the thief and murderer for their evil doing, but for their wisdom, that they so wisely and diligently wait on their unrighteousness. Likewise when I say, Miss women[3] tire themselves with gold and silk to please their lovers: what, wilt not thou garnish thy soul with faith to please Christ? here praise I not whoredom, but the diligence which the whore misuseth.

On this wise Paul also likeneth Adam and Christ together, saying that Adam was a figure of Christ. And yet of Adam have we but pure sin, and of Christ grace only; which are out of measure contrary. But the similitude, or likeness, standeth in the original birth, and not in the virtue and vice of the birth: so that, as Adam is father of all sin, so is Christ father of all righteousness; and as all sinners spring of Adam, even so all righteous men and women spring of Christ. After the same manner is here the unrighteous steward an ensample unto us in his wisdom and diligence only, in that he provided so wisely for himself; that we with righteousness should be as diligent to provide for our souls, as he with unrighteousness provided for his body.

Christ is the father of all righteousness. Ant. ed.

[1 So C., but D. has, *which beguile men.*]

[2 So C.: D. has, *do say.*]

[3 A phrase equivalent to *mistresses*, as that word has been used.]

Likewise mayest thou soyl[4] all other texts, which sound as though it were between us and God as it is in the world, where the reward is more looked upon than the labour; yea, where men hate the labour, and work falsely, with the body and not with the heart, and no longer than they are looked upon, that the labour may appear outward only.

When Christ saith, Matt. v. "Blessed are ye when they rail on you, and persecute you, and say all manner evil sayings against you, and yet lie, and that for my sake; rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven;" thou mayest not imagine that our deeds deserve the joy and glory that shall be given unto us; for then, Paul saith, Rom. xi. "Favour were not favour." I cannot receive it of favour and of the bounties of God, freely, and by deserving of deeds also. But believe as the gospel, glad tidings and promises of God say unto thee; that for Christ's blood's sake only, through faith, God is at one with thee, and thou received to mercy, and art become the son of God, and heir annexed with Christ of all the goodness of God; the earnest whereof is the Spirit of God poured into our hearts. Of which things the deeds are witnesses; and certify our consciences that our faith is unfeigned, and that the right Spirit of God is in us. For if I patiently suffer adversity and tribulation, for conscience of God only, that is to say, because I know God and testify the truth; then am I sure that God hath chosen me in Christ, and for Christ's sake, and hath put in me his Spirit, as an earnest of his promises, whose working I feel in my heart, the deeds bearing witness unto the same. Now is it Christ's blood only that deserveth all the promises of God; and that which I suffer and do is partly the curing, healing, and mortifying of my members, and killing of that original poison wherewith I was conceived and born, that I might be altogether like Christ; and partly the doing of my duty to my neighbour, whose debtor I am of all that I have

Matt. v.

For Christ's blood sake, only, through faith, God is at one with us. Ant. ed.

[4 Soyl: solve. Sir Thomas More, having quoted Tyndale as saying, 'I would *solve* this argument after an Oxford fashion, with Concedo consequentiam et consequens', replies, 'I will myself soyle it, with Nego consequentiam et consequens.' Confutation of Tyndale's Answer.]

received of God, to draw him to Christ with all suffering, with all patience, and even with shedding my blood for him, not as an offering or merit for his sins, but as an ensample to provoke him. Christ's blood only putteth away all the sin that ever was, is, or shall be, from them that are elect and repent, believing the gospel, that is to say, God's promises in Christ.

Christ's blood only putteth away all sin. Ant. ed.

[Matt. v. 44, 45.] Again in the same fifth chapter: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do well to them that hate you and persecute you, that ye may be the sons of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun shine upon evil and on good, and sendeth his rain upon just and unjust." Not that our works make us the sons of God, but testify only, and certify our consciences, that we are the sons of God; and that God hath chosen us, and washed us in Christ's blood; and hath put his Spirit in us. And it followeth: "If ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? do not the publicans even the same? And if ye shall have favour to your friends only, what singular thing do ye? do not the publicans even the same? Ye shall be perfect therefore, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." That is to say, if that ye do nothing but that the world doth, and they which have the spirit of the world, whereby shall ye know that ye are the sons of God, and beloved of God, more than the world? But and if ye counterfeit and follow God in well-doing, then no doubt it is a sign that the Spirit of God is in you, and also the favour of God, which is not in the world; and that ye are inheritors of all the promises of God, and elect unto the fellowship of the blood of Christ.

We must follow Christ in well-doing Ant. ed.

Matt. vi. Also, Matt. vi. "Take heed to your alms, that ye do it not in the sight of men, to the intent that ye would be seen of them; or else have ye no reward with your Father which is in heaven. Neither cause a trumpet to be blown afore thee, when thou doest thine alms, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, to be glorified of the world. But when thou doest thine alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth; that thy alms may be in secret, and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee

We may not do good works to be praised of the world. Ant. ed.

openly." This putteth us in remembrance of our duty, and sheweth what followeth good works; not that works deserve it, but that the reward is laid up for us in store, and we thereunto elect through Christ's blood, which the works testify[1]. For, if we be worldly-minded, and do our works as the world doth, how shall we know that God hath chosen us out of the world? But and if we work freely, without all manner worldly respect, to shew mercy, and to do our duty to our neighbour, and to be unto him as God is to us; then are we sure that the favour and mercy of God is upon us, and that we shall enjoy all the good promises of God through Christ, which hath made us heirs thereof.

We must be to our neighbour as God is to us. Ant. ed.

Also[2], in the same chapter it followeth: "When thou prayest, be not as the hypocrites, which love to stand and pray in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, for to be seen of men. But when thou prayest, enter into thy chamber, and shut thy door to, and pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly." And likewise, when we fast, teacheth Christ in the same place, that we should behave ourselves "that it appear not unto men how that we fast, but unto our Father which is in secret; and our Father which seeth in secret, shall reward us openly." These two texts do but declare what followeth good works; for eternal life cometh not by the deserving of works, but is, (saith Paul, in the sixth to the Romans) "the gift of God through Jesus Christ." Neither do our works justify us: for except we were justified by faith, which is our righteousness, and had the Spirit of God in us, to teach us, we could do no good work freely, without respect of some profit, either in this world, or in the world to come; neither could we have spiritual joy in our hearts in time of affliction, and mortifying of the flesh.

Hypocrites seek to be praised of men. Ant. ed.

Rom. vi.

Faith only justifieth us, and no good works can be done without faith. Ant. ed. Without we be justified we cannot work freely. W. T.

Good works are the fruit. Ant. ed. Good works are called the fruit of the Spirit, and righteousness. W. T.

Good works are called the fruits of the Spirit, Gal. v. for the Spirit worketh them in us; and sometime fruits of righteousness, as in the second epistle to the Corinthians and ninth chapter. Before all works, therefore, we must have a righte-

[1 Tewkesbury's examiners asked what he thought of this. He answered, 'That the text of the book is true.']

[2 In C. Item.]

ousness within the heart, the mother of all works, and from whence they spring. The righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, and of them that have the spirit of this world, is the glorious shew and outward shining of works. But Christ saith to us, Matt. v. "Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." It is righteousness in the world, if a man kill not. But a Christian perceiveth righteousness if he love his enemy, even when he suffereth persecution and torment of him, and the pains of death, and mourneth more for his adversary's blindness than for his own pain, and prayeth God to open his eyes, and to forgive him his sins; as did Stephen in the Acts of the Apostles, the seventh chapter; and Christ, Luke xxiii.

What is the righteousness of scribes and Pharisees. W. T.

True righteousness, what it is. Ant. ed.

Acts vii.

Luke xxiii.

A Christian considereth himself in the law of God, and there putteth off him all manner righteousness. For the law suffereth no merits, no deservings, no righteousness, neither any man to be justified in the sight of God. The law is spiritual, and requireth the heart, and commandments to be fulfilled with such love and obedience as was in Christ. If any fulfil all that is the will of God, with such love and obedience, the same may be bold to sell pardons of his merits[1], and else not.

The law must be fulfilled spiritually, and with such obedience as Christ hath done. W. T.

[1 In Tyndale's time, when the council of Trent had not yet been assembled, the alleged power of the church to grant pardons or indulgences, out of a supposed treasure of merits at its disposal, 'had no other foundation,' says Father Sarpi, in his celebrated History of the Council of Trent, 'than the bull of Clement VI. made for the jubilee of 1350.' Hist. del Conc. Tridentino, p. 6. Edit. by Ant. de Dominis, Abp. of Spalatro. Lond. MDCXIX.

This bull is incorporated into the papal law; and the portion of it relating to the alleged treasure, out of which pardons were sold, is as follows: Non enim corruptibilibus auro et argento, sed sui ipsius, agni incontaminati et immaculati, precioso sanguine nos rêdemit; quem in ara crucis innocens immolatus, non guttam sanguinis modicam, quæ tamen propter unionem ad verbum pro redemptione totius humani generis suffecisset, sed copiose velut quoddam profluvium noscitur effudisse, ita ut a planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis nulla sanitas inveniretur in ipso. Quantum ergo exinde, ut nec supervacua, inanis, aut superflua tantæ effusionis miseratio redderetur, thesaurum militanti ecclesiæ acquisivit, volens suis thesaurizare filiis Pater, ut sic sit infinitus thesaurus hominibus, quo qui usi sint, Dei

A Christian therefore, when he beholdeth himself in the law, putteth off all manner righteousness, deservings and merits, and meekly and unfeignedly knowledgeth his sin and misery, his captivity and bondage in the flesh, his trespass and guilt; and is thereby blessed, with the poor in spirit. Matt. v. chap. Then he mourneth in his heart, because he is in such bondage that he cannot do the will of God; and is an hungred and athirst after righteousness; for righteousness (I mean) which springeth out of Christ's blood, for strength to do the will of God; and turneth himself to the promises of God, and desireth him for his great mercy and truth, and for the blood of his Son Christ, to fulfil his promises, and to give him strength. And thus his spirit ever prayeth within him. He fasteth also not one day for a week, or a Lent for an whole year; but professeth in his heart a perpetual soberness, to tame the flesh, and to subdue the body to the spirit, until he wax strong in the Spirit, and grow ripe into a full righteousness after the fulness of Christ. And because this fulness happeneth not till the body be slain by death, a Christian is

True righteousness springeth out of Christ's blood. Ant. ed.

A Christian, when he prayeth, abideth and sticketh fast to God's promises. W. T.

True fasting, what it is. Ant. ed.

amicitiæ participes sunt effecti. Quem quidem thesaurum non in sudario repositum, non in agro absconditum, sed per beatum Petrum cœli clavigerum ejusque successores, suos in terris vicarios, commisit fidelibus salubriter dispensandum; et propriis et rationalibus causis, nunc pro totali, nunc pro partiali remissione pœnæ temporalis pro peccatis debitæ, tam generaliter quam specialiter (prout cum Deo expedire cognoscerent) vere pœnitentibus et confessis misericorditer applicandum. Ad cujus quidem thesauri cumulum beatæ Dei genitricis, omniumque electorum a primo justo usque ad ultimum merita adminiculum præstare noscuntur: de cujus consumptione seu minutione non est aliquatenus somniandum, tam propter infinita Christi (ut prædictum est) merita, quam pro eo, quod quanto plures ex ejus applicatione trahuntur ad justitiam, tanto magis accessit ipsorum cumulus meritorum. Quod felicis recordationis Bonifacius papa VIII., prædecessor noster, pie (sicut indubie credimus) considerans—inconsumptibilem thesaurum hujusmodi pro excitanda et remuneranda devotione fidelium voluit aperire; decernens de fratrum suorum concilio, ut omnes qui in anno a nat. Dom. MCCC., et quolibet centesimo anno ex tunc secuturo ad dictorum apostolorum basilicas de urbe accederent reverenter, ipsasque si Romani ad minus XXX., si vero peregrini aut forenses fuerint XV. diebus, continuis vel interpolatis, saltem semel in die, dum tamen vere pœnitentes, et confessi existerent, personaliter visitarent, suorum omnium obtinerent plenissimam veniam peccatorum. Corpus Juris Canonici. Extrav. Commun. Lib. v. Titul. ix. cap. ii. Unigenitus. Ed. Lugduni MDCXXII. cum licentia.]

ever a sinner in the law; and therefore fasteth, and prayeth to God in the spirit, the world seeing it not. Yet in the promises he is ever righteous through faith in Christ; and is sure that he is heir of all God's promises; the Spirit, which he hath received in earnest[1], bearing him witness; his heart also, and his deeds testifying the same.

No flesh can fulfil the law. Ant. ed.

Mark this then: To see inwardly that the law of God is so spiritual, that no flesh can fulfil it[2]; and then for to mourn and sorrow, and to desire, yea, to hunger and thirst after strength to do the will of God from the ground of the heart, and (notwithstanding all the subtilty of the devil, weakness and feebleness of the flesh, and wondering of the world,) to cleave yet to the promises of God, and to believe that for Christ's blood sake thou art received to the inheritance of eternal life, is a wonderful thing, and a thing that the world knoweth not of; but whosoever feeleth that, though he fall a thousand times in a day, doth yet rise again a thousand times, and is sure that the mercy of God is upon him.

We cannot deserve forgiveness of God, but he, of his mercy, pardoneth us. Ant. ed.

"If ye forgive other men their trespasses, your heavenly Father shall forgive you yours." Matt. in the vi. chap. If I forgive, God shall forgive me; not for my deeds' sake, but for his promises' sake, for his mercy and truth, and for the blood of his Son, Christ our Lord. And my forgiving certifieth my spirit that God shall forgive me, yea, that he hath forgiven me already. For if I consent to the will of God in my heart, though through infirmity and weakness I cannot do the will of God at all times; moreover, though I cannot do the will of God so purely as the law requireth it of me, yet if I see my fault and meekly knowledge my sin, weeping in mine heart, because I cannot do the will of God, and thirst after strength; I am sure that the Spirit of God is in me, and his favour upon me. For the world lusteth not to do the will of God, neither sorroweth because he cannot, though he sorrow some time for fear of the pain that he believeth shall follow. He that hath the spirit of this world,

By consenting unto the will of God, and knowledging our fault meekly, we be assured of the Spirit of God. W. T.

[1 In earnest, i.e. as an earnest or pledge.]

[2 From this clause is formed Art. XI. of alleged heresies. 'All flesh is in bondage of sin, and cannot but sin.' Foxe's reply is, 'This article is evident enough of itself, confirmed by the scripture, and needeth no allegations.' v. p. 572.]

cannot forgive without amends making, or a greater vantage. If I forgive now, how cometh it? Verily, because I feel the mercy of God in me. For as a man feeleth God to himself, so is he to his neighbour. I know by mine own experience, that all flesh is in bondage under sin, and cannot but sin; therefore am I merciful, and desire God to loose the bonds of sin even in mine enemy.

Wherefore the believing forgiveth. W. T.

"Gather not treasure together in earth, &c. but gather you treasure in heaven," &c. Let not your hearts be glued to worldly things; study not to heap treasure upon treasure, and riches upon riches; but study to bestow well that which is gotten already, and let your abundance succour the lack and need of the poor which have not. Have an eye to good works, to which if ye have lust and also power to do them, then are ye sure that the Spirit of God is in you, and ye in Christ elect to the reward of eternal life, which followeth good works. But look that thine eye be single, and rob not Christ of his honour; ascribe not that to the deserving of thy works, which is given thee freely by the merits of his blood. In Christ we are sons. In Christ we are heirs. In Christ God chose us, and elected us before the beginning of the world, created us[3] anew by the word of the gospel, and put his Spirit in us, for because that[4] we should do good works. A Christian man worketh, because it is the will of his Father only. If we do no good work, nor be merciful, how is our lust therein? If we have no lust to do good works, how is God's Spirit in us? If the Spirit of God be not in us, how are we his sons? How are we his heirs, and heirs annexed with Christ of the eternal life, which is promised to all them that believe in him? Now do our works testify and witness what we are, and what treasure is laid up for us in heaven, so that our eye be single, and look upon the commandment without respect of any thing, save because it is God's will, and that God desireth it of us, and Christ hath deserved that we do it.

Matt. vi.

A true bestowing of alms. Ant. ed.

With that which aboundeth of our necessary food ought we to sustain the poor. W. T.

In Christ we are all in all. Ant. ed.

We must do good works because it is God's will that we should do them.

Matt. vii. "Not all they that say unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven." Though thou canst

[3 So Day: in C. *us* is omitted.]

[4 So C.: in D. *that* it omitted.]

Not only to speak of the gospel is accepted before God, but to live after the gospel. W.T.

laud God with thy lips, and call Christ Lord, and canst babble and talk of the scripture, and knowest all the stories of the bible, yet shalt thou thereby never know thine election, or whether thy faith be right. But and if thou feel lust in thine heart to the will of God, and bringest forth the fruits thereof, then hast thou confidence and hope; and thy deeds, and also the Spirit whence thy deeds spring, certify thine heart that thou shalt enter, yea, art already entered, into the kingdom of heaven. For it followeth, "He that heareth the word, and doth it, buildeth his house upon a rock," and no tempest of temptations can overthrow it. For the Spirit of God is in his heart, and comforteth him, and holdeth him fast to the rock of the merits of Christ's blood, in whom he is elect. Nothing is able to pluck him out of the hands of God: God is stronger than all things. And contrariwise, "he that heareth the word, and doth it not, buildeth on the sand" of his own imagination, and every tempest overthroweth his building. The cause is, he hath not God's Spirit in him, and therefore understandeth it not aright, neither worketh aright. "For no man knoweth the things of God (saith Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians, in the second chapter) save the Spirit of God, as no man knoweth what is in a man, but a man's spirit which is in him." So then, if the Spirit be not in a man, he worketh not the will of God, neither understandeth it, though he babble never so much of the scriptures. Nevertheless such a man may work after his own imagination, but God's will can he not work; he may offer sacrifice, but to do mercy knoweth he not. It is easy to say unto Christ, Lord, Lord; but thereby shalt thou never feel or be sure of the kingdom of heaven. But and if thou do the will of God, then art thou sure that Christ is thy Lord indeed, and that thou in him art also a lord; in that thou feelest thyself loosed and freed from the bondage of sin, and lusty and of power to do the will of God.

We must hear the word of God and do it. Ant. ed.

1 Cor. ii.

Where the Spirit of God is not, there cannot a man work according to God's will. W. T.

Where the Spirit is, there is feeling; for the Spirit maketh us feel all things. Where the Spirit is not, there is no feeling; but a vain opinion or imagination. A physician serveth but for sick men; and that for such sick men as feel their sicknesses, and mourn therefore, and long for health. Christ likewise serveth but for such[1] sinners only as feel their

Christ is our only physician, to heal and deliver us of our sins. Ant. ed.

[1 So C.: in D. *such* is omitted here.]

sin, and that for such sinners that sorrow and mourn in their hearts for health. Health is power or strength to fulfil the law, or to keep the commandments. Now he that longeth for that health, that is to say, for to do the law of God, is blessed in Christ, and hath a promise that his lust shall be fulfilled, and that he shall be made whole. Matt. v. "Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness' sake, (that is, to fulfil the law,) for their lust shall be fulfilled." This longing and consent of the heart unto the law of God is the working of the Spirit, which God hath poured into thine heart, in earnest that thou mightest be sure that God will fulfil all his promises that he hath made thee. It is also the seal and mark, which God putteth on all men that he chooseth unto everlasting life. So long as thou seest thy sin and mournest, and consentest to the law, and longest (though thou be never so weak), yet the Spirit shall keep thee in all temptations from desperation, and certify thine heart that God for his truth shall deliver thee and save thee; yea, and by thy good deeds shalt thou be saved, not which thou hast done, but which Christ has done for thee; for Christ is thine, and all his deeds are thy deeds. Christ is in thee, and thou in him, knit together inseparably. Neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee: neither can Christ be saved, except thou be saved with him[2]. Moreover thy heart is good, right, holy, and just; for thy heart is no enemy to the law, but a friend and a lover. The law and thy heart are agreed and at one; and therefore is God at one with thee. The consent of the heart unto the law is unity and peace between God and man. For he is not mine enemy, which would fain do me pleasure, and mourneth because he hath not wherewith. Now he that opened thy disease unto thee, and made thee long for health shall (as he hath pro-

What health is to say. W. T.

Christ's merits are ours. W. T.

Christ is our anchorhold to salvation. Ant. ed.

[2 Art. XII. of the heresies and errors charged against Tyndale is composed of this sentence. Foxe says in reply, 'Read the place.' He then quotes Tyndale from the words 'A physician,' to the close of the condemned sentence, attaching to it this note: 'The believing man, standing upon the certainty of God's promise, may assure himself of his salvation, as truly as Christ himself is saved; and he can no more than Christ himself be damned: and although the scripture doth not use this phrase of speaking, yet it importeth no less in effect, by reason of the verity of God's promise, which impossible it is to fail.']

mised) heal thee; and he that hath loosed thy heart shall at his godly leisure loose thy members. He that hath not the Spirit hath no feeling, neither lusteth or longeth after power to fulfil the law, neither abhorreth the pleasures of sin, neither hath any more certainty of the promises of God, than I have of a tale of Robin Hood, or of some jest[1] that a man telleth me was done at Rome. Another man may lightly make me doubt, or believe the contrary, seeing I have no experience thereof myself: so is it of them that feel not the working of the Spirit, and therefore in time of temptation the buildings of their imaginations fall.

Matt. x. "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet," that is, because he is a prophet, "shall receive the reward of a prophet;" and "He that giveth one of these little ones a cup of cold water to drink in the name of a disciple, shall not lose his reward." Note this, that a prophet signifieth as well him that interpreteth the hard places of scripture, as him that prophesieth things to come. Now he that receiveth a prophet, a just man, or a disciple, shall have the same or like reward; that is to say, shall have the same eternal life which is appointed for them in Christ's blood and merits. For except thou were elect to the same eternal life, and hadst the same faith and trust in God, and the same Spirit, thou couldst never consent to their deeds and help them. But thy deeds testify what thou art; and certify thy conscience that thou art received to mercy, and sanctified in Christ's passions and sufferings, and shalt hereafter, with all them that follow God, receive the reward of eternal life.

A prophet, what he is. Ant. ed.

No man can consent to the deeds of the law, except he be chosen. W. T.

Matt. xii. "Of thy words thou shalt be justified, and of thy words thou shalt be condemned:" That is, thy words as well as other deeds shall testify with thee, or against thee, at the day of judgment. Many there are which abstain from the outward deeds of fornication and adultery, nevertheless rejoice to talk thereof and laugh: their words and laughter testify against them, that their heart is impure, and they adulterers and fornicators in the sight of God. The tongue, and other signs, ofttimes utter the malice of the heart, though a man

Matt. xii.

The abstaining from sin outwardly is but hypocrisy. Ant. ed.

[1 Jest, or gest: not meaning a tale to be laughed at, but some fact or exploit. A volume of superstitious narratives entitled, 'Ex Gestis Romanorum,' was a very popular book in Tyndale's day.]

for many causes abstain his hand from the outward deed or act.

"If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." Matt. xix. Matt. xix. First, remember that when God commandeth us to do any thing, he doth it not therefore, because that we of ourselves are able to do that he commandeth; but that by the law we might see and know our horrible damnation and captivity under sin, and therefore[2] should repent and come to Christ, and receive mercy, and the Spirit of God to loose us, strength us, and to make us able to do God's will, which is the law[3]. Now when he saith, "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments," is as much to say as, he that keepeth the commandments is entered into life. For except a man have first the Spirit of life in him by Christ's purchasing, it is impossible for him to keep the commandments, or that his heart should be loose or at liberty to lust after them; for of nature we are enemies to the law of God.

To believe unfeignedly in Christ, is to keep the commandments. Ant. ed. Except a man have the Spirit of life, it is impossible for him to keep the commandments. W. T.

As touching that Christ saith afterward, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell thy substance and give it to the poor;" he saith it not as who should say that there were any greater perfection than to keep the law of God, (for that is all perfection,) but to shew the other his blindness; which saw not that the law is spiritual, and requireth the heart; but, because he was not knowing that he had hurt any man with the outward deed, he supposed that he loved his neighbour as himself. But when he was bid to shew the deeds of love, and give of his abundance to them that needed, he departed mourning: which is an evident token that he loved not his neighbour as well as himself; for if he had need himself, it would not have grieved him to have received succour of another man. Moreover, he saw not that it was murder and theft, that a man should have abundance of riches lying by him, and not to shew mercy therewith, and kindly to succour his neighbour's

The greatest perfection. W. T.

The law is spiritual and requireth the heart. Ant. ed.

If the rich help not the poor in their need, they are but thieves before God. Ant. ed.

[2 So D.: in C. *therefore* is wanting.]

[3 To form their thirteenth charge of heresy or error, the examining commissioners represented Tyndale as here saying, 'The commandments be given us, not to do them, but to know our damnation, and to call for mercy of God.' Foxe only replies, 'Read the place;' and having quoted it, he attaches to it this note: 'This article is falsely wrested out of these words; which do not say that we should not do the commandments, but that we cannot do them.']

need. God hath given one man riches, to help another at need. If thy neighbour need, and thou help him not, being able, thou withholdest his duty[1] from him, and art a thief before God.

He that withdraweth from his neighbour that which is his, cannot come to heaven. W. T.

That also that Christ saith, how that "it is harder for a rich man" (who loveth his riches so that he cannot find in his heart liberally and freely to help the poor and needy) "to enter into the kingdom of heaven, than a camel to go through the eye of a needle," declareth that he was not entered into the kingdom of heaven, that is to say, eternal life. But he that keepeth the commandments, is entered into life; he[2] hath life and the Spirit of life in him.

Matt. xvii.

"This kind of devils goeth not out but by prayer and fasting." Not that the devil is cast out by merits of fasting or praying[3]: for he saith before, that for their unbelief's sake they could not cast him out. It is faith, no doubt, that casteth out the devils; and faith it is that fasteth and prayeth. Faith hath the promises of God, whereunto she cleaveth, and in all things thirsteth[4] the honour of God. She fasteth to subdue the body unto the spirit, that the prayer be not let, and that the spirit may quietly talk with God: she also, whensoever opportunity is given, prayeth God to fulfil his promises unto his praise and glory. And God, which is merciful in promising, and true to fulfil them, casteth out the devils, and doth all that faith desireth, and satisfieth her thirst.

Faith casteth out devils, and doth such like miracles. W. T.

Faith fasteth. Ant. ed.

Faith prayeth. Ant. ed.

The kingdom of heaven is prepared for the faithful; ergo, their works do not deserve it. W. T.

"Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world; for I was athirst, and ye gave me drink," &c. Matt. xxv. Not that a man with works deserveth eternal life, as a workman or labourer his hire or wages. Thou readest in the text, that the kingdom

Matt. xxv.

[1 Duty, i. e. due. Give to every man his duty. Rom. xiii. 7. Tyndale's version.]

[2 So D.: in C. it is *yea*.]

[3 Tewkesbury was examined as to what he thought of this clause; and the record of his examination says: 'To that he answered, thinking it good enough.']

[4 Compare this word as it stands here, and in the first sentence of Tyndale's Address to the Reader.]

was "prepared for us from the beginning of the world." And we are blessed and sanctified. In Christ's blood are we blessed from that bitter curse and damnable captivity under sin, wherein we were born and conceived. And Christ's Spirit is poured into us, to bring forth good works, and our works are the fruits of the Spirit; and the kingdom is the deserving of Christ's blood; and so is faith, and the Spirit, and good works also. Notwithstanding the kingdom followeth good works; and good works testify that we are heirs thereof; and at the day of judgment shall they testify for the elect unto their comfort and glory, and to the confusion of the ungodly, unbelieving, and faithless sinners, which had not trust in the word of God's promises, nor lust to the will of God; but were carried of the spirit of their father, the devil, unto all abomination, to work wickedness with all lust, delectation, and greediness.

In Christ's blood we are blessed from the curse of the law. Ant. ed.

"Many sins are forgiven her, for she loveth much." Luke vii. Not that love was cause of forgiveness of sins, but contrariwise the forgiveness of sins caused love; as it followeth, "To whom less was forgiven, that same loveth less." And afore he commended the judgment of Simon, which answered that he loveth most to whom most was forgiven: and also said, at the last, "Thy faith hath saved thee" (or made thee safe), "go in peace." We cannot love, except we see some benefit and kindness. As long as we look on the law of God only, where we see but sin and damnation and the wrath of God upon us, yea, where we were damned afore we were born, we cannot love God: no, we cannot but hate him as a tyrant, unrighteous, unjust, and flee from him as did Cain[5]. But when the gospel, that glad tidings, and joyful promises are preached, how that in Christ God loveth us first, forgiveth us, and hath mercy on us; then love we again, and the deeds of our love declare our faith. This is the manner of speaking: as we say, Summer is nigh, for the trees blossom. Now is the blossoming of the trees not the cause that summer draweth nigh; but the drawing nigh of summer is the cause of the blossoms, and the blossoms put us in remembrance that summer is at hand. So Christ here

Luke vii. As long as we see the law, we cannot love Christ; but when we see the gospel, then rejoice we. W. T.

The law condemneth. Ant. ed.

The gospel comforteth, and maketh us safe. Ant. ed.

An example, for declaration of inward deeds. W. T.

[5 The passage beginning, 'We cannot love,' and ending with 'Cain,' was urged upon Tewkesbury; and the record says, 'To that he answered, and thinketh it good and plain enough.']

teacheth Simon by the ferventness of love in the outward deeds to see a strong faith within, whence so great love springeth. As the manner is to say, Do your charity; shew your charity; do a deed of charity; shew your mercy; do a deed of mercy; meaning thereby that our deeds declare how we love our neighbours, and how much we have compassion on them at their need. Moreover it is not possible to love, except we see a cause. Except we see in our hearts the love and kindness of God to us-ward in Christ our Lord, it is not possible to love God aright.

Certain phrases of speech expounded. Ant. ed.

An example of love toward our neighbours. W. T.

We say also, He that loveth not my dog, loveth not me. Not that a man should love my dog first; but if a man loved me, the love wherewith he loved me would compel him to love my dog, though the dog deserved it not; yea, though the dog had done him a displeasure, yet if he loved me, the same love would refrain him from revenging himself, and cause him to refer the vengeance unto me. Such speakings find we in scripture. John in the ivth of his first epistle saith: "He that saith, I love God, and yet hateth his brother, is a liar; for how can he that loveth not his brother, whom he seeth, love God whom he seeth not?" This is not spoken that a man should first love his brother and then God, but as it followeth: "For this commandment have we of him, that he which loveth God should love his brother also." To love my neighbour is the commandment; which commandment he that loveth not, loveth not God. The keeping of the commandment declareth what love I have to God. If I loved God purely, nothing that my neighbour could do were able to make me either to hate him, either to take vengeance on him myself; seeing that God hath commanded me to love him, and to remit all vengeance unto him. Mark now, how much I love the commandment, so much I love God: how much I love God, so much believe I that he is merciful, kind and good, yea, and a father unto me for Christ's sake. How much I believe that God is merciful unto me, and that he will for Christ's sake fulfil all his promises unto me; so much I see my sins, so much do my sins grieve me, so much do I repent and sorrow that I sin, so much displeaseth me that poison that moveth me to sin, and so greatly desire I to be healed. So now, by the natural order, first I see my sin: then I repent, and sorrow: then believe I God's promises; that he is merciful unto me, and

1 John iv.

Where perfect love to God is, there are all good works. Ant. ed.

The keeping of the commandment declareth our love toward God. W. T.

A godly order of perfection. W. T.

forgiveth me, and will heal me at the last: then love I; and then I prepare myself to the commandment.

"This do, and thou shalt live." Luke x. That is to say, "Love thy Lord God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself." As who should say, If thou do this, or though thou canst not do it, yet if thou feelest lust thereunto, and thy spirit sigheth, mourneth, and longeth after strength to do it, take a sign and evident token thereby, that the Spirit of life is in thee, and that thou art elect to life everlasting by Christ's blood, whose gift and purchase is thy faith, and that Spirit that worketh the will of God in thee; whose gift also are thy deeds, or rather the deeds of the Spirit of Christ, and not thine; and whose gift is the reward of eternal life, which followeth good works.

Luke x.

What it is to love God with all our heart, &c. Ant. ed.

If we do but lust, it is a sign that the Spirit is in us. W. T.

It followeth also in the same place of Luke, "When he should depart he plucked out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take the charge or cure of him, and whatsoever thou spendest more, I will recompense it thee at my coming again." Remember, this is a parable, and a parable may not be expounded word by word; but the intent of the similitude must be sought out only, in the whole parable. The intent of the similitude is to shew to whom a man is a neighbour, or who is a man's neighbour, which is both one, and what it is to love a man's neighbour as himself.

The true understanding of a parable. Ant. ed.

A parable cannot be expounded in all. W. T.

The Samaritan holp him, and shewed mercy as long as he was present; and when he could be no longer present, he left his money behind him, and if that were not sufficient, he left his credence[1] to make good the rest; and forsook him not, as long as the other had need. Then said Christ, "Go thou and do likewise;" that is, without difference or respection of persons: whosoever needeth thy help, him count thy neighbour, and his neighbour be thou, and shew mercy on him as long as he needeth thy succour; and that is to love a man's neighbour as himself. Neighbour is a word of love; and signifieth that a man should be ever nigh, and at hand, and ready to help in time of need.

What neighbour signifieth. W. T.

We must ever be ready to help our neighbour. Ant ...

They that will interpret parables word by word, fall

[1 Promise, or pledge to be credited. The phrase, *letters of credence*, is an instance of a similar use of the word.]

into straits ofttimes, whence they cannot rid themselves; and preach lies instead of the truth. As do they which interpret by the two pence the old Testament and the new, and by that which is bestowed *opera supererogationis* (howbeit *superarrogantia*[1] were a meeter term), that is to say, deeds which are more than the law requireth; deeds of perfection and of liberality, which a man is not bound to do, but of his free will, and for them he shall have an higher place in heaven, and may give to other of his merits; or of which the pope, after his death, may give pardons from the pains of purgatory.

Against which exposition I answer: first, a greater perfection than the law is there not. A greater perfection than to love God and his will, which is the commandments, with all thine heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength, with all thy mind, is there none: and to love a man's neighbour as himself, is like the same. It is a wonderful love wherewith a man loveth himself. As glad as I would be to receive pardon of mine own life, (if I had deserved death,) so glad ought I to be to defend my neighbour's life, without respect of my life or of my good. A man ought neither to spare his goods, nor yet himself, for his brother's sake, after the ensample of Christ. "Herein," saith he, "perceive we love, in that he," that is to say Christ, "gave his life for us; we ought, therefore, to bestow our lives for the brethren." Now saith Christ, John xv. "There is no greater love than that a man bestow his life for his friend."

1 John iii.

John xv.

No man fulfilleth the law. W. T. 1 John i.

Moreover no man can fulfil the law: for John saith (first chapter of the said epistle,) "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and truth is not in us; if we knowledge our sins, he is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to purge us from all iniquity." And in the Paternoster also we say, "Father, forgive us our sins." Now if we be all sinners, none fulfilleth the law: for he that fulfilleth the law is no sinner. In the law may neither Peter nor Paul nor any other creature, save Christ only, rejoice. In the blood of Christ, which fulfilled the law for us, may every person that repenteth, believeth, loveth the law, and mourneth for strength to fulfil it, rejoice, be he never so weak a sinner. The two pence therefore, and the credence that he left behind

What the two pence betoken. W. T.

[1] Superarrogancy, exceeding arrogancy.]

him to bestow more, if need were, signifieth that he was everywhere merciful, both present and absent, without feigning, cloaking, complaining, or excusing, and forsook not his neighbour as long as he had need. Which example I pray God men may follow, and let *opera supererogationis* alone.

Works that the papists called works more than the law requireth. Ant. ed.

"Mary hath chosen a good part which shall not be taken from her." Luke x. She was first chosen of God, and called by grace, both to know her sin, and also to hear the word of faith, health, and glad tidings of mercy in Christ; and faith was given her to believe, and the Spirit of God loosed her heart from the bondage of sin: then consented she to the will of God again, and above all things had delectation to hear that[2] word wherein she had obtained everlasting health, and namely, of his own mouth, which had purchased so great mercy for her. God chooseth us first and loveth us first, and openeth our eyes to see his exceeding abundant love to us in Christ; and then love we again, and accept his will above all things, and serve him in that office whereunto he hath chosen us.

Luke x.

What the part was that Mary had chosen. W.T.

"Sell that ye have, and give alms, and make you bags which wax not old, and treasure which faileth not in heaven." Luke xii. This and such like are not spoken that we should work as hirelings, in respect of reward, and as though we should obtain heaven with merit. For he saith a little afore, "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's pleasure to give you a kingdom." The kingdom cometh then of the good will of Almighty God, through Christ; and such things are spoken partly to put us in remembrance of our duty, to be kind again: as is that saying, "Let your light so shine before men that they, seeing your good works, may glorify your Father which is in heaven:" as who should say, if God hath given you so great gifts, see ye be not unthankful, but bestow them unto his praise. Some things are spoken to move us to put our trust in God, as are these: "Behold the lilies of the field:" "Behold the birds of the air:" "If your children ask you bread, will ye proffer them a stone?" and many such like. Some are spoken to put us in remembrance to be sober, to watch and pray, and to prepare ourselves against temptations; and that we should understand and

Luke xii.

Whatsoever we have, we receive it of the mercy and goodness of God. Ant. ed.

The great diversity and manner of the speaking of the scriptures. Ant. ed.

Scripture speaketh to us divers ways. W. T.

[2 So C.: in D. it is *the*.]

know how that temptations, and occasion of evil, come then most, when they are least looked for; lest we should be careless, and sure of ourselves, negligent and unprepared. Some things are spoken that we should fear the wonderful and incomprehensible judgments of God, lest we should presume: some to comfort us, that we despair not. And for like causes are all the ensamples of the old Testament. In conclusion, the scripture speaketh many things as the world speaketh; but they may not be worldly understood, but ghostly and spiritually: yea, the Spirit of God only understandeth them; and where he is not, there is not the understanding of the scripture, but unfruitful disputing and brawling about words.

Where the Spirit is not, there is no understanding of scripture. W. T.

The scripture saith, God seeth, God heareth, God smelleth, God walketh, God is with them, God is not with them, God is angry, God is pleased, God sendeth his Spirit, God taketh his Spirit away, and a thousand such like: and yet is none of them true after the worldly manner, and as the words sound. Read the second chapter of Paul to the Corinthians: "The natural man understandeth not the things of God, but the Spirit of God only. And we," saith he, "have received the Spirit which is of God, to understand the things which are given us of God." For without the Spirit it is impossible to understand them. Read also the viiith to the Romans: "They that are led with the Spirit of God, are the sons of God:" now the son knoweth his father's will, and the servant not. "He[1] that hath not the Spirit of Christ, (saith Paul) is none of his:" likewise, he that hath not the Spirit of God, is none of God's; for it is both one Spirit, as thou mayest see in the same place.

The sayings of the scriptures may not be grossly understood. Ant. ed.

1 Cor. ii. The natural man understandeth not the things of God. Ant. ed.

It is impossible to understand the scripture without the Spirit of God. W. T.

Rom. viii.

Now "he that is of God heareth the word of God." John viii. And who is of God, but he that hath the Spirit of God? Furthermore, saith he, "Ye hear it not, because ye are not of God;" that is, ye have no lust in the word of God, for ye understand it not; and that because his Spirit is not in you.

John viii.

Forasmuch then as the scripture is nothing else but that which the Spirit of God hath spoken by the prophets and apostles, and cannot be understand but of the same Spirit; let every man pray to God to send him his Spirit, to loose him from his natural blindness and ignorance, and to give

The scripture is nothing else but that which the Spirit of God hath spoken. Ant. ed.

Pray the Spirit to loose you from

[1] So C.; D. omits, *not*. *He.*]

him understanding and feeling of the things of God, and of the speaking of the Spirit of God. And mark this process: first, we are damned of nature; so conceived, and born; as a serpent is a serpent, and a toad a toad, and a snake a snake by nature[2]. And as thou seest a young child, which hath pleasure in many things wherein is present death, as in fire, water, and so forth, would slay himself with a thousand deaths, if he were not waited upon and kept therefrom; even so we, if we should live these thousand years, could in all that time delight in no other thing, nor yet seek any other thing, but that wherein is death of the soul.

your natural blindness, and to give you understanding of spiritual things. W. T.

Mark the order of God's works. W. T.

Secondarily, of the whole multitude of the nature of man, whom God hath elect and chosen, and to whom he hath appointed mercy and grace in Christ, to them sendeth he his Spirit; which openeth their eyes, sheweth them their misery, and bringeth them unto the knowledge of themselves; so that they hate and abhor themselves, are astonied and amazed, and at their wit's ends, neither wot what to do, or where to seek health. Then, lest they should flee from God by desperation, he comforteth them again with his sweet promises in Christ; and certifieth their hearts that, for Christ's sake, they are received to mercy, and their sins forgiven, and they elect and made the sons of God, and heirs with Christ of eternal life: and thus through faith are they set at peace with God.

By faith in Christ we are brought to the state of salvation. Ant. ed.

Now may not we ask why God chooseth one and not another; either think that God is unjust to damn us afore we do any actual deed; seeing that God hath power over all his creatures of right, to do with them what he list, or to make of every one of them as he listeth. Our darkness cannot perceive his light. God will be feared, and not have his secret judgments known. Moreover we by the light of faith see a thousand things which are impossible to an infidel to see: so likewise, no doubt, in the light of the clear vision of God we shall see things which now God will not have known. For pride ever accompanieth high knowledge, but grace accompanieth meekness. Let us therefore give diligence rather to do the will of God, than to search his secrets, which are not profitable for us to know.

God worketh his own will with all his creatures. Ant. ed.

[2] Tewkesbury's examiners asked him if this were right. 'To that he answered, It is true, as it is in the book.' Foxe, IV. 691.]

If we believe in God, we must put off the old man and his works. Ant. ed.

When we are thus reconciled to God, made the friends of God and heirs of eternal life, the Spirit, that God hath poured into us, testifieth that we may not live after our old deeds of ignorance. For how is it possible that we should repent and abhor them, and yet have lust to live in them? We are sure therefore that God hath created and made us new in Christ, and put his Spirit in us, that we should live a new life, which is the life of good works.

He that is reconciled unto God must not live after the old lust of ignorance. W. T.

That thou mayest know what are good works, and the intent of good works, or wherefore good works serve, mark this that followeth.

Good works what they are, and to what end they serve. Ant. ed.

The life of a Christian man is inward between him and God, and properly is the consent of the Spirit to the will of God and to the honour of God. And God's honour is the final end of all good works.

Good works are all things that are done within the laws of God, in which God is honoured, and for which thanks are given to God.

Fasting, the true use thereof. Ant. ed.

Fasting is to abstain from surfeiting, or overmuch eating, from drunkenness, and care of the world (as thou mayest read Luke xxi.); and the end of fasting is to tame the body, that the spirit may have a free course to God, and may quietly talk with God. For overmuch eating and drinking, and care of worldly business, press down the spirit, choke her and tangle her that she cannot lift up herself to God. Now he that fasteth for any other intent than to subdue the body, that the spirit may wait on God, and freely exercise herself in the things of God, the same is blind, and wotteth not what he doth, erreth and shooteth at a wrong mark, and his intent and imagination is abominable in the sight of God[1]. When thou fastest from meat and drinkest all day, is that a Christian fast? either to eat at one meal that were sufficient for four? A man at four times may bear that he cannot at once. Some fast from meat and drink, and yet so tangle themselves in worldly business that they cannot once think on God. Some abstain from butter, some from eggs, some

The cause of fasting. W. T.

Superstitious fasting. Ant. ed.

[1 The above clause supplied Art. XIV. of the list of alleged heresies and errors, and was one of the subjects on which Tewkesbury was examined, to afford matter of condemnation against him. The allegation of error has only induced Foxe to give his reader the passage: and Tewkesbury owned it for a truth.]

from all manner white meat, some this day, some that day, some in the honour of this saint, some of that, and every man for a sundry purpose: some for the tooth ache, some for the head ache, for fevers, pestilence, for sudden death, for hanging, drowning, and to be delivered from the pains of hell. Some are so mad, that they fast one of the Thursdays between the two St Mary days[2], in the worship of that saint whose day is hallowed between Christmas and Candlemas[3];

[2 By "the two St Mary days" are meant the festival of the Virgin Mary's conception, observed by the church of Rome on the 5th Dec., and that of her purification, observed Feb. 2. The observance of the first arose out of a legend which assumed to tell when she was born, and consequently to fix the time when she was conceived. From accepting this legend, an advance was made in the 12th century to setting apart a day of rejoicing for her conception. And when the reputation of the famous schoolmen, Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, had divided nearly the whole ecclesiastical body of western Christendom into disputants about their respective merits; the Scotists counted it their master's chief honour, that he had taught that the virgin, like her divine Son, was conceived without spot of sin, whilst the Thomists, or disciples of Aquinas, were fain to oppose this notion, as evidently irreconcileable with his language. The former accordingly called it the Feast of the Immaculate Conception; and its observance was henceforward kept with the more zeal, as serving to call out manifestations of attachment to one or other of the two great parties into which the church of Rome is still divided on this subject.

The other St Mary's day, as Tyndale here calls it, has its appropriate collect, substitute for an epistle, and gospel, in the liturgy of the church of England; where it is headed, 'The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, commonly called, the Purification of Saint Mary the Virgin.' Its day of observance is obviously determined by the interval fixed upon in the divine law between the birth of a man-child and the purification of its mother, (Levit. xii. 2—4); and its title refers to the oldest origin of its observance. 'That which is commonly called the Purification of the Virgin Mary, or Candlemas Day,' went at first among the Greeks by the name of Ὑπαπαντή, which denotes the meeting of the Lord by Simeon in the temple, in commemoration of which occurrence it was first made a festival in the church; some say in the time of Justin the emperor; others in the time of his successor Justinian, A.D. 542. Bingham's Orig. Eccles. B. xx. ch. 8, §. 5. Vol. VII. p. 169. London, 1840.]

[3 By halving the interval between Christmas and Candlemas, we are brought to a festival long allowed by the church of Rome, as a part of the licensed saturnalia with which it accommodated its adherents in the winter season. 'On the 14th of January,' says Mr Fos-

and that to be delivered from the pestilence. All those men fast without conscience of God, and without knowledge of the true intent of fasting, and do no other than honour saints, as the Gentiles and heathen worshipped their idols, and are drowned in blindness, and know not of the testament that God hath made to man-ward in Christ's blood. In God have they neither hope nor confidence, neither believe his promises, neither know his will, but are yet in captivity under the prince of darkness.

What watch signifieth. W. T.

Watch, is not only to abstain from sleep, but also to be circumspect and to cast[1] all perils; as a man should watch a tower or a castle. We must remember that the snares of the devil are infinite and innumerable, and that every moment arise new temptations, and that in all places meet us fresh occasions; against which we must prepare ourselves and turn to God and complain to him, and make our moan, and desire him of his mercy to be our shield, our tower, our castle, and defence from all evil, to put his strength in us, for without him we can do nought; and above all things we must call to mind what promises God hath made, and what he hath sworn that he will do to us for Christ's sake, and with strong faith cleave unto him and desire him of his mercy and for the love that he hath to Christ, and for his truth's sake, to fulfil his promises. If we thus cleave to God with strong faith and believe his words, then, as saith Paul, "God is faithful that

True watching. Ant. ed.

1 Cor. x.

broke, 'was the Feast of Asses, intended to represent the flight of the Virgin Mary into Egypt. A girl, seated upon an ass, elegantly trapped, and holding a child, was led in procession to the church, and placed upon the ass at the gospel side of the altar. Kyrie, the Gloria, Creed, &c., were then chaunted, and concluded with *Hinham,*' (in imitation of the creature's bray). 'At the end of the service, the priest, turning to the people, instead of dismissing them, (with the usual words) said three times, Hinham; to which they replied, Hinham, Hinham, Hinham.' British Monachism, ch. v. p. 48. ed. 3, 1843.

Fosbroke further refers to Ducange, v. Festum Asinorum. The people at this festival apostrophised the ass as Sire Ane. This therefore was the *saint* of Tyndale's sarcastic allusion; and it would seem as if they who were 'so mad' must needs have a Thursday for their fast, that every thing connected with this strange superstition might be at variance with the more solemn usages of their church, whose chosen days for fasting are Wednesday and Friday.]

[1 Cast: calculate.]

he will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able," or above our might; that is to say, if we cleave to his promises and not to our own fantasies and imaginations, he will put might and power into us, that shall be stronger than all the temptation which he shall suffer to be against us.

Prayer, what it is. W. T.

Prayer is a mourning, a longing, and a desire of the spirit to God-ward, for that which she lacketh; as a sick man mourneth and sorroweth in his heart, longing for health. Faith ever prayeth. For after that by faith we are reconciled to God, and have received mercy and forgiveness of God, the spirit longeth and thirsteth for strength to do the will of God, and that God may be honoured, his name hallowed, and his pleasure and will fulfilled. The spirit waiteth and watcheth on the will of God, and ever hath her own fragility and weakness before her eyes; and when she seeth temptation and peril draw nigh, she turneth to God, and to the testament[2] that God hath made to all that believe and trust in Christ's blood; and desireth God for his mercy and truth, and for the love he hath to Christ, that he will fulfil his promise, and that he will succour, and help, and give us strength, and that he will sanctify his name in us, and fulfil his godly will in us, and that he will not look on our sin and iniquity, but on his mercy, on his truth, and on the love that he oweth to his Son Christ; and for his sake to keep us from temptation, that we be not overcome; and that he deliver us from evil, and whatsoever moveth us contrary to his godly will.

The condition and properties of prayer. W. T.

True prayer. Ant. ed.

Moreover, of his own experience he feeleth other men's need, and no less commendeth to God the infirmities of other than his own, knowing that there is no strength, no help, no succour, but of God only. And as merciful as he feeleth God in his heart to himself-ward, so merciful is he to other; and as greatly as he feeleth his own misery, so great compassion hath he on other. His neighbour is no less care to him than himself: he feeleth his neighbour's grief no less than his own. And whensoever he seeth occasion, he cannot but pray for his neighbour as well as for himself: his nature is to seek the

Let the same mind be in you, which was in Jesus Christ. W. T.

[2 Tyndale has defined *testament* to mean, 'an appointment made between God and man, and God's promises.' Table expounding certain words in Genesis.]

honour of God in all men, and to draw (as much as in him is) all men unto God. This is the law of love, which springeth out of Christ's blood into the hearts of all them that have their trust in him. No man needeth to bid a Christian man to pray, if he see his neighbour's need: if he see it not, put him in remembrance only, and then he cannot but do his duty.

True prayer is not without faith and charity. Ant. ed.

Now, as touching we desire one another to pray for us, that do we to put our neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and not that we trust in his holiness[1]. Our trust is in God, in Christ, and in the truth of God's promises: we have also a promise, that when two or three, or more, agree together in any thing, according to the will of God, God heareth us.

One to pray for another. W. T.

Notwithstanding, as God heareth many, so heareth he few, and so heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, and desire the honour of God. He that desireth mercy, the same feeleth his own misery and sin, and mourneth in his heart for to be delivered, that he might honour God; and God for his truth must hear him, which saith by the

Matt. v.

mouth of Christ, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." God, for his truth's sake, must put the righteousness of Christ in him, and wash his unrighteousness away in the blood of Christ.

In whathour the sinner sigheth I shall hear him. W. T.

And be the sinner never so weak, never so feeble and frail, sin he never so oft and so grievous; yet so long as this lust, desire, and mourning to be delivered, remaineth in him, God seeth not his sins, reckoneth them not, for his truth's sake, and love to Christ. He is not a sinner in the

He that repenteth his sin is no sinner before God. Ant. ed.

sight of God, that would be no sinner. He that would be delivered, hath his heart loose already. His heart sinneth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and consenteth unto the law and will of God, and justifieth God; that is, beareth record that God which made the law is righteous and just. And such an heart, trusting in Christ's blood, is accepted for full righteous. And his weakness, infirmity, and frailty is pardoned, and his sins not looked upon, until God put more strength in him, and fulfil his lust.

[1 The former part of this paragraph was counted amongst Tyndale's heresies or errors, (Art. XV.) by the royal commissioners. On this Foxe observes, 'The place biddeth us put our trust in Christ only, and not in poor men's prayers; and so doth the scripture likewise, and yet no heresy therein.']

When the weak in the faith, and unexpert in the mysteries of Christ, desire us to pray for them, then ought we to lead them to the truth and promises of God, and teach them to put their trust in the promises of God, in love that God hath to Christ and to us for his sake; and to strength their weak consciences, shewing and proving by the scripture, that as long as they follow the Spirit and resist sin, it is impossible they should fall so deep that God shall not pull them up again, if they hold fast by the anchor of faith, having trust and confidence in Christ. The love that God hath to Christ is infinite; and Christ did and suffered all things not for himself, to obtain favour or aught else; for he had ever the full favour of God, and was ever Lord over all things; but to reconcile us to God, and to make us heirs with him of his Father's kingdom. And God hath promised, that whosoever calleth on his name shall never be confounded or ashamed. If the righteous fall (saith the scripture), he shall not be bruised; the Lord shall put his hand under him. Who is righteous but he that trusteth in Christ's blood, be he never so weak? Christ is our righteousness; and in him ought we to teach all men to trust; and to expound unto all men the testament that God hath made to us sinners in Christ's blood. This ought we to do, and not make a prey of them to lead them captive, to sit in their consciences, and to teach them to trust in our holiness, good deeds and prayers, to the intent that we should feed our idle and slow bellies of their great labour and sweat, and so to make ourselves Christs and saviours. For if I take on me to save other by my merits, make I not myself a Christ and a saviour; and am indeed a false prophet, and a true antichrist; and exalt myself, and sit in the temple of God, that is to wit, the consciences of men?

How we should pray for our neighbours. Ant. ed.

The love of God to Christ is infinite. W. T.

Rom. x.

Who is righteous. W. T.

Christ is our righteousness. Ant. ed.

Among Christian men love maketh all things common: every man is other's debtor, and every man is bound to minister to his neighbour, and to supply his neighbour's lack, of that wherewith God hath endowed him. As thou seest in the world, how the lords and officers minister peace in the commonwealth, punish murderers, thieves, and evil-doers; and how the commons minister to them again rent, tribute, toll, and custom to maintain their order and estate: so in the

Love among Christian men maketh all things common. W. T.

He that serveth the altar, ought to live of the altar also. W. T.

gospel, the curates which in every parish preach the gospel ought of duty to receive an honest living for them and their households; and even so ought the other officers, which are necessarily required in the commonwealth of Christ. We need not to use filthy lucre in the gospel; to chop and change; and to play the taverners, altering the word of God, as they do their wines to their most advantage; and to fashion God's word after every man's mouth; or to abuse the name of Christ, to obtain thereby authority and power to feed our slow bellies. Now seest thou what prayer is, the end thereof, and wherefore it serveth.

Man's imagination cannot alter the law of God, neither make it more or less. Ant. ed.

If thou give me a thousand pounds to pray for thee, I am no more bound than I was before[1]. Man's imagination can make the commandment of God neither greater nor smaller; neither can to the law of God either add or minish[2]. God's commandment is as great as himself. I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power; yea, and above my power, even from the ground of my heart[3], after the ensample that Christ loved me; neither to spare goods, body, or life, to win him to Christ. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gavest me all the world? Where I see need, there can I not but pray, if God's Spirit be in me.

Temporal reward neither augmenteth nor minisheth charity. W. T.

Alms, what it is.

Alms is a Greek word[4], and signifieth mercy. One Christian is debtor to another, at his need, of all that he is able to do for him, until his need be sufficed. Every Christian man ought to have Christ always before his eyes, as an ensample to counterfeit and follow, and to do to his neighbour as Christ hath done to him; as Paul teacheth in all his epistles, and Peter in his first, and John in his first also. This order useth Paul in all his epistles: first, he preacheth the law, and proveth that the whole nature of man is damned, in that the heart lusteth contrary to the will of God. For

1 Pet. i. 1 John iv.

[1 This sentence forms Art. XVI. of the heresies and errors charged against Tyndale. Foxe in reply does but repeat the words, and annex to the condemned sentence that which follows it.]

[2 So Day: C.'s edition reads, Neither can it either add to the law of God or minish.]

[3 This forms Art. XIX. of heresies and errors. Foxe, in reply, does but give the whole sentence.]

[4 Into such a narrow compass has the Greek word Ἐλεημοσύνη shrunk, through the gradations of almosine, almosie, almesse.]

if we were of God, no doubt we should have lust in his will. Then preacheth he Christ, the gospel, the promises, and the mercy that God hath set forth to all men in Christ's blood: which they that believe, and take it for an earnest thing, turn themselves to God, begin to love God again, and to prepare themselves to his will, by the working of the Spirit of God in them. Last of all, exhorteth he to unity, peace, and soberness; to avoid brawlings, sects, opinions, disputing and arguing about words; and to walk in the plain and single faith and feeling of the Spirit; and to love one another after the ensample of Christ, even as Christ loved us; and to be thankful, and to walk worthy of the gospel, and as it becometh Christ; and with the ensample of pure living to draw all to Christ.

The order of Paul in setting forth Christ. W. T.

Christ is Lord over all; and every Christian is heir annexed with Christ, and therefore lord over all; and every one lord of whatsoever another hath[5]. If thy brother or neighbour therefore need, and thou have to help him, and yet shewest not mercy, but withdrawest thy hands from him, then robbest thou him of his own, and art a thief. A Christian man hath Christ's Spirit. Now is Christ a merciful thing: if therefore thou be not merciful after the ensample of Christ, then hast thou not his Spirit. If thou have not Christ's Spirit, then art thou none of his, nor hast any part with him. Moreover, though thou shew mercy unto thy neighbour, yet if thou do it not with such burning love as Christ did unto thee, so must thou knowledge thy sin, and desire mercy in Christ[6]. A Christian man hath nought to rejoice in, as concerning his deeds. His rejoicing is that Christ died for him, and that he is washed in Christ's blood. Of his deeds rejoiceth he not, neither counteth he his merits, neither giveth

By what reason all things are common. W. T.

He that is merciful hath the Spirit of God. Ant. ed. Rom. viii.

[5 Art. XVIII. of heresies and errors: 'Every man is lord of another man's goods.' Foxe, in reply, subjoins Tyndale's next sentence; and further observes, in a note: 'This place giveth to none any propriety [property] of another man's goods, but only by way of Christian communion.' The same clause was urged against Tewkesbury, who answered: 'What law can be better than that? for it is plainly meant there.' Foxe, v. 574, and iv. 691.]

[6 Art. XVII. of heresies and errors: 'A good deed done, and not of fervent charity, as Christ's was, is sin.' Foxe says, 'This place tendeth to no such meaning as is in the article; but only sheweth our good deeds to be imperfect.' Id. v. 574.]

pardons of them[1], neither seeketh an higher place in heaven of them, neither maketh himself a saviour of other men through his good works: but giveth all honour to God; and in his greatest deeds of mercy knowledgeth himself a sinner unfeignedly, and is abundantly content with that place that is prepared for him of Christ; and his good deeds are to him a sign only that Christ's Spirit is in him, and he in Christ, and, through Christ, elect to eternal life.

Love seeketh not her own profit. Ant. ed.

The order of love or charity, which some dream, the gospel of Christ knoweth not of, that a man should begin at himself, and serve himself first[2], and then descend, I wot not by what steps. Love seeketh not her own profit, 2 Cor. xii.; but maketh a man to forget himself, and to turn his profit to another man, as Christ sought not himself, nor his own profit, but ours. This term, myself, is not in the gospel; neither yet father, mother, sister, brother, kinsman, that one should be preferred in love above another. But Christ is all in all things. Every Christian man to another is Christ himself; and thy neighbour's need hath as good right in thy goods, as hath Christ himself, which is heir and lord over all. And look, what thou owest to Christ, that thou owest to thy neighbour's need. To thy neighbour owest thou thine heart, thyself, and all that thou hast and canst do. The love that springeth out of Christ excludeth no man, neither putteth difference between one and another[3]. In Christ we are all of one degree, without respect of persons. Notwithstanding, though a Christian man's heart be open to all men, and receiveth all men, yet, because that his ability of goods extendeth not so far, this provision is made, that every man shall care for his own household, as father and mother, and thine elders that have holpen thee, wife, children, and servants. If thou shouldest not care and provide for thine household, then were thou an infidel; seeing thou hast taken on thee so to do, and forasmuch as that is thy part committed to thee of the congregation. When thou hast done thy duty to thine household, and yet hast further abundance of the blessing of God, that owest thou to the poor that cannot labour, or would labour and can

2 Cor. xii.

Christ is all in all things. Ant. ed.

Every one must care for their own households. Ant. ed.

First look to thine own household, and then to the poor. Ant. ed.

[1 See p. 86.]

[2 So Day. In C. *and serve himself* is wanting.]

[3 The last clause was urged against Tewkesbury. The minute of proceedings says, 'To that he answered and said, It is plain enough.']

get no work, and are destitute of friends; to the poor, I mean, which thou knowest, to them of thine own parish. For that provision ought to be had in the congregation, that every parish care for their poor. If thy neighbours which thou knowest be served, and thou yet have superfluity, and hearest necessity to be among the brethren a thousand miles off, to them art thou debtor. Yea, to the very infidels we be debtors, if they need, as far forth as we maintain them not against Christ, or to blaspheme Christ. Thus is every man, that needeth thy help, thy father, mother, sister, and brother in Christ; even as every man, that doth the will of the Father, is father, mother, sister, and brother unto Christ.

How, and to whom, alms ought to be given. W. T.

Moreover, if any be an infidel and a false Christian, and forsake his household, his wife, children, and such as cannot help themselves, then art thou bound, and thou have wherewith[4], even as much as to thine own household. And they have as good right in thy goods as thou thyself[5]: and if thou withdraw mercy from them, and hast wherewith to help them, then art thou a thief. If thou shew mercy, so doest thou thy duty, and art a faithful minister in the household of Christ; and of Christ shalt thou have thy reward and thanks. If the whole world were thine, yet hath every brother his right in thy goods; and is heir with thee, as we are all heirs with Christ. Moreover the rich, and they that have wisdom with them, must see the poor set a-work, that as many as are able may feed themselves with the labour of their own hands, according to the scripture and commandment of God.

Who is a thief. W. T.

We must for Christ's sake shew our compassion and charity to all men, so far as our ability will extend. Ant. ed.

[4 So C., but D. has, *bound to them and have wherewith. And*, like the *an* of some old writers, is here equivalent to *if*.]

[5 The commissioners for the examination of Tyndale's works gathered from the above passage Art. XX. of the heresies or errors with which they charged him, and expressed it thus: 'The worst Turk living hath as much right to my goods, at his needs, as my household or mine own self.' Foxe says in reply, 'Read and mark well the place;' which he then copies, and adds in a note, 'Lo! reader, how peevishly this place is wrested! First, here is no mention made of any Turk. Secondly, this place, speaking of an infidel, meaneth of such Christians as forsake their own households. Thirdly, by his right in thy goods, he meaneth no propriety that he hath to claim; but only to put thee in remembrance of thy Christian duty, what to give.' Foxe, v. p. 574.]

Now seest thou what alms-deeds meaneth, and wherefore it serveth. He that seeketh with his alms more than to be merciful to a neighbour, to succour his brother's need, to do his duty to his brother, to give his brother that he oweth him, the same is blind, and seeth not what it is to be a Christian man, and to have fellowship in Christ's blood[1].

Good works, what they are. Ant. ed. All works that be done in faith are good. W. T.

As pertaining to good works, understand that all works are good which are done within the law of God, in faith, and with thanksgiving to God; and understand that thou in doing them pleasest God, whatsoever thou doest within the law of God, as when thou makest water. And trust me, if either wind or water were stopped, thou shouldest feel what a precious thing it were to do either of both, and what thanks ought to be given God therefore. Moreover, put no difference between works; but whatsoever cometh into thy hands that do, as time, place, and occasion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low. For as touching to please God, there is no work better than another. God looketh not first on thy work as the world doth, as though the beautifulness of the work pleased him as it doth the world, or as though he had need of them. But God looketh first on thy heart, what faith thou hast to his words, how thou believest him, trustest him, and how thou lovest him for his mercy that he hath shewed thee: he looketh with what heart thou workest, and not what thou workest; how thou acceptest the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an apostle or a shoemaker. Set this ensample before thine eyes. Thou art a kitchen-page, and washest thy master's dishes; another is an apostle, and preacheth the word of God. Of this apostle hark what Paul saith, in the 1st Cor. ix. "If I preach," saith he, "I have nought to rejoice in, for necessity is put unto me;" as who should say, God hath made me so. "Woe is unto me if I preach not. If I do it willingly," saith he, "then have I my reward;" that is, then am I sure that God's Spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternal life. "If I do it against my will, an office

An ensample of diversity of estates. W. T.

1 Cor. ix.

[1 Tewkesbury was examined as to what he thought of this paragraph; and the minute of proceeding says: 'Here he answereth that he findeth no fault throughout all the book; but that all the book is good, and it hath given him great comfort and light to his conscience.' Id. IV. p. 692.]

is committed unto me;" that is, if I do it not of love to God, but to get a living thereby, and for a worldly purpose, and had rather otherwise live, then do I that office which God hath put me in, and yet please not God myself. Note now, if this apostle preach not, as many do not, which not only make themselves apostles, but also compel men to take them for greater than apostles, yea, for greater than Christ himself; then woe is unto him, that is, his damnation is just. If he preach and his heart not right, yet ministereth he the office that God hath put him in, and they that have the Spirit of God hear the voice of God, yea, though he speak in an ass. Moreover, howsoever he preacheth, he hath not to rejoice in that he preacheth. But and if he preach willingly, with a true heart, and of conscience to God, then hath he his reward; that is, then feeleth he the earnest of eternal life, and the working of the Spirit of God in him. And as he feeleth God's goodness and mercy, so be thou sure he feeleth his own infirmity, weakness, and unworthiness, and mourneth and knowledgeth his sin, in that the heart will not arise to work with that full lust and love that is in Christ our Lord: and nevertheless is yet at peace with God, through faith and trust in Christ Jesu. For the earnest of the Spirit, that worketh in him, testifieth and beareth witness unto his heart that God hath chosen him, and that his grace shall suffice him, which grace is now not idle in him. In his works putteth he no trust.

We must do good works, and yet put no trust in them. Ant. ed.

The earnest of the Spirit. W. T.

Now thou that ministerest in the kitchen, and art but a kitchen-page, receivest all things of the hand of God; knowest that God hath put thee in that office; submittest thyself to his will; and servest thy master not as a man, but as Christ himself, with a pure heart, according as Paul teacheth us; puttest thy trust in God, and with him seekest thy reward. Moreover, there is not a good deed done, but thy heart rejoiceth therein; yea, when thou hearest that the word of God is preached by this apostle, and seest the people turn to God, thou consentest unto the deed; thine heart breaketh out in joy, springeth and leapeth in thy breast, that God is honoured: and in thine heart doest the same that that apostle doth, and haply with greater delectation and a more fervent spirit. Now "he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive the reward

God is no accepter of persons, but receiveth all that submit themselves unto him. Ant. ed.

Matt.

of a prophet;" that is, he that consenteth to the deed of a prophet, and maintaineth it, the same hath the same Spirit and earnest of everlasting life, which the prophet hath, and is elect as the prophet is.

As all deeds are acceptable to God, that are done in faith, so no deed is allowed good in God's sight (how glorious to the world soever it appear) if it be withoutfaith. Ant. ed.

Now if thou compare deed to deed, there is difference betwixt washing of dishes, and preaching of the word of God; but as touching to please God, none at all: for neither that nor this pleaseth, but as far forth as God hath chosen a man, hath put his Spirit in him, and purified his heart by faith and trust in Christ[1].

Let every man wait upon the office that Christ hath put him in. W. T.

Let every man therefore wait on the office wherein Christ hath put him, and therein serve his brethren. If he be of low degree, let him patiently therein abide, till God promote him, and exalt him higher. Let kings and head officers seek Christ in their offices, and minister peace and quietness unto the brethren; punish sin, and that with mercy, even with the same sorrow and grief of mind as they would cut off a finger or joint, a leg or arm, of their own body, if there were such disease in them, that either they must be cut off, or else all the body must perish.

Every man to walk truly in his vocation, is the right service of God. Ant. ed.

How the craftsmen ought to live

Let every man, of whatsoever craft or occupation he be of, whether brewer, baker, tailor, victualler, merchant, or husbandman, refer his craft and occupation unto the common wealth, and serve his brethren as he would do Christ himself. Let him buy and sell truly, and not set dice[2] on his bre-

[1 Art. XXII. 'There is no work better than another to please God: to pour water, to wash dishes, to be a souter [cobbler], or an apostle, all is one; to wash dishes and to preach is all one, as touching the deed, to please God.' In reply to the charge thus stated, Foxe says, 'The words of Tyndale be these:' and then follows a quotation, extending from 'as pertaining,' to 'trust in Christ;' to which he subjoins the following remark in a note: 'The words of Tyndale sufficiently discharge the article of all heresy, if they be well weighed. The meaning whereof is this, that all our acceptation with God standeth only upon our faith in Christ, and upon no work nor office. Cornelius, the soldier, believing in Christ, is as well justified before God as the apostle or preacher; so that there is no rejoicing now either in work or office, but only in our faith in Christ, which only justifieth us before God.' Tewkesbury was examined on the same point; and 'To that he answered, saying, It is a plain text, and as for pleasing God it is all one.' Foxe, v. 575, and iv. 691.]

[2 The phrase evidently means *deceive*.]

thren; and so sheweth he mercy, and his occupation pleaseth God. And when thou receivest money for thy labour or ware, thou receivest thy duty[3]. For wherein soever thou minister to thy brethren, thy brethren are debtors, to give thee wherewith to maintain thyself and household. And let your superfluities succour the poor, of which sort shall ever be some in all towns, and cities, and villages, and that I suppose the greatest number. Remember that we are members of one body, and ought to minister one to another mercifully: and remember that whatsoever we have, it is given us of God, to bestow it on our brethren. Let him that eateth, eat and give God thanks, only let not thy meat pull thine heart from God; and let him that drinketh do likewise. Let him that hath a wife, give God thanks for his liberty; only let not thy wife withdraw thine heart from God, and then pleasest thou God, and hast the word of God for thee. And in all things look on the word of God, and therein put thy trust, and not in a visor, in a disguised garment, and a cut shoe[4].

godly and according to the gospel. W. T.

We must be merciful one to another. Ant. ed.

Seek the word of God in all things; and without the word of God do nothing, though it appear never so glorious. Whatsoever is done without the word of God, that count idolatry. The kingdom of heaven is within us. Wonder therefore at no monstrous shape, nor at any outward thing without the word: for the world was never drawn from God but with an outward shew, and glorious appearance and shining of hypocrisy, and of feigned and visored fasting, praying, watching, singing, offering, sacrificing, hallowing of superstitious ceremonies, and monstrous disguising[5].

Luke xvii.

The world was never deceived but with outward appearance. W. T.

Hypocrites are vain-glorious in all their works. Ant. ed.

Take this for an ensample: John Baptist, which had testimony of Christ and of the gospel, that there never rose a greater among women's children, with his fasting, watching, praying, raiment, and strait living, deceived the Jews, and brought them in doubt whether John were very Christ or not, and yet no scripture or miracle testifying it: so greatly the blind nature of man looketh on the outward shining of

John deceived the Jews' opinion. W. T.

[3 Thy due.]

[4 A high shoe, cut open for some way down the front, was one of the marks of having vowed a pilgrimage. Fosbroke, Brit. Mon.]

[5 Art. XXIII. of alleged errors and heresies is, 'Ceremonies of the church have brought the world from God.' Foxe's reply is, 'Read the place of Tyndale.']

works, and regardeth not the inward word which speaketh to the heart. When they sent to John, asking him whether he were Christ, he denied it. When they asked him what he was, and what he said of himself? he answered not, I am he that watcheth, prayeth, drinketh no wine nor strong drink, eateth neither fish nor flesh, but live with wild honey and grasshoppers, and wear a coat of camel's hair and a girdle of a skin; but said, "I am a voice of a crier[1]." My voice only pertaineth to you. Those outward things which ye wonder at, pertain to myself only, unto the taming of my body. To you am I a voice only, and that which I preach. My preaching (if it be received into a penitent or repenting heart) shall teach you how to live and please God, according as God shall shed out his grace on every man. John preached repentance, saying, "Prepare the Lord's way, and make his paths straight." The Lord's way is repentance, and not hypocrisy of man's imagination and invention. It is not possible that the Lord Christ should come to a man, except he know himself and his sin, and truly repent. "Make his paths straight." The paths are the law, if thou understand it aright, as God hath given it. Christ saith, in the xviith of Matthew: "Elias shall first come," that is, shall come before Christ, "and restore all things;" meaning of John Baptist. John Baptist did restore the law, and the scripture, unto the right sense and understanding; which the Pharisees partly had darkened, and made of none effect through their own traditions, Matt. xv.; where Christ rebuketh them, saying, "Why transgress ye the commandments of God through your traditions?" and partly had corrupted it with glosses and false interpretations, that no man could understand it: wherefore Christ rebuketh them, Matt. xxiii., saying, "Woe be to you Pharisees, hypocrites, which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men: ye enter not yourselves, neither suffer them that come to enter in:" and partly did beguile the people and blind their eyes in disguising themselves, as thou readest in the same xxiiird chapter, how they made broad and large phylacteries, and did all their works to be seen of men, that the people should wonder at their disguisings and visoring themselves otherwise than God had made them: and partly

The straitness of life pertaineth to John only, but the voice to the Jews. W. T.

True preachers must preach repentance. Ant. ed.

It is impossible for Christ to come, without the sin be knowledged truly, with repentance. W. T.

Matt. xvii.

Matt. xv.

Matt. xxiii.

Matt. xxiii. The manner and doctrine of hypocrites. Ant. ed.

[1 "I am the voyce of a cryar in the wildernes," John i. 23. Tyndale's version.]

mocked them with hypocrisy of false holiness, in fasting, praying, and alms-giving, Matt. vi. And this did they for lucre, to be in authority, to sit in the consciences of people, and to be counted as God himself, that people should trust in their holiness, and not in God, as thou readest in the place above rehearsed, Matt. xxiii.: "Woe be to you, Pharisees, hypocrites, which devour widows' houses under a colour of a long prayer." Counterfeit therefore nothing without the word of God. When thou understandest that, it shall teach thee all things, how to apply outward things, and whereunto to refer them.

Matt. vi.

Matt. xxiii.

Beware of thy good intent, good mind, good affection, or zeal, as they call it. Peter of a good mind, and of a good affection or zeal, chid Christ, Matt. xvi., because that he said he must go to Jerusalem, and there be slain; but Christ called him Satan for his labour, a name that belongeth to the devil, and said, "That he perceived not godly things, but worldly[2]." Of a good intent, and of a fervent affection to Christ, the sons of Zebedee would have had fire to come down from heaven to consume the Samaritans, Luke ix.; but Christ rebuked them, saying that they wist not of what spirit they were: that is, that they understood not how that they were altogether worldly and fleshly-minded. Peter smote Malchus of a good zeal; but Christ condemned his deed. The very Jews of a good intent, and of a good zeal, slew Christ[3] and persecuted the apostles, as Paul beareth them record, Rom. x.; "I bear them record (saith he) that they have a fervent mind to God-ward, but not according to knowledge." It is another thing then, to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for knowledge; that thou mayest know God's will, and what he would have thee to do. Our mind, intent, and affection or zeal, are blind; and all that we do of them, is damned of God: and for that cause hath God made a testament between him and us, wherein is contained both what he would have us to do, and what he would have us to ask of him. See therefore that thou do nothing to please God withal, but that he commandeth; neither ask any thing

Matt. xvi. Beware of counterfeiting out of a good intent. W. T.

Luke ix.

Rom. x.

No zeal without knowledge is good. Ant. ed.

God hath made an everlasting covenant with us, that we should no more go astray after our good intent. W. T.

[2 Matt. xvi. 23. 'Thou perceivest not godly things, but worldly things.' Tyndale's version.]

[3 Tewkesbury, being questioned as to this clause, replied, 'It is true, and the text is plain enough.']

Acts vii.

of him, but that he hath promised thee[1]. The Jews also, as it appeareth, slew Stephen of a good zeal; because he proved by the scripture, that God dwelleth not in churches or temples made with hands. The churches at the beginning were ordained that the people should thither resort, to hear the word of God there preached only, and not for the use wherein they now are[2]. The temple wherein God will be worshipped, is the heart of man. For "God is a Spirit" (saith Christ, John iv.), "and will be worshipped in the spirit and in truth:" that is, when a penitent heart consenteth unto the law of God, and with a strong faith longeth for the promises of God. So is God honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances, and also trust in all his promises. Other worshipping of God is there none, except we make an idol of him[3].

The use of temples or churches. W. T.

Churches, why they were first ordained. Ant. ed.

The true temple of God is the heart of man. Ant. ed.

The honour of God. W.T.

Luke xiv.

Matt. v.

"It shall be recompensed thee at the rising again of the righteous." Luke xiv. Read the text before, and thou shalt perceive that Christ doth here that same that he doth, Matt. v., that is, he putteth us in remembrance of our duty, that we be to the poor as Christ is to us; and also teacheth us, how that we can never know whether our love be right, and whether it spring of Christ or no, as long as we are but kind to them

[1 Art. XXIV. 'Beware of good intents: they are damned of God.' Art. XXV. 'See thou do nothing but that God biddeth thee.' List of errors and heresies charged upon Tyndale. Against these charges Foxe makes no other defence for Tyndale, than giving his words, from 'Beware of thy good intent,' to 'promise thee.' And when Tewkesbury was questioned on this last sentence, the minute of his reply says, 'He answered, that he thinketh it good, by his troth.']

[2 Art. XXVI. 'Churches are for preaching only, and not as they be used now.' Foxe's reply, 'This article containeth neither error nor heresy; but is plain enough of itself to all them that have their minds exercised in the scriptures of God.' By the words 'not as they be used now,' Foxe and his contemporaries would, doubtless, understand Tyndale to mean, not for processions of priests and monks, carrying tapers, and chaunting Latin litanies.]

[3 Art. XXVII. 'To worship God, otherwise than to believe that he is just and true in his promise, is to make God an idol.' Foxe, 'Read the words of Tyndale.' The record of Tewkesbury's examinations says he was asked what he held of this: 'So God is honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances: and to worship him otherwise than so, it is idolatry.' 'To that he answered, 'That it pleaseth him well.']

only which do as much for us again. But and we be merciful to the poor, for conscience to God, and of compassion and hearty love, which compassion and love spring of the love we have to God in Christ, for the pure mercy and love that he hath shewed on us: then have we a sure token that we are beloved of God, and washed in Christ's blood, and elect, by Christ's deserving, unto eternal life.

The manner of the speaking of the Scripture. Ant. ed.

The scripture speaketh as a father doth to his young son, Do this or that, and then will I love thee: yet the father loveth his son first, and studieth with all his power and wit to overcome his child with love and with kindness, to make him do that which is comely, honest, and good for itself. A kind father and mother love their children even when they are evil, that they would shed their blood to make them better, and to bring them into the right way. And a natural child studieth not to obtain his father's love with works; but considereth with what love his father loveth him withal, and therefore loveth again, is glad to do his father's will, and studieth to be thankful.

The wise of this world do not understand the speaking of God in his scriptures. Ant. ed. 1 Cor. i. ii.

The spirit of the world understandeth not the speaking of God; neither the spirit of the wise of this world, neither the spirit of philosophers, neither the spirit of Socrates, of Plato, or of Aristotle's ethics, as thou mayest see in the first and second chapter of the first to the Corinthians. Though that many are not ashamed to rail and blaspheme, saying, How should he understand the scripture, seeing he is no philosopher, neither hath seen his metaphysic? moreover they blaspheme, saying, How can he be a divine, and wotteth not what is *subjectum in theologia*[4]? nevertheless as a man, without the spirit of Aristotle or philosophy, may by the Spirit of God understand scripture; even so, by the Spirit of God, understandeth he that God is to be sought in all the scripture, and in all things; and yet wotteth not what meaneth *subjectum in theologia*, because it is a term of their own making. If thou shouldest say to him that hath the Spirit of God, the love of God is the keeping of the commandments, and to love a man's neighbour is to shew mercy; he would, without arguing or disputing, understand how that

I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding of the learned shall perish. W. T. Isai. xxix.

The Papists' arguments. Ant. ed.

Love of God. W. T.

[4 After discussing the question in some sentences, Aquinas comes to the conclusion, that as theology is the science which treats of God, he can allow that its subject is God. Summ. Theolog. Quæst. I. Art. vii.]

Love of my neighbour. W. T.

of the love of God springeth the keeping of his commandments, and of the love to thy neighbour springeth mercy. Now would Aristotle deny such speaking; and a Duns' man would make twenty distinctions[1]. If thou shouldest say (as saith John, the ivth of his epistle), "How can he that loveth not his neighbour whom he seeth, love God whom he seeth not?" Aristotle would say, Lo, a man must first love his neighbour and then God; and out of the love to thy neighbour springeth the love to God. But he that feeleth the working of the Spirit of God, and also from what vengeance the blood of Christ hath delivered him, understandeth how that it is impossible to love either father or mother, sister, brother, neighbour, or his own self aright, except it spring out of the love to God; and perceiveth that the love to a man's neighbour is a sign of the love to God, as good fruit declareth a good tree; and that the love to a man's neighbour accompanieth and followeth the love of God, as heat accompanieth and followeth fire.

The love of a man's neighbour is a sign of the love of God. W.T.

Likewise when the scripture saith, Christ shall reward every man at the resurrection, or uprising again, according to his deeds, the scripture[2] of Aristotle's Ethics would say, Lo, with the multitude of good works mayest thou, and must thou, obtain everlasting life; and also a place in heaven high or low, according as thou hast many or few good works. And yet he wotteth not what a good work meaneth, as Christ speaketh of good works; as he that seeth not the heart, but outward things only. But he that hath God's Spirit understandeth it. He feeleth that good works are nothing but fruits of love, compassion, mercifulness, and of a tenderness of heart, which a Christian hath to his neighbour; and that love springeth of that love which he hath to God, to his will and commandments: and he understandeth also, that the love which man hath to God springeth of that[3] infinite love and bottomless mercy, which God in Christ shewed first to us, as saith John in the epistle and chapter above rehearsed. "In this (saith he,) appeareth the love of God to us-ward, because that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love; not that we loved

Aristotle's and Panists' doctrine. Ant. ed.

Good works are the fruits of love. Ant. ed.

Whence springeth the love to God. W. T. 1 John iv.

[1 Duns' man: a follower of Duns Scotus.]
[2 So C., in D. it is, *the spirit of Aristotle's Ethics.*]
[3 So C., in D. it is *the.*]

God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to make agreement for our sins." In conclusion, a Christian man feeleth that that unspeakable love and mercy which God hath to us, and that Spirit which worketh all things that are wrought according to the will of God, and that love wherewith we love God, and that love which we have to our neighbour, and that mercy and compassion which we shew on him, and also that eternal life which is laid up in store for us in Christ, are altogether the gift of God through Christ's purchasing.

God first loved us, and not we him. Ant. ed.

If the scripture said always, Christ shall reward thee according to thy faith, or according to thy hope and trust thou hast in God, or according to the love thou hast to God and thy neighbour; so were it true also, as thou seest, 1 Pet. i. "Receiving the end," or reward, "of your faith, the health," or salvation, "of your souls." But the spiritual things could not be known, save by their works; as a tree cannot be known but by her fruit. How could I know that I loved my neighbour, if never occasion were given me to shew mercy unto him? How should I know that I loved God, if I never suffered for his sake? How should I know that God loved me, if there were no infirmity, temptation, peril and jeopardy whence God should deliver me?

1 Pet. i.

Faith and love be known by works. W. T.

How we understand the love of God to be in us. Ant. ed.

"There is no man that forsaketh house, either father or mother, either brethren or sisters, wife or children, for the kingdom of heaven's sake, which shall not receive much more in this world, and in the world to come everlasting life." Luke xviii.

Luke xviii.

Here seest thou, that a Christian man in all his works hath respect to nothing but unto the glory of God only, and to the maintaining of the truth of God; and doth and leaveth undone all things of love, to the glory and honour of God only, as Christ teacheth in the *Paternoster*.

A Christian hath respect to nothing else but the glory of God. W. T.

Moreover when he saith, he shall receive much more in this world, of a truth, yea, he hath received much more already. For except he had felt the infinite mercy, goodness, love, and kindness of God, and the fellowship of the blood of Christ, and the comfort of the Spirit of Christ in his heart, he could never have forsaken any thing for God's sake. Notwithstanding (as saith Mark x.), whosoever for Christ's sake and the gospel's "forsaketh house, brethren or sisters, &c., he shall receive an hundred-fold, houses, brethren," &c.,

Mark x. Whosoever for Christ's sake loseth any thing, shall receive

an hundredfold. Ant. ed. How it is to be understood, He shall receive an hundredfold. W. T.

that is, spiritually. For Christ shall be all things unto thee. The angels, all Christians, and whosoever doth the will of the Father, shall be father, mother, sister and brother unto thee; and all theirs shall be thine. And God shall take the care of thee, and minister all things unto thee, as long as thou seekest but his honour only. Moreover, if thou wert lord over all the world, yea, of ten worlds, before thou knewest God, yet was not thine appetite quenched; thou thirstedst for more. But if thou seek his honour only, then shall he slake thy thirst; and thou shalt have all that thou desirest, and shall be content: yea, if thou dwell among infidels, and amongst the most cruel nations of the world, yet shall he be a Father unto thee, and shall defend thee, as he did Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all saints whose lives thou readest in the scripture. For all that are past and gone before are but ensamples, to strength our faith and trust in the word of God. It is the same God, and hath sworn to us all that he sware unto them; and is as true as ever he was; and therefore cannot but fulfil his promises to us, as well as he did to them, if we believe as they did.

If we once possess Christ by faith, then have we all in all, and are content with that we have. Ant. ed.

God's Spirit slaketh all worldly desire. W. T.

All that is written, is written to our instruction. W. T.

How it is to be understood, The dead in the grave shall hear the voice. W. T.

"The hour shall come when all they that are in the graves shall hear his voice," that is to say, Christ's voice, "and shall come forth; they that have done good into the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil into the resurrection of damnation." John v. This, and all like texts, declare what followeth good works, and that our deeds shall testify with us or against us at that day; and putteth us in remembrance to be diligent and fervent in doing good. Hereby mayest thou not understand that we obtain the favour of God, and the inheritance of life, through the merits of good works, as hirelings do their wages: for then shouldest thou rob Christ, of whose "fulness we have received favour for favour[1]," John i.; that is, God's favour was so full in Christ, that for his sake he giveth us his favour, as affirmeth also Paul, Eph. i., "He loved us in his beloved, by whom we have," saith Paul, "redemption through his blood, and forgiveness of sins." The forgiveness of sins, then, is our redemption in Christ, and not the reward of works. "In whom," saith he in the same place, "he chose us before the making of

Joh. v.

Here note what followeth of good works. Ant. ed.

John i.

[1 'Of his fulness have all we received, even favour for favour.' Tynd. vers.]

the world," that is, long before we did good works. Through faith in Christ are we also the sons of God, as thou readest John i. "In that they believed on his name, he gave them power to be the sons of God." God, with all his fulness and riches, dwelleth in Christ; and out of Christ must we fetch all things. Thou readest also, John iii. "He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life: and he that believeth not shall see no life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him." Here seest thou that the wrath and vengeance of God possesseth every man, till faith come. Faith and trust in Christ expelleth the wrath of God; and bringeth favour, the Spirit, power to do good, and everlasting life. Moreover, until Christ hath given thee light, thou knowest not wherein standeth the goodness of thy works; and until his Spirit hath loosed thine heart, thou canst not consent unto good works. All that is good in us, both will and works, cometh of the favour of God, through Christ, to whom be all the laud. Amen.

John i. By faith in Christ we are made the sons of God. Ant. ed.

John iii.

Faith doth expel the wrath of God. Ant. ed.

Faith and trust in Christ expelleth wrath, and bringeth favour. W.T.

"If any man will do his will," he meaneth the will of the Father, "he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." John vii. This text meaneth not that any man of his own strength, power, and free will, (as they call it,) can do the will of God, before he hath received the Spirit and strength of Christ through faith. But here is meant that which is spoken in the third of John, when Nicodemus marvelled how it were possible that a man should be born again: Christ answered, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit;" as who should say, He that hath the Spirit through faith, and is born again, and made anew in Christ, understandeth the things of the Spirit, and what he that is spiritual meaneth. But he that is flesh, and as Paul saith, 1 Cor. ii., a natural man, and led of his blind reason only, can never ascend to the capacity of the Spirit. And he giveth an onsample, saying, "The wind bloweth where he listeth, and thou hearest his voice, and wottest not whence he cometh, nor whither he will: so is every man that is born of the Spirit[2]." He that speaketh of the Spirit can never be understand of the natural

John vii.

1 Cor. ii.

The natural man, which is but flesh, savoureth not those things that are of the Spirit. Ant. ed.

[2 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest his sound; but thou canst not tell whence he cometh, and whither he goeth.' Tynd. vers.]

man, which is but flesh, and savoureth no more than things of the flesh. So here meaneth Christ, If any man have the spirit, and consenteth unto the will of God, the same at once wotteth what I mean.

John xiii. "If ye understand these things, happy are ye if ye do them." John xiii. A Christian man's heart is with the will of God, with the law and commandments of God; and hungereth and thirsteth after strength to fulfil them; and mourneth day and night, desiring God, according to his promises, for to give him power to fulfil the will of God with love and lust: then testifieth his deed that he is blessed, and that the Spirit, which blesseth us in Christ, is in him, and ministereth such strength. The outward deed testifieth what is within us, as John v. thou readest, John v., "The deeds which I do testify of me," John xiii. saith Christ. And, John xiii., "Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." And, John xiv. John xiv., "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, the same it is that loveth me." And again: "He that loveth me, keepeth my commandments; and he that loveth The works testify. W. T. me not, keepeth not my commandments[1]:" the outward deed John xv. testifieth of the inward heart. And, John xv., "If ye shall keep my commandments, ye shall continue in my love; as I keep my Father's commandment, and continue in his love." That is, As ye see the love that I have to my Father, in that I keep his commandments; so shall ye see the love that ye have to me, in that ye keep my commandments.

We are blessed by God only in Christ our Saviour, and not by our works. Ant. ed. Our deeds prevent not God's grace, nor make us just. W. T. Thou mayest not think that our deeds bless us first, and that we prevent God and his grace in Christ; as though we, in our natural gifts, and being as we were born in Adam, looked on the law of God, and of our own strength fulfilled it, and so became righteous, and then with that righteousness obtained the favour of God: as philosophers write of righteousness; and as the righteousness of temporal law is, where the law is satisfied with the hypocrisy of the outward deed. John xv. For, contrary to that, readest thou John xv. "Ye have not chosen me," saith Christ, "but I have chosen you, that ye go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit remain." And in the same chapter: "I am a vine, and ye the branches; and without me can ye do nothing." With us, therefore, so goeth it.

[1 So Tynd. vers.; but Auth. vers. *sayings*.]

In Adam are we all, as it were, wild crab-trees, of which God chooseth whom he will, and plucketh them out of Adam, and planteth them in the garden of his mercy; and stocketh them, and grafteth the Spirit of Christ in them, which bringeth forth the fruit of the will of God; which fruit testifieth that God hath blessed us in Christ. Note this also; that, as long as we live, we are yet partly carnal and fleshly, notwithstanding that we are in Christ, and though it be not imputed unto us for Christ's sake; for there abideth and remaineth in us yet of the old Adam, as it were of the stock of the crab-tree; and ever among, when occasion is given him, shooteth forth his branches and leaves, bud, blossom, and fruit: against whom we must fight and subdue him, and change all his nature by little and little, with prayer, fasting, and watching, with virtuous meditation and holy works, until we be altogether spirit. "The kingdom of heaven," saith Christ, "is like leaven, which a woman taketh and hideth in three pecks of meal, till all be leavened." The leaven is the Spirit, and we the meal, which must be seasoned with the Spirit by a little and a little, till we be throughout spiritual.

We are all crab-trees in Adam. W. T.

During our life, we are yet partly carnal. W. T.

We must wrestle with our old man, that we may put on Christ. Ant. ed.

Matt. xiii.

What leaven is, what is meal. W. T.

"Which shall reward every man according to his deeds," Rom. ii. Rom. ii.; that is, according as the deeds are, so shall every man's reward be: the deeds declaré what we are, as the fruit the tree; according to the fruit shall the tree be praised. The reward is given of the mercy and truth of God, and by the deserving and merits of Christ. Whosoever repenteth, believeth the gospel, and putteth his trust in Christ's merits, the same is heir with Christ of eternal life; for assurance whereof, the Spirit of God is poured into his heart as an earnest, which looseth him from the bonds of Satan, and giveth him lust and strength, every day more and more, according as he is diligent to ask of God for Christ's sake: and eternal life followeth good living. "I suppose," saith St Paul Rom. viii. in the same epistle, the eighth chapter, "that the afflictions of this world are not worthy of the glory which shall be shewed on us;" that is to say, that which we here suffer can never deserve that reward, which there shall be given us.

Moreover, if the reward should depend and hang of the works, no man should be saved: forasmuch as our best deeds, compared to the law, are damnable sin. "By the deeds of the law is no flesh justified," as it is written in the third

Our best works are damnable in the sight of God, without Christ. Ant. ed.

chapter to the Romans. The law justifieth not, but uttereth the sin only; and compelleth and driveth the penitent, or repenting sinner, to flee unto the sanctuary of mercy in the blood of Christ. Also, repent we never so much, be we never so well willing unto the law of God, yet are we so weak, and the snares and occasions so innumerable, that we fall daily and hourly: so that we could not but despair, if the reward hanged of the work. Whosoever ascribeth eternal life unto the deserving and merit of works, must fall in one of two inconveniences: either must he be a blind Pharisee, not seeing that the law is spiritual and he carnal, and look and rejoice in the outward shining of his deeds, despising the weak, and, in respect of them, justify himself; or else (if he see how that the law is spiritual, and he never able to ascend unto that which the law requireth,) he must needs despair. Let every Christian man, therefore, rejoice in Christ our hope, trust, and righteousness; in whom we are loved, chosen, and accepted unto the inheritance of eternal life; neither presuming in our perfectness, neither despairing in our weakness. The perfecter a man is, the clearer is his sight; and seeth a thousand things which displease him, and also perfectness that cannot be obtained in this life; and therefore desireth to be with Christ, where is no more sin. Let him that is weak, and cannot do that he would fain do, not despair; but turn to him that is strong, and hath promised to give strength to all that ask of him in Christ's name; and complain to God, and desire him to fulfil his promises, and to God commit himself; and he shall of his mercy and truth strengthen him, and make him feel with what love he is beloved for Christ's sake, though he be never so weak.

He that ascribeth eternal life unto merits is either a Pharisee, or else he must despair. W. T.

Christ is our hope and righteousness. Ant. ed.

Let no man despair, but put his hope in Christ, and he shall be safe. Ant. ed.

Rom. ii.

"They are not righteous before God which hear the law; but they which do the law shall be justified." Rom. ii. This text is plainer than that it needeth to be expounded. In this chapter Paul proveth that the law natural holp not the Gentiles. For the law of God was written in the hearts of the Gentiles, as it[1] appeareth by the laws, statutes, and ordinances which they made in their cities, yet kept they them not. The great keep the small under, for their own profit, with the violence of the law. Every man praiseth the law, as far forth as it

The law natural was written to the Gentiles. W. T.

[1 So C.; Day omits *it*.]

is profitable and pleasant unto himself: but when his own appetites should be refrained, then grudgeth he against the law. Moreover, he proveth that no knowledge holp the Gentiles. For though the learned men (as the philosophers) came to the knowledge of God by the creatures of the world, yet had they no power to worship God. In this second chapter proveth he that the Jews, though they had the law written, yet it holp them not: they could not keep it, but were idolaters, and were also murderers, adulterers, and whatsoever the law forbad. He concludeth therefore, that the Jew is as well damned as the Gentile. If hearing of the law only might have justified, then had the Jews been righteous. But it requireth that a man do the law, if he will be righteous; which because the Jew did not, he is no less damned than the Gentile. The publishing and declaring of the law doth but utter a man's sin; and giveth neither strength, nor help, to fulfil the law. The law killeth thy conscience, and giveth thee no lust to fulfil the law. Faith in Christ giveth lust and power to do the law. Now is it true, that he which doth the law is righteous; but that doth no man, save he that believeth and putteth his trust in Christ.

Not hearing, but doing the law maketh righteous. W. T.

No man can fulfil the law, but he that believeth in Christ. Ant. ed.

"If any man's work, that he hath built upon, abide, he shall receive a reward." 1 Cor. iii. The circumstance of the same chapter, that is to wit, that which goeth before and that which followeth, declareth plainly what is meant. Paul talketh of learning, doctrine, or preaching: he saith that he himself hath laid the foundation, which is Jesus Christ, and that no man can lay any other. He exhorteth, therefore, every man to take heed what he buildeth upon; and borroweth a similitude of the goldsmith, which trieth his metals with fire; saying that the fire, that is, the judgment of the scripture, shall try every man's work, that is, every man's preaching and doctrine. If any build upon the foundation laid of Paul, I mean Jesus Christ, "gold, silver, or precious stone," (which are all one thing, and signify true doctrine, which, when it is examined, the scripture alloweth,) then shall he have his reward; that is, he shall be sure that his learning is of God, and that God's Spirit is in him, and that he shall have the reward that Christ hath purchased for him. On the other side, if any man build thereon "timber, hay, or stubble," (which are all one, and

1 Cor. iii.

Christ is the sure foundation. Ant. ed.

The fire is the judgment of scripture. W. T.

Gold, silver, and precious stones, is true doctrine. W. T.

Timber, hay, stubble, are men's doctrine. W. T.

signify doctrine of man's imagination, traditions, and fantasies, which stand not with Christ when they are judged and examined by the scripture,) he shall suffer damage, but shall be saved himself, yet as it were through fire: that is, it shall be painful unto him that he hath lost his labour, and to see his building perish; notwithstanding, if he repent, and embrace the truth in Christ, he shall obtain mercy and be saved. But if Paul were now alive, and would defend his own learning, he should be tried through fire; not through fire of the judgment of scripture, (for that light men now utterly refuse,) but by the pope's law, and with fire of fagots.

Man's foundation is feeble. Ant. ed.

He shall be saved, nevertheless through fire. W. T.

2 Cor. v.

"We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, for to receive every man according to the deeds of his body," 2 Cor. v.: as thy deeds testify of thee, so shall thy reward be. Thy deeds be evil, then is the wrath of God upon thee, and thine heart is evil; and so shall thy reward be, if thou repent not. Fear therefore; and cry to God for grace, that thou mayest love his laws. And when thou lovest them, cease not, till thou have obtained power of God to fulfil them; so shalt thou be sure that a good reward shall follow. Which reward not thy deeds, but Christ's, have purchased for thee; whose purchasing also is that lust which thou hast to God's law, and that might wherewith thou fulfillest them. Remember also, that a reward is rather called that which is given freely, than that which is deserved. That which is deserved is called (if thou wilt give him his right name) hire or wages. A reward is given freely, to provoke unto love, and to make friends.

Christ rewardeth his own works in us. Ant. ed.

What reward is, and what hire. W. T.

The Lord shall reward every man, according to his deeds. W. T.

Eph. vi. Col. iii.

"Remember, that whatsoever good thing any man doth, that shall he receive of the Lord." Eph. vi. "Remembering that ye shall receive of the Lord the reward of inheritance." Col. iii. These two texts are exceeding plain. Paul meaneth, as Peter doth, that servants should obey their masters with all their hearts, and with good will, though they were never so evil. Yea, he will that all who are under power obey, even of heart, and of conscience to God; because God will have it so, be the rulers never so wicked. The children must obey father and mother, be they never so cruel or unkind; likewise the wife her husband, the servant his master, the subjects and commons their lord or king. Why? "For ye serve the Lord," saith he, in the Coloss. iii. We are Christ's, and Christ hath

1 Pet. ii.

We must obey the magistrates, because God will have it so. Ant. ed.

We must obey our superiors, be they never so evil. W. T.

Rom. xiv.

bought us, as thou readest, Rom. xiv. 1 Cor. vi. 1 Pet. i. Christ is our Lord, and we his possession; and his also is the commandment. Now ought not the cruelness and churlishness of father and mother, of husband, master, lord, or king, cause us to hate the commandment of our so kind a Lord, Christ; which spared not his blood for our sakes; which also hath purchased for us with his blood the[1] reward of eternal life; which life shall follow the patience of good living, and whereunto our good deeds testify that we are chosen. Furthermore, we are so carnal, that if the rulers be good, we cannot know whether we keep the commandment for the love that we have to Christ, and to God through him, or no. But and if thou canst find in thine heart to do good unto him that rewardeth thee evil again, then art thou sure that the same Spirit is in thee that is in Christ. And it followeth, in the same chapter to the Colossians, "He that doth wrong shall receive for the wrong that he hath done." That is, God shall avenge thee abundantly; which seeth what wrong is done unto thee, and yet suffereth it for a time, that thou mightest feel thy patience, and the working of his Spirit in thee, and be made perfect. Therefore, see that thou not once desire vengeance; but remit all vengeance unto God, as Christ did, which, saith Peter, 1 Pet. ii., "when he was reviled, reviled not again, neither threatened when he suffered." Unto such obedience, unto such patience, unto such a poor heart, and unto such feeling, is Paul's meaning to bring all men, and not unto the vain disputing of them that ascribe so high a place in heaven unto their piled[2] merits; which, as they feel not the working of God's Spirit, so obey they no man. If the king do unto them but right, they will interdict the whole realm, curse, excommunicate, and send them down far beneath the bottom of hell; as they have brought the people out of their wits, and made them mad, to believe.

1 Cor. vi. 1 Pet. i.

A good lesson, to teach us to know when we have the Spirit of God. Ant. ed.

Remit all vengeance to God. Ant. ed.

1 Pet. ii.

The fury of the popish clergy. Ant. ed.

Our spiritual will not obey rulers, but curse them for doing right. W. T.

[1 So C.; in D. *that.*]

[2 C. has *pilde;* D. *peelde;* which are respectively *piled* and *peeled.* The former word would signify *piled up* or *heaped up:* the latter, under a slightly different form of spelling, *pilled,* has been shewn by Mr Russell to mean *bald;* so that Tyndale would use here nearly the same metaphor as when he speaks, a little farther on, of 'a bald ceremony.' In Levit. xiii. 40, where king James's translators have put into the text, 'whose hair is fallen off his head,' they have said in the margin, that the Hebrew has 'head is *pilled;*' and the same Hebrew verb מרט is rendered by them in Isaiah xviii. 2, 7. *peeled.*]

Acts x.

"Thy prayers and alms are come up into remembrance in the presence of God," (in the tenth chapter of the Acts): that is, God forgetteth thee not; though he come not at the first calling, he looketh on, and beholdeth thy prayers and alms. Prayer cometh from the heart. God looketh first on the heart, and then on the deed; as thou readest Genesis iv. God beheld or looked first on Abel, and then on his offering. If the heart be unpure, the deed verily pleaseth not, as thou seest in Cain. Mark the order: in the beginning of the chapter thou readest, "There was a certain man named Cornelius which feared God, gave much alms, and prayed God alway." He feared God; that is, he trembled and quaked to break the commandments of God. Then prayed he alway. Prayer is the fruit, effect, deed or act of faith, and is nothing but the longing of the heart for those things which a man lacketh, and which God hath promised to give him. He doth also alms: alms is the fruit, effect, or deed, of compassion and pity, which we have to our neighbour. O what a glorious faith, and a right, is that[1] which so trusteth God, and believeth his promises, that she feareth to break his commandments, and is also merciful unto her neighbour! This is that faith whereof thou readest, (namely in Peter, Paul, and John,) that we are thereby both justified and saved; and whosoever imagineth any other faith, deceiveth himself, and is a vain disputer, and a brawler about words, and hath no feeling in his heart.

God looketh first on the heart. W. T. Gen. iv.

Prayer is the fruit of faith. Ant. ed.

Alms. W. T.

Lively faith is not without works. Ant. ed.

Though thou consent to the law, that it is "good, righteous, and holy," sorrowest and repentest, because thou hast broken it, mournest because thou hast no strength to fulfil it, yet art not thou thereby at one with God. Yea, thou shouldest shortly despair, and blaspheme God, if the promises of forgiveness and of help were not thereby, and faith in thine heart to believe them. Faith therefore setteth thee at one with God.

Faith maketh us at one with God. Ant. ed.

Faith prayeth always and in all places. Ant. ed.

The manner of praying of misbelievers. W. T.

Faith prayeth alway. For she hath always her infirmities and weaknesses before her eyes, and also God's promises, for which she always longeth, and in all places. But blind unbelief prayeth not alway, nor in all places, but in the church only; and that in such a church, where it is not lawful to preach God's promises, neither to teach men to

[1 So C.; in D. *what* and *is that* are wanting.]

trust therein. Faith, when she prayeth, setteth not her good deeds before her, saying, 'Lord, for my good deeds do this or that;' nor bargaineth with God, saying, 'Lord, grant me this, or do this or that, and I will do this or that for thee;' as, mumble so much daily, go so far, or fast this or that fast, enter this religion[2] or that, with such other points of infidelity, yea, rather idolatry. But she setteth her infirmities and her lack before her face, and God's promises, saying, 'Lord, for thy mercy and truth, which thou hast sworn, be merciful unto me, and pluck me out of this prison and out of this hell, and loose the bonds of Satan, and give me power to glorify thy name.' Faith therefore justifieth in the heart, and before God; and the deeds justify outwardly before the world, that is, testify only before men, what we are inwardly before God.

The prayer of faith. W. T.

Faith justifieth. W. T.

"Whosoever looketh in the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, (if he be not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work,) he shall be happy in his deed." James i. The law of liberty, that is, which requireth a free heart, or (if thou fulfil it) declareth a free heart, loosed from the bonds of Satan. The preaching of the law maketh no man free, but bindeth; for it is the key that bindeth all consciences unto eternal damnation, when it is preached; as the promises or gospel is the key that looseth all consciences that repent, when they are bound through preaching of the law. "He shall be happy in his deed:" that is, by his deed shall he know that he is happy and blessed of God, which hath given him a good heart, and power to fulfil the law. By hearing the law thou shalt not know that thou art blessed; but if thou do it, it declareth that thou art happy and blessed.

James i.

The law of liberty. W. T.

The preaching of the law bindeth, but the preaching of the gospel openeth. W. T.

Not the hearing, but the doing of the law declareth blessedness. W. T.

"Was not Abraham justified of his deeds, when he offered his son Isaac upon the altar?" James ii. His deed justified him before the world; that is, it declared and uttered the faith which both justified him before God, and wrought that wonderful work, as James also affirmeth.

James ii.

"Was not Rahab the harlot justified when she received the messengers, and sent them out another way?" James ii. That is likewise, outwardly; but before God she was justified by faith, which wrought that outward deed, as thou mayest see,

James ii.

[2 Religion, i. e. monastic order.]

Josh. ii. She had heard what God had done in Egypt, in the Red Sea, in the desert, and unto the two kings of the Amorreans, Seon and Og: and she confessed, saying, "Your Lord God, he is God in heaven above and in earth beneath." She also believed that God, as he had promised the children of Israel, would give them the land wherein she dwelt; and she consented thereunto, submitted herself unto the will of God, and holp God, (as much as in her was,) and saved his spies and messengers. The other feared that which she believed; but resisted God with all their might, and had no power to submit themselves unto the will of God. And therefore perished they, and she was saved, and that through faith, as

Heb. xi. we read Heb. xi.; where thou mayest see how the holy fathers were saved through faith, and how faith wrought in

Faith is the goodness of all the deeds that are done within the law of God. Ant. ed. them. Faith is the goodness of all the deeds that are done within the law of God, and maketh them good and glorious, seem they never so vile; and unbelief maketh them damnable, seem they never so glorious.

James ii. As pertaining to that which James in this iind chapter saith, "What availeth though a man say that he hath faith, if he have no deeds? can faith save him?" and again,

James ii. "Faith without deeds is dead in itself;" and, "The devils believe and tremble;" and, "As the body without the spirit is dead, even so faith without deeds is dead;" it is manifest and clear, that he meaneth not of that[1] faith whereof Peter and Paul speak in their epistles, John in his gospel and first epistle, and Christ in the gospel, when he saith, "Thy faith hath made thee safe," "Be it to thee according to thy faith," or "Great is thy faith," and so forth; and of which James

James i. In believing the word are we made the sons of God. W. T. himself speaketh in the first chapter, saying, "Of his own will begat he us with the word of life," that is, in believing the promises, wherein is life, are we made the sons of God. Which thing I also thiswise prove. Paul saith "How shall, or can they believe without a preacher? How should they preach except they were sent?" Now I pray you, when was it heard that God sent any man to preach unto the devils, or that he made them any good promise? He threateneth them oft; but never sent any ambassadors to preach any

An example. Aut. ed. atonement between him and them. Take an ensample that

[1 So C.; D. has *the* instead of *that*.]

thou mayest understand: let there be two poor men both destitute of raiment in a cold winter; the one strong that he feeleth no grief, the other grievously mourning for pain of the cold. I then come by, and, moved with pity and compassion, say unto him that feeleth his disease, "Come to such a place, and I will give thee raiment sufficient." He believeth, cometh, and obtaineth that which I have promised. That other seeth all this, and knoweth it, but is partaker of nought, for he hath no faith, and that is because there is no promise made him. So is it of the devils: the devils have no faith; for faith is but earnest believing of God's promises. Now are there no promises made unto the devils, but sore threatenings. The old philosophers knew that there was one God, but yet had no faith; for they had no power to seek his will, neither to worship him. The Turks and the Saracens know that there is one God, but yet have no faith; for they have no power to worship God in spirit, to seek his pleasure, and to submit them unto his will. They made an idol of God, (as we do for the most part,) and worshipped him every man after his own imagination, and for a sundry purpose. What we will have done, that must God do; and to do our will, worship we him and pray unto him: but what God will have done, that will neither Turk nor Saracen, nor the most part of us do. Whatsoever we imagine righteous, that must God admit; but God's righteousness will not our hearts admit. Take another ensample: let there be two such as I spake of before, and I promise both; and the one, because he feeleth not his disease, cometh not. So is it of God's promises: no man is holpen by them, but sinners that feel their sins, mourn and sorrow for them, and repent with all their hearts. For John Baptist went before Christ, and preached repentance; that is, he preached the law of God right, and brought the people into knowledge of themselves, and unto the fear of God, and then sent them unto Christ to be healed. For in Christ, and for his sake only, hath God promised to receive us unto mercy, to forgive us, and to give us power to resist sin. How shall God save thee, when thou knowest not thy damnation? How shall Christ deliver thee from sin, when thou wilt not knowledge thy sin? Now I pray thee how many thousands are there of them that say, 'I believe that Christ was born of a virgin, that he died, that he rose again,'

Turks have no faith, and yet know there is a God. Ant. ed.

Another example. W. T.

John Baptist shewed the people their diseases by the law, and then sent them to Christ to be healed. W. T.

and so forth, and thou canst not bring them in belief that they have any sin at all! How many are there of the same sort, which thou canst not make believe that a thousand things are sin, which God damneth for sin all the scripture throughout! as to buy as good cheap[1] as he can, and to sell as dear as he can; to raise the market of corn and victuals, for his own vantage, without respect of his neighbour, or of the poor, or of the common wealth, and such like. Moreover, how many hundred thousand are there, which when they have sinned, and knowledge their sins, yet trust in a bald ceremony, or in a lousy friar's coat and merits; or in the prayers of them that devour widows' houses, and eat the poor out of house and harbour; in a thing of his own imagination; in a foolish dream, and a false vision; and not in Christ's blood, and in the truth that God hath sworn[2]! All these are faithless; for they follow their own righteousness, and are disobedient unto all manner righteousness of God; both unto the righteousness of God's law, wherewith he damneth all our deeds, (for though some of them see their

Sins that are accounted no sins.

Faithless fruits. Ant. ed.

How these are disobedient unto the righteousness of the law, and unto the truth of God are faithless. W. T.

[1 *Cheap* was anciently used for to bargain, and good-cheap signified well bargained. It occurs in our authorised version of the Apocrypha, 2 Esdras xvi. 21, 'Victuals shall be so good cheap upon earth,' &c.]

[2 In confirmation of what is here stated, the reader is referred to devotional treatises still printed and circulated amongst them. The Funiculus Triplex: or 'The Indulgences of the Cord of St Francis.' By the R. F. Francis Walsh, L. J. &c. Dublin, printed by R. Grace, 3, Mary Street, (without date, but evidently very recent,) is a little book of 106 pages, describing various easy ways of obtaining remission of sins, if the person desirous of obtaining it will but wear about his person 'a cord, whether of hemp, flax, or wool,' 'white, light, gray, or dark,' 'on their undermost garment,' procured from a friar, duly authorized to keep such cords, and to enrol the wearer's name in the confraternity of the Cord of St Francis, pp. 19—21. Whilst to those who thus become 'brethren or sisters of the cord,' assurance is given in the name of pope John XXII. that they may have, 'for kissing devoutly the habit of the Friars Minors, five years and so many quarantins of indulgence.' And, (on the authority of popes Clement IV., Nicholas IV., Urban V., and Leo X.) 'For being buried in the habit of St Francis, plenary indulgence,' p. 77; or by grant from pope Paul V., 'For hearing the first mass of a new-made priest, if they confess and receive, plenary indulgence,' p. 75. A similar little book of 108 pages, entitled, 'A Short Treatise of the Antiquity, Institution, Excellency, Indulgences, Privileges, &c. of the most famous and ancient

sins for fear of pain, yet had they rather[3] that such deeds were no sin,) and also unto the righteousness of the truth of God in his promises, whereby he saveth all that repent and believe them. For though they believe that Christ died, yet believe they not that he died for their sins, and that his death is a sufficient satisfaction for their sins; and that God, for his sake, will be a father unto them, and give them power to resist sin.

Paul saith to the Romans, in the xth chapter, "If thou confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raised him up from death, thou shalt be safe:" that is, if thou believe he raised him up again for thy salvation. Many believe that God is rich and almighty; but not unto themselves, and that he will be good unto them, and defend them, and be their God. Rom. x. He raised Christ for our salvation. W. T.

Pharaoh, for pain of the plague, was compelled to confess his sins, but had yet no power to submit himself unto the will of God, and to let the children of Israel go, and to lose so great profit for God's pleasure; as our prelates confess their sins, saying, Though we be never so evil, yet have we the power[4]. And again, The scribes and the Pharisees (say they), sat in Moses' seat; do as they teach, but not as they do: thus confess they that they are abominable. But to the second I answer, If they sat on Christ's seat, they would preach Christ's doctrine: now preach they their own traditions, and therefore not to be heard. If they preached Christ, we ought to hear them, though they were never so abominable, as they of themselves confess, and have yet no power to amend, neither to let loose Christ's flock to serve God in the spirit; which they hold captive compelling them Pharaoh confessed his sins. Ant. ed. The preachers of the true gospel ought to be heard, though they live naughtily. W. T.

Confraternity of our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel, commonly called the Scapular, &c. Dublin, printed for the Confraternity, 1831;' promises to those who will wear a scapular (or small shawl), 'which must be made of cloth, serge, or other stuff, and not of silk, though it may be lined with silk, or embroidered with gold or silver,' (p. 56) that 'he that dieth invested with this habit shall not suffer eternal fire,' p. 44.]

[3 So D.; C. has *lever*, the comparative of the old word *lief*.]

[4 Art. XXVIII. 'Pharaoh had no power to let the people depart at God's pleasure.' Art. XXIX. 'Our prelates, in sin, say they have power.' List of heresies and errors. Foxe's reply, 'Read the place out of the which these two articles are gathered.']

The devils confessed Christ to be the Son of God. Ant. ed.

to serve their false lies. The devils felt the power of Christ, and were compelled against their wills to confess that he was the Son of God; but had no power to be content therewith, neither to consent unto the ordinance and eternal counsel of the everlasting God: as our prelates feel the power of God against them, but yet have no grace to give room unto Christ, because that they (as the devil's nature is) will themselves sit in his holy temple, that is to wit, the consciences of men.

Acts viii. Simon Magus's faith. Ant. ed.

Simon Magus believed, Acts viii., with such a faith as the devils confessed Christ; but had no right faith, as thou seest in the said chapter. For he repented not, consenting unto the law of God. Neither believed he the promises, or longed for them; but wondered only at the miracles which Philip wrought. And because that he himself in Philip's presence had no power to use his witchcraft, sorcery, and art magic, wherewith he mocked and deluded the wits of the people, he would have bought the gift of God, to have sold it much dearer; as his successors now do, and not the successors of Simon Peter. For were they Simon Peter's successors, they would preach Christ, as he did; but they are Simon Magus's successors, of which Simon Peter well prophesied[1] in the second chapter of his second epistle, saying, "There were false prophets among the people (meaning of the Jews), even as there shall be false teachers or doctors among you, which privily shall bring in sects damnable," (sects is part-taking, as one holdeth of Francis, another of Dominic, which thing also Paul rebuketh[2], 1 Cor. i. iii.) "even denying the Lord that bought them;" (for they will not be saved by Christ, neither suffer any man to preach him to other.) "And many shall follow their damnable ways." (Thou wilt say, Shall God suffer so many to go out of the right way so long? I answer, Many must follow their damnable ways, or else must Peter be a false prophet.) "By which the way of truth shall be evil spoken of;" (as it is now at this present time, for it is heresy to preach the truth;) "and through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you." Of

Our spiritualty are the successors of Simon, not Peter. W. T.

2 Pet. ii.

1 Cor. i. iii.

[1 So C.: in D. *proved.*]

[2 Tewkesbury's examiners said to him: 'Tyndale saith, The sects of St Francis and St Dominic, and others, be damnable. To that he answered and said, St Paul repugneth against them.' Foxe, IV. p. 691.]

their merchandise and covetousness it needeth not to make rehearsal; for they that be blind see it evidently.

Thus seest thou that James, when he saith, "Faith without deeds is dead," and "as the body without the spirit is dead, so is faith without deeds," and "the devils believe;" that he meaneth not of the faith and trust, that we have in the truth of God's promises, and his holy testament made unto us in Christ's blood; which faith followeth repentance, and the consent of the heart unto the law of God, and maketh a man safe, and setteth him at peace with God. But he speaketh of that false opinion and imagination, wherewith some say, I believe that Christ was born of a virgin, and that he died, and so forth. That believe they verily, and so strongly, that they are ready to slay whosoever would say the contrary. But they believe not that Christ died for their sins; and that his death hath appeased the wrath of God, and hath obtained for them all that God hath promised in the scripture. For how can they believe that Christ died for their sins, and that he is their only and sufficient Saviour, seeing that they seek other saviours of their own imagination; and seeing that they feel not their sins, neither repent, except that some repent (as I above said) for fear of pain, but for no love, nor consent unto the law of God, nor longing that they have for those good promises which he hath made them in Christ's blood? If they repented and loved the law of God, and longed for that help which God hath promised to give to all that call on him for Christ's sake; then verily must God's truth give them power and strength to do good works, whensoever occasion were given, either must God be a false God. But "let God be true, and every man a liar," as scripture saith. For the truth of God lasteth ever: to whom only be all honour and glory for ever. Amen.

An epitome, or brief recital, of that which is entreated of before.

A short rehearsal or sum of this present treatise of Justification by Faith[3].

FAITH, the mother of all good works, justifieth us, before we can bring forth any good work: as the husband marrieth

[3 This summary, but without the heading, is prefixed to the treatise in Day's folio, but stands as here in C.'s edition.]

his wife, before he can have any lawful children by her. Furthermore, as the husband marrieth not his wife that she should continue unfruitful as before, and as she was in the state of virginity, (wherein it was impossible for her to bear fruit,) but contrariwise to make her fruitful; even so faith justifieth us not, that is to say, marrieth us not to God, that we should continue unfruitful as before, but that he should put the seed of his holy Spirit in us, (as St John in his first epistle calleth it,) and to make us fruitful. For, saith Paul, (Eph. ii.): "By grace are ye made safe through faith, and that not of yourselves: for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of the works, lest any man should boast himself. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath ordained that we should walk in them." Amen.

Be not offended, most dear reader, that divers things are overseen through negligence in this little treatise. For verily the chance was such, that I marvel that it is so well as it is. Moreover it becometh the book even so to come as a mourner, and in vile apparel to wait on his master, which sheweth himself now again, not in honour and glory, as between Moses and Elias; but in rebuke and shame, as between two murderers, to try his true friends, and to prove whether there be any faith on the earth[1].

[1 This seeming apology for the printer's negligence is left out by Day, but was reasonably attached to Coplande's edition, in which the errors of the press are countless. The words *as between Moses and Elias, but in rebuke and shame,* are not however in C.'s edition, but are found in the corresponding apology attached to the 8vo. ed. by Hans Luft, Malborowe, of May 8, 1528.]

THE

OBEDIENCE OF A CHRISTIAN MAN.

¶ The Obedience of a Christen man, and how Christen rulers ought to goberne, wherein also (if thou marke diligently) thou shalt find eyes to perceaue the craftie conueyaunce of all iugglers.

Set forth by William Tyndall. 1528. Octob. 2.

In the last paragraph of his Practice of Prelates, dated 1530, and published some time before the end of that year, Tyndale says: 'Let them remember, that I well toward three years agone sent forth the True Obedience of a Christian Man[1].' This gives probability to what Ames mentions in an irregular way, namely, that there is an edition of the Obedience of the date of Dec. 11, 1527. It was about that time that Tyndale removed from Worms to Marburg[2] in Hesse, a city on the Lahn, where the landgrave Philip, the bold and uncompromising friend of the Reformation, had just founded an university, and Hans Luft had just established a printing press. On the 8th of May, 1528, this Hans Luft sent forth an edition of the Obedience in 4to, of which Mr Offor has a copy; and on the 2nd of October in the same year, there came out another edition from his press in small 12mo, of which the Parker Society possesses a copy, which the editor has used for collation with the reprint in Day's folio of 1573, prepared by Foxe the martyrologist.

In the introductory notice to the treatise on the parable of the Wicked Mammon, the reader has had evidence that the Obedience shared in its circulation and influence, and in the consequent hostility of the ruling church. There are, however, two instances of its separate distribution and influence, which should not pass unnoticed. One of the meekest and holiest of the martyrs of Henry VIII.'s reign was Thomas Bilney, a fellow of Trinity hall, Cambridge. In 1529, he had been terrified and tempted by bishop Tonstal into abjuring the faith he really held: but his friend, bishop Latimer, tells us that this brought him 'into such anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, not even the communication of God's word, because he thought that all the whole scriptures sounded his condemnation, till God endued him with such strength,' that he took leave of his Cambridge friends, and said that he would go to Jerusalem; and departing into Norfolk, he there preached publicly the doctrine which he had abjured. Having done this, he entered Norwich, and 'gave to an anchoress, whom he had converted to Christ, a New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and the Obedience of a Christian Man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison, there to remain till the blind bishop Nix sent up for a writ to burn him[3].'

[1 By an error in writing, which the editor did not perceive till the sheet was struck off, he has said in p. 31, l. 14: 'The Obedience preceded the Wicked Mammon,' where he intended to affirm the reverse.]

[2 Marburg is spelt *Marborch*, but more frequently *Marlborow* in books printed by Hans Luft for the English market, and sometimes *Marlborough*, as if the person who dictated this spelling meant to translate *burg* or *berg* for English readers.]

[3 Latimer's Sermons, Vol. II. p. 52, Park. Soc. ed., and Foxe's Acts and Mon. under date of 1531, Vol. IV. p. 642.]

It seems to have been about the time of Bilney's abjuration, that Anne Boleyn had well nigh been brought into difficulty, by lending the Obedience to one of her attendants. As Strype tells the story from a MS. left by Foxe, and now in the British Museum, she had 'lent it for perusal to a fair young gentlewoman in her service, named Mrs Gainsford; from whose hands it was playfully carried off by the young lady's suitor, a Mr George Zouch.' Cardinal Wolsey had about the same time 'given commandment to the prelates, and especially to Dr Sampson, dean of the king's chapel, that they should have a vigilant eye over all people for such books; that so, as much as might be, they might not come to the king's reading.' But Mr Zouch was so delighted with what he read, that he could not refrain from reading it, not even in the king's chapel. His close attention to his book caught Dr Sampson's eye; and at length the dean called him up, took the book from him, and required to know what was his name, and 'whose man he was.' The book was presently delivered over by the dean to the cardinal: but, in the mean while, 'the lady Anne asketh her woman for the book. She on her knees told all the circumstances.' The lady Anne shewed herself not sorry, nor angry with either of the two: but, Well, said she, it shall be the dearest book that ever the dean or cardinal took away. So she goes to the king, and upon her knees she desireth the king's help for her book. Upon the king's token, the book was restored. And now, bringing the book to him, she besought his grace, most tenderly, to read it. The king did so, and delighted in the book: for, saith he, this book is for me, and all kings to read.' Strype's Eccles. Mem. ch. xv. Vol. I. p. 173. Oxf. Ed. 1822.

This story has received confirmation from Wyatt's Memoir, printed from a MS. in Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, by Singer, Vol. II. pp. 202—5. Wyatt indeed represents the cardinal as bringing the book to the king, to point out what he thought Henry would dislike, and to complain of those who countenanced such books. But this is obviously not irreconcilable with the account given in Foxe's MS. Nor is the king's continued hostility to Tyndale incompatible with his being pleased for a time with a powerfully written book, pressed upon his notice by the lady Anne; nor yet with his clearly perceiving that the author had justly rebuked the inroads made upon the authority of princes by an usurping priesthood.]

WILLIAM TYNDALE,

OTHERWISE CALLED HITCHINS,

TO THE READER.

GRACE, peace, and increase of knowledge in our Lord Jesus Christ, be with thee[1], reader, and with all that call on the name of the Lord unfeignedly and with a pure conscience. Amen.

Let it not make thee despair, neither yet discourage thee, O reader, that it is forbidden thee in pain of life and goods, or that it is made breaking of the king's peace, or treason unto his highness, to read the word of thy soul's health[2]. But much rather be bold in the Lord, and comfort thy soul: forasmuch as thou art sure, and hast an evident token through such persecution, that it is the true word of God; which word is ever hated of the world, neither was ever without persecution, (as thou seest in all the stories of the Bible, both of the new Testament and also of the old,) neither can be, no more than the sun can be without his light; and forasmuch as contrariwise thou art sure that the pope's doctrine is not of God, which (as thou seest) is so agreeable unto the world, and is so

The nature of God's word is to be persecuted. W. T.

The pope is received, and receiveth, and persecuteth. W. T.

[1 Hans Luft prints it *the;* but Day *thee.*]

[2 As this treatise was written before the close of 1527, this sentence cannot refer to the royal proclamation of the 21st Hen. VIII. given in Foxe, under the date of 1531, but really published before the end of March, 1530. (See Anderson's Annals, B. I. § 6, p. 234—5.) But though the issuing of that proclamation was the first measure which subjected the possessors of the word of God to punishment by the civil magistrate, under such charges as Tyndale has here described, he had sufficient reason for charging the Christian reader not to be discouraged by the peril of being thus punished. For in 1527 Tyndale could not but have read the king's reply to Luther; in the preface to which Henry told 'his dearly beloved people,' that 'with the deliberate advice of his chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, he had determined that [Tyndale's] untrue translations [of the scriptures] should be burned, with farther sharp correction and punishment against the keepers and readers of the same.']

received of the world; or which rather so receiveth the world and the pleasures of the world, and seeketh nothing but the possessions of the world, and authority in the world, and to bear a rule in the world; and persecuteth the word of God, and with all wiliness driveth people from it, and with false and sophistical reasons maketh them afraid of it; yea, curseth them, and excommunicateth them, and bringeth them in belief that they be damned if they look on it, and that it is but doctrine to deceive men; and moveth the blind powers of the world to slay with fire, water, and sword, all that cleave unto it[1]: for the world loveth that which is his, and

Love of the world is hatred of God and his holy gospel. Ant. ed.

[1] In saying this, Tyndale was quite borne out by various public documents, which had issued at different times from those different authorities to which persons living under the jurisdiction of the church of Rome were amenable. The earliest canon prohibiting the laity from possessing the word of God in their native tongue is believed to be that enacted by a council held at Toulouse, in 1229, a little more than 150 years before Wicliffe translated the scriptures for our fathers. Its words are these:—Prohibemus etiam, ne libros Veteris Testamenti aut Novi laici permittantur habere; nisi forte psalterium vel breviarium pro divinis officiis, aut horas Beatæ Mariæ, aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne præmissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos arctissime inhibemus. Conc. Tolos. An°. MCCXXIX. de inquirendis hæreticis, deque aliis Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ capitibus celebratum. Cap. xiv. Tom. XXIII. p. 197. Labb. Conc. Venetiis, 1779; and also Harduini Acta Conc. Parisiis, 1714. Tom. VII. p. 178.

In our own country, the like prohibition was enforced with especial threats in a *constitution* issued by archbishop Arundel, which said: 'We decree and ordain that no man hereafter by his own authority translate any text of the scripture into English, by way of a book, libel, or treatise; and that no man read any such book, libel, or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wicliffe, or since, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily or apertly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the said translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or, if the case so require, by the council provincial. He that shall do contrary to this shall likewise be punished as a favourer of error and heresy.' Foxe's Acts and Mon. under date of 1409. It need scarcely be added, that no English translation had been so allowed. Lastly, Cuthbert Tonstal had issued an injunction in October 1526, as bishop of London, in which, without naming Tyndale, he had described his translation of the New Testament 'imprinted some with glosses, and some without, [as] containing in the English tongue pestiferous and most pernicious poison, which truly, without it be speedily foreseen, will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us with most deadly poison and heresy, to the

hateth that which is chosen out of the world to serve God in the Spirit, as Christ saith to his disciples, John xv. "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but I have chosen you out of the world, and therefore the world hateth you." Joh. xv.

Another comfort hast thou, that, as the weak powers of the world defend the doctrine of the world, so the mighty power of God defendeth the doctrine of God: which thing thou shalt evidently perceive, if thou call to mind the wonderful deeds which God hath ever wrought for his word in extreme necessity, since the world began, beyond all man's reason, which are written, (as Paul saith, Rom. xv.) "for our learning, (and not for our deceiving,) that we through patience and comfort of the scripture might have hope." The nature of God's word is to fight against hypocrites. It began at Abel, and hath ever since continued, and shall, I doubt not, until the last day. And the hypocrites have alway the world on their sides; as thou seest in the time of Christ. They had the elders, that is to wit, the rulers of the Jews on their side; they had Pilate and the emperor's power on their side; they had Herod also on their side: moreover they brought all their worldly wisdom to pass, and all that they could think, or imagine, to serve for their purpose. First, to fear[2] the people withal, they excommunicated all that believed in him, and put them out of the temple; as thou seest, John ix. Secondly, they found the means to have him condemned by the emperor's power, and made it treason to Cæsar to believe in him. Thirdly, they obtained to have him hanged as a thief or a murderer, which, after their belly-wisdom, was a cause above all causes that no man should believe in him: for the Jews take it for a sure token of everlasting damnation, if a man be hanged; for it is written in their law, Deut. xxi. "Cursed is whosoever hangeth on tree." Moses also in the

God defendeth his doctrine himself. W. T.

Rom. xv

God's word fighteth against hypocrites. W. T.

How our master Christ was entreated. W. T.

The craft of the hypocrites. W. T.

John ix.

Deut. xxi.

grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge and the offence of God's divine majesty.' Having given this description of the versions without glosses, or the plain word of God, as well as of that with glosses, he proceeds to enjoin his officers to require all persons to surrender their copies of any translation of the New Testament into the English tongue under pain of excommunication.—Tonstal's injunction is given in Foxe, among details belonging to 1531; and in Anderson, B. I. § 3. Vol. I. p. 118, first edition.]

[2 Fear: terrify.]

same place commandeth, if any man be hanged, to take him down the same day and bury him, for fear of polluting or defiling the country; that is, lest they should bring the wrath and curse of God upon them. And therefore the wicked Jews themselves, which with so venomous hate persecuted the doctrine of Christ, and did all the shame that they could do unto him, though they would fain have had Christ to hang still on the cross, and there to rot, (as he should have done by the emperor's law,) yet for fear of defiling their sabbath, and of bringing the wrath and curse of God upon them, begged of Pilate to take him down, John xix. which was against themselves.

John xix.

Finally, when they had done all they could, and that they thought sufficient, and when Christ was in the heart of the earth, and so many bills and pole-axes about him to keep him down, and when it was past man's help, then help God. When man could not bring him again, God's truth fetched him again. The oath that God had sworn to Abraham, to David, and to other holy fathers and prophets, raised him up again, to bless and save all that believe in him. Thus became the wisdom of the hypocrites foolishness. Lo, this was written for thy learning and comfort.

God's truth worketh wonders, and maketh the wisdom of the hypocrites foolishness. W. T.

How wonderfully were the children of Israel locked in Egypt! In what tribulation, cumbrance, and adversity were they in! The land also that was promised them was far off, and full of great cities, walled with high walls up to the sky, and inhabited with great giants; yet God's truth brought them out of Egypt, and planted them in the land of the giants. This was[1] also written for our learning: for there is no power against God's, neither any wisdom against God's wisdom: he is stronger and wiser than all his enemies. What help it Pharaoh, to drown the men children? So little (I fear not) shall it at the last help the pope and his bishops, to burn our men children; which manfully confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, and that there is no other name given unto men to be saved by, as Peter testifieth, Acts, in the fourth chapter.

The captivity of the Israelites under Pharaoh. W. T.

If God be with us, who can be against us? Ant. ed.

Pharaoh slayeth the men children. W. T.

Acts iv.

Who dried up the Red sea? Who slew Goliath? Who did all those wonderful deeds which thou readest in the bible? Who delivered the Israelites evermore from thraldom and

[1 So H. Luft; D. has *is*.]

bondage, as soon as they repented and turned to God? Faith verily, and God's truth, and the trust in the promises which he had made. Read the xith to the Hebrews for thy consolation.

When the children of Israel were ready to despair, for the greatness and the multitude of the giants, Moses comforted them ever, saying, Remember what your Lord God hath done for you in Egypt, his wonderful plagues, his miracles, his wonders, his mighty hand, his stretched out arm, and what he hath done for you hitherto. He shall destroy them; he shall take their hearts from them, and make them fear and flee before you. He shall storm them, and stir up a tempest among them, and scatter them, and bring them to nought. He hath sworn; he is true; he will fulfil the promises that he hath made unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This is written for our learning: for verily he is a true God; and is our God as well as theirs; and his promises are with us, as well as with them; and he present with us, as well as he was with them. If we ask, we shall obtain; if we knock, he will open; if we seek, we shall find; if we thirst, his truth shall fulfil our lust. Christ is with us until the world's end. Let his little flock be bold therefore. For if God be on our side, what matter maketh it who be against us, be they bishops, cardinals, popes, or whatsoever names they will?

How Moses comforteth the Israelites. W. T.

God's truth fighteth for us. W. T.

Matt. xxviii.

Mark this also, if God send thee to the sea, and promise to go with thee, and to bring thee safe to land, he will raise up a tempest against thee, to prove whether thou wilt abide by his word, and that thou mayest feel thy faith, and perceive his goodness. For if it were always fair weather, and thou never brought into such jeopardy, whence his mercy only delivered thee, thy faith should be but a presumption, and thou shouldest be even unthankful to God and merciless unto thy neighbour.

God trieth the faith of his children. W. T.

If God promise riches, the way thereto is poverty. Whom he loveth, him he chasteneth: whom he exalteth, he casteth down: whom he saveth, he damneth first. He bringeth no man to heaven, except he send him to hell first. If he promise life, he slayeth first: when he buildeth, he casteth all down first. He is no patcher; he cannot build on another man's foundation. He will not work until all be past remedy,

God worketh backward. W. T.

and brought unto such a case, that men may see, how that his hand, his power, his mercy, his goodness and truth, hath wrought altogether. He will let no man be partaker with him of his praise and glory. His works are wonderful, and contrary unto man's works. Who ever, saving[1] he, delivered his own Son, his only Son, his dear Son, unto the death, and that for his enemies' sake, to win his enemy, to overcome him with love, that he might see love, and love again, and of love to do likewise to other men, and to overcome them with well doing?

Joseph. Joseph saw the sun and the moon and the eleven stars worshipping him. Nevertheless, ere that came to pass, God laid him where he could neither see sun nor moon, neither any star of the sky, and that many years; and also undeserved; to nurture him, to humble, to meek[2], and to teach him God's ways, and to make him apt and meet for the room and honour against he came to it; that he might perceive and feel that it came of God, and that he might be strong in the spirit to minister it godly.

Israelites. He promised the children of Israel a land with rivers of milk and honey; but brought them for the space of forty years into a land, where not only rivers of milk and honey were not, but where so much as a drop of water was not; to nurture them, and to teach them, as a father doth his son, and to do them good at the latter end; and that they might be strong in their spirit and souls, to use his gifts and benefits godly and after his will.

David. He promised David a kingdom, and immediately stirred up king Saul against him to persecute him; to hunt him, as men do hares with greyhounds, and to ferret him out of every hole, and that for the space of many years; to tame him, to meek him, to kill his lusts; to make him feel other men's diseases; to make him merciful; to make him understand that he was made king to minister and to serve his brethren, and that he should not think that his subjects were made to minister unto his lusts, and that it were lawful for him to take away from them life and goods at his pleasure.

How bishops instruct kings. W. T. Oh that our kings were so nurtured now-a-days! which our holy bishops teach of a far other manner, saying, Your

[1 So D. Luft has *save*.]
[2 Meek: make meek.]

grace shall take your pleasure; yea, take what pleasure you list, spare nothing; we shall dispense with you; we have power, we are God's vicars: and let us alone with the realm, we shall take pain for you, and see that nothing be well: your grace shall but defend the faith only.

Let us, therefore, look diligently whereunto we are called, that we deceive not ourselves. We are called, not to dispute, as the pope's disciples do; but to die with Christ, that we may live with him; and to suffer with him, that we may reign with him. We be called unto a kingdom that must be won with suffering only, as a sick man winneth health. God is he that doth all things for us, and fighteth for us; and we do but suffer only. Christ saith, John. xx. "As my Father sent me, so send I you;" and, John xv. "If they persecute me, then shall they persecute you." And Christ saith, Matt. x. "I send you forth as sheep among wolves." The sheep fight not; but the shepherd fighteth for them, and careth for them. "Be harmless as doves, therefore," saith Christ, "and wise as serpents." The doves imagine no defence, nor seek to avenge themselves. The serpent's wisdom is, to keep his head, and those parts wherein his life resteth. Christ is our head; and God's word is that wherein our life resteth. To cleave, therefore, fast unto Christ, and unto those promises which God hath made us for his sake, is our wisdom. "Beware of men," saith he; "for they shall deliver you up unto their councils, and shall scourge you; and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake. The brother shall betray, or deliver, the brother to death, and the father the son; and the children shall rise against father and mother, and put them to death." Hear what Christ saith more: "The disciple is not greater than his master; neither the servant greater, or better, than his lord. If they have called the good man of the house Beelzebub, how much rather shall they call his household servants so!" And, Luke xiv. saith Christ: "Which of you, disposed to build a tower, sitteth not down first and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to perform it? Lest when he hath laid the foundation, and then not able to perform it, all that behold it begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build, and was not able to make an end: so likewise none of you, that forsaketh not all that he hath, can be my disciple."

Whereunto a Christian is called. W. T.

Our fighting is to suffer, while God fighteth for us. W. T. John xx.

John xv.

Matt. x.

The wisdom of the serpent. W. T.

Luke xiv.

He maketh a mock of himself, that casteth not the end ere he begin. W. T. Matt. vi.

Whosoever, therefore, casteth not this aforehand, 'I must jeopard life, goods, honour, worship, and all that there is, for Christ's sake,' deceiveth himself, and maketh a mock of himself unto the godless hypocrites and infidels. "No man can serve two masters, God and mammon;" that is to say, wicked riches also. Matt. vi. Thou must love Christ above all things: but that doest thou not, if thou be not ready to forsake all for his sake: if thou have forsaken all for his sake, then art thou sure that thou lovest him. Tribulation is our right baptism; and is signified by plunging into the water. "We that are baptized in the name of Christ," saith Paul, "are baptized to die with him."

How is the pope sure, which taketh all for Christ's sake, but forsaketh nought? W. T.

Tribulation is our baptism. W. T.

Rom. vi.

The Spirit through tribulation purgeth us, and killeth our fleshly wit, our worldly understanding, and belly-wisdom, and filleth us full of the wisdom of God. Tribulation is a blessing that cometh of God, as witnesseth Christ: "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Is not this a comfortable word? Who ought not rather to choose, and desire to be blessed with Christ, in a little tribulation, than to be cursed perpetually with the world for a little pleasure?

Tribulation is a blessing. W. T. Matt. v.

Prosperity is a right curse, and a thing that God giveth to his enemies. "Woe be to you rich," saith Christ, Luke vi. "lo, ye have your consolation: woe be to you that are full, for ye shall hunger: woe be to you that laugh, for ye shall weep: woe be to you when men praise you, for so did their fathers unto the false prophets:" yea, and so have our fathers done unto the false hypocrites. The hypocrites, with worldly preaching, have not gotten the praise only, but even the possessions also, and the dominion and rule of the whole world.

Prosperity is a curse. W. T. Luke vi.

Tribulation for righteousness is not a blessing only, but also a gift that God giveth unto none save his special friends. The apostles rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer rebuke for Christ's sake. And Paul, in the second epistle and third chapter to Timothy, saith, "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution:" and, Phil. i. he saith, "Unto you it is given, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake." Here seest thou that it is God's gift, to suffer for Christ's sake. And Peter in the fourth chapter of his first epistle saith: "Happy are ye if ye suffer for the

Tribulation is the gift of God. W. T.

Acts v.

2 Tim. iii.

Phil. i.

1 Pet. iv.

name of Christ; for the glorious Spirit of God resteth in you." Is it not an happy thing, to be sure that thou art sealed with God's Spirit to everlasting life? And, verily, thou art sure thereof, if thou suffer patiently for his sake. By suffering art thou sure; but by persecuting canst thou never be sure: for Paul, Rom. v. saith, "Tribulation maketh feeling;" that is, it maketh us feel the goodness of God, and his help, and the working of his Spirit. And, the twelfth chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians, the Lord said unto Paul, "My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect through weakness." Lo, Christ is never strong in us till we be weak. As our strength abateth, so groweth the strength of Christ in us: when we are clean emptied of our own strength, then are we full of Christ's strength: and look, how much of our own strength remaineth in us, so much lacketh there of the strength of Christ. "Therefore," saith Paul, in the said place in the second epistle to the Corinthians, "very gladly will I rejoice in my weakness, that the strength of Christ may dwell in me. Therefore have I delectation," saith Paul, "in infirmities, in rebukes, in need, in persecutions, and in anguish for Christ's sake; for when I am weak, then am I strong." Meaning, that the weakness of the flesh is the strength of the Spirit. And by flesh understand wit, wisdom, and all that is in a man before the Spirit of God come; and whatsoever springeth not of the Spirit of God, and of God's word. And of like testimonies is all the scripture full.

Rom. v.

Whereby, then, are the pope and bishops sure? Ant. ed. 2 Cor. xii.

The weaker to the world, the stronger to Christ. Ant. ed.

Weakness of the flesh is the strength of the Spirit. W. T. Flesh. W.T.

Behold, God setteth before us a blessing and also a curse: a blessing, verily, and that a glorious and an everlasting, if we suffer tribulation and adversity with our Lord and Saviour Christ; and an everlasting curse, if, for a little pleasure sake, we withdraw ourselves from the chastising and nurture of God, wherewith he teacheth all his sons, and fashioneth them after his godly will, and maketh them perfect (as he did Christ), and maketh them apt and meet vessels to receive his grace and his Spirit, that they might perceive and feel the exceeding mercy which we have in Christ, and the innumerable blessings and the unspeakable inheritance, whereto we are called and chosen, and sealed in our Saviour Jesus Christ, unto whom be praise for ever. Amen.

In two things we are put to our choice. W. T.

Finally: whom God chooseth to reign everlastingly with

The difference between the children of God and of the devil. W. T.

Christ, him sealeth he with his mighty Spirit, and poureth strength into his heart, to suffer afflictions also with Christ for bearing witness unto the truth. And this is the difference between the children of God and of salvation, and between the children of the devil and of damnation: that the children of God have power in their hearts to suffer for God's word; which is their life and salvation, their hope and trust, and whereby they live in the soul and spirit before God. And the children of the devil in time of adversity fly from Christ, whom they followed feignedly, their hearts not sealed with his holy and mighty Spirit; and get them to the standard of their right father the devil, and take his wages, the pleasures of this world, which are the earnest of everlasting damnation: which conclusion the twelfth chapter to the Hebrews well confirmeth, saying, "My son, despise not thou the chastising of the Lord, neither faint when thou art rebuked of him: for whom the Lord loveth, him he chastiseth; yea, and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." Lo, persecution and adversity for the truth's sake is God's scourge, and God's rod, and pertaineth unto all his children indifferently: for when he said, he scourgeth every son, he maketh none exception. Moreover saith the text: "If ye shall endure chastising, God offereth himself unto you as unto sons. What son is it that the Father chastiseth not? If ye be not under correction, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons."

The devil's wages. W. T.

Heb. xii.

All God's children are under chastising. W. T.

Forasmuch, then, as we must needs be baptized in tribulations, and through the Red sea, and a great and a fearful wilderness, and a land of cruel giants, into our natural country; yea, and inasmuch as it is a plain earnest that there is no other way into the kingdom of life than through persecution, and suffering of pain, and of very death, after the ensample of Christ; therefore let us arm our souls with the comfort of the scriptures: how that God is ever ready at hand, in time of need, to help us; and how that such tyrants and persecutors are but God's scourge, and his rod to chastise us. And as the father hath alway, in time of correction, the rod fast in his hand, so that the rod doth nothing but as the father moveth it; even so hath God all tyrants in his hand, and letteth them not do whatsoever they would, but as much only as he appointeth them to do, and as far forth as it is

Which way go the bishops to heaven then? W. T.

The tyrants have not power to do what they would. W.T.

necessary for us. And as, when the child submitteth himself unto his father's correction and nurture, and humbleth himself altogether unto the will of his father, then the rod is taken away; even so, when we are come unto the knowledge of the right way, and have forsaken our own will, and offer ourselves clean unto the will of God, to walk which way soever he will have us, then turneth he the tyrants; or else, if they enforce to persecute us any further, he putteth them out of the way, according unto the comfortable ensamples of the scripture.

The promises of God are comfortable, yea, they are all comfort. W. T.

Moreover, let us arm our souls with the promises both of help and assistance, and also of the glorious reward that followeth. "Great is your reward in heaven," saith Christ, Matt. v.; and, "He that knowledgeth me before men, him will I knowledge before my Father that is in heaven;" and, "Call on me in time of tribulation, and I will deliver thee," Psal. l.; and, "Behold the eyes of the Lord are over them that fear him, and over them that trust in his mercy, to deliver their souls from death, and to feed them in time of hunger." Psal. xxxiii. And in Psalm xxxiv. saith David: "The Lord is nigh them that are troubled in their hearts, and the meek in spirit will he save. The tribulations of the righteous are many, and out of them all will the Lord deliver them. The Lord keepeth all the bones of them, so that not one of them shall be bruised. The Lord shall redeem the souls of his servants." And of such like consolation are all the psalms full. Would to God when ye read them ye understood them! And, Matt. x. "When they deliver you, take no thought what ye shall say; it shall be given you the same hour what ye shall say: for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." "The very hairs of your head are numbered," saith Christ also, Matt. x. If God care for our hairs, he much more careth for our souls, which he hath sealed with his holy Spirit. Therefore saith Peter, 1 Pet. v. "Cast all your care upon him; for he careth for you." And Paul, 1 Cor. x. saith: "God is true, he will not suffer you to be tempted above your might." And Psalm lv. "Cast thy care upon the Lord."

Matt. v. & x. Ps. l. Ps. xxxiii. Ps. xxxiv. Matt. x. Matt. x. 1 Pet. v. 1 Cor. x Ps. lv.

A Christian man's care. W. T.

Let thy care be to prepare thyself with all thy strength, for to walk which way he will have thee; and to believe that

he will go with thee, and assist thee, and strengthen thee against all tyrants, and deliver thee out of all tribulation. But what way, or by what means he will do it, that commit unto him and his godly pleasure and wisdom, and cast that care upon him. And though it seem never so unlikely, or never so impossible unto natural reason, yet believe stedfastly that he will do it: and then shall he (according to his old use) change the course of the world, even in the twinkling of an eye, and come suddenly upon our giants, as a thief in the night, and compass them in their wiles and worldly wisdom. "When they cry, Peace and all is safe, then shall their sorrows begin, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth with child:" and then shall he destroy them, and deliver thee, unto the glorious praise of his mercy and truth. Amen.

The despisers, persecutors, and they that fall from the word, are threatened. W. T.

And as pertaining unto them that despise God's word, counting it as a fantasy or a dream;* and to them also that for fear of a little persecution fall from it, set this before thine eyes; how God, since the beginning of the world, before a general plague, ever sent his true prophets and preachers of his word, to warn the people, and gave them time[1] to repent. But they, for the greatest part of them, hardened their hearts, and persecuted the word that was sent to save them. And then God destroyed them utterly, and took them clean from the earth. As thou seest what followed the preaching of Noe in the old world; what followed the preaching of Lot among the Sodomites; and the preaching of Moses and Aaron among the Egyptians; and that suddenly, against all possibility of man's wit. Moreover, as oft as the children of Israel fell from God to the worshipping of images, he sent his prophets unto them; and they persecuted and waxed hard-hearted: and then he sent them into all places of the world captive. Last of all, he sent his own Son to them, and they waxed more hard-hearted than ever before: and see what a fearful example of his wrath and cruel vengeance he hath made of them to all the world, now almost fifteen hundred years.

Noah, Lot, Moses, and Aaron. W.T.

The prophets. W.T.

Christ. W.T.

Unto the old Britons also (which dwelled where our nation doth now) preached Gildas; and rebuked them of their

Gildas. W.T.

[1 So Day. H. L. has *space*.]

wickedness, and prophesied both to the spiritual (as they will be called) and unto the lay-men also, what vengeance would follow, except they repented[2]. But they waxed hard-hearted; and God sent his plagues and pestilences among them, and sent their enemies in upon them on every side, and destroyed them utterly.

They be spiritual, that is devilish; for the devil is a spirit. W. T.

Mark also, how Christ threateneth them that forsake him, for whatsoever cause it be; whether for fear, either for shame, either for loss of honour, friends, life, or goods. "He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father that is in heaven. He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me." All this he saith Matt. x. Matt. x. And in Mark viii. he saith: "Whosoever is ashamed of me, or my words, among this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed when he cometh in the glory of his Father with his holy angels." And Luke ix. also: "None that layeth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of heaven."

We must in no case deny Christ. Anted. Mark viii. Luke ix.

Nevertheless yet, if any man have resisted ignorantly, as Paul did, let him look on the truth which Paul wrote after he came to knowledge. Also, if any man clean against his heart (but overcome with the weakness of the flesh), for fear of persecution, have denied, as Peter did, or have delivered his

God receiveth them that come again. W. T.

[2 One of the oldest monuments of our national history which has come down to us, exclusive of what is contained in the literature of our Roman conquerors, is the epistle of Gildas the Briton, who lived in the latter part of the fifth century. In this epistle, after a brief description of Britain and summary of its history from the Roman invasion to the forty-fourth year after the admission of the Saxons, he proceeds to address the ruling chiefs, charging them with bringing the wrath of God upon the Britons by their crimes. He then turns to the inferior rulers, and lastly to the clergy, of whom he says: Sacerdotes habet Britannia, sed insipientes; quam plurimos ministros, sed impudentes; clericos, sed raptores sub dolos; pastores, ut dicuntur, sed occisioni animarum lupos paratos, quippe non commoda plebi providentes, sed proprii plenitudinem ventris quærentes; ecclesiæ domus habentes, sed turpis lucri gratia eas adeuntes; populos docentes, sed præbendo pessima exempla, vitia, malosque mores.—Gildæ, cui cognomentum est Sapientis, de excidio et conquestu Britanniæ, ac flebili castigatione, in reges, principes, et sacerdotes epistola. Ed. Joh. Josselinus, Londini. J. Daius excudit. 1568.]

book[1], or put it away secretly; let him (if he repent,) come again, and take better hold, and not despair, or take it for a sign that God hath forsaken him. For God ofttimes taketh his strength even from his very elect, when they either trust in their own strength, or are negligent to call to him for his strength. And that doth he to teach them, and to make them feel, that in that fire of tribulation, for his word's sake, nothing can endure and abide save his work[2], and that strength only which he hath promised. For the which strength he will have us to pray unto him night and day, with all instance.

Why God letteth his elect fall. W. T.

That thou mayest perceive how that the scripture ought to be in the mother tongue, and that the reasons which our spirits make for the contrary, are but sophistry and false wiles to fear thee from the light, that thou mightest follow them blindfold, and be their captive to honour their ceremonies, and to offer to their belly:

That the scripture ought to be in the English tongue. W. T.

First, God gave the children of Israel a law by the hand of Moses in their mother tongue; and all the prophets wrote in their mother tongue, and all the psalms were in the mother tongue. And there was Christ but figured, and described in ceremonies, in riddles, and parables, and in dark prophecies. What is the cause that we may not have the old Testament, with the new also, which is the light of the old, and wherein is openly declared, before the eyes, that which there was darkly prophesied? I can imagine no cause

[1 'Another sort of men, who were anciently accused and condemned as sacrilegious persons, were those whom they commonly called Traditors, *for delivering up their bibles* and other sacred utensils of the church to the heathen to be burnt, in the time of the Diocletian persecution. The Donatists frequently, but falsely, objected this name to Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, and those that ordained him, that they were Traditors: upon which St Austin tells them, that if they could evidently make good the charge, the catholics would not scruple to anathematize them after death.' Bingham Origines Eccles. B. XVI. ch. vi. § 25. As the persecutors in Tyndale's days copied the example of the heathen in requiring the surrender of English scriptures, and of any book inculcating the doctrines of the reformation; so the weakness of the ancient Traditors was again found in some of the persecuted.]

[2 So H. L.: Day has *word*.]

verily, except it be that we should not see the work of antichrist and juggling of hypocrites. What should be the cause that we, which walk in the broad day, should not see as well as they that walked in the night; or that we should not see as well at noon, as they did in the twilight? Came Christ to make the world more blind? By this means Christ is the darkness of the world, and not the light, as he saith himself. John viii.

Moreover Moses saith, Deut vi. "Hear, Israel; let these words which I command thee this day stick fast in thine heart, and whet[3] them on thy children, and talk of them as thou sittest in thine house, and as thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up; and bind them for a token to thine hand, and let them be a remembrance between thine eyes, and write them on the posts and gates of thine house." This was commanded generally unto all men. How cometh it that God's word pertaineth less unto us, than unto them? Yea, how cometh it, that our Moseses forbid us, and command us the contrary; and threaten us if we do, and will not that we once speak of God's word? How can we whet God's word (that is, to put it in practice, use and exercise) upon our children and household, when we are violently kept from it and know it not? How can we (as Peter commandeth) give a reason of our hope; when we wot not what it is that God hath promised, or what to hope? Moses also commandeth in the said chapter, if the son ask what the testimonies, laws, and observances of the Lord mean, that the father teach him. If our children ask what our

Whet them on thy children; that is, exercise thy children in them, and put them in use. Ant. ed. Deut. vi.

[3 Whet: such is the primary meaning of the corresponding Hebrew word שְׁנַן. So Simon's Hebr. Lex. שָׁנַן acuit, exacuit, metaphorice instigavit, inculcavit. Deut. vi. 7. So also says Professor Robertson in his Clavis Pentateuchi, on this text: and the margin of our authorised version has, 'Heb. whet or sharpen.' This close translation of the Hebrew verb had neither appeared in the Latin Vulgate, nor in the Greek translation called the Septuagint, nor in Sebastian Munster's recent Latin version; but had been employed by Luther. Hence Tyndale's adoption of it becomes one of the proofs of his intimacy with the Hebrew tongue; for if we were to allow that he knew German, and saw the equivalent to *whet* in Luther's version, it would be still unlikely that he should have adopted so harsh a metaphor in preference to the word used by older translators, if he had not known that it was the most proper representative of the Hebrew word.]

No, nor Sir John his ghostly children. W. T. Deut. xi.

ceremonies (which are more than the Jews' were) mean; no father can tell his son. And in the eleventh chapter he repeateth all again, for fear of forgetting.

They will say haply, the scripture requireth a pure mind and a quiet mind: and therefore the lay-man, because he is altogether cumbered with worldly business, cannot understand them. If that be the cause, then it is a plain case that our prelates understand not the scriptures themselves: for no lay-man is so tangled with worldly business as they are. The great things of the world are ministered by them; neither do the lay-people any great thing, but at their assignment.

'If the scripture were in the mother tongue,' they will say, 'then would the lay-people understand it, every man after his own ways.' Wherefore serveth the curate, but to teach him the right way? Wherefore were the holy days made, but that the people should come and learn? Are ye not abominable schoolmasters, in that ye take so great wages, if ye will not teach? If ye would teach, how could ye do it so well, and with so great profit, as when the lay-people have the scripture before them in their mother tongue? For then should they see, by the order of the text, whether thou jugglest or not: and then would they believe it, because it is the scripture of God, though thy living be never so abominable. Where now, because your living and your preaching are so contrary, and because they grope out in every sermon your open and manifest lies, and smell your unsatiable covetousness, they believe you not when you preach truth. But, alas! the curates themselves (for the most part) wot no more what the new or old Testament meaneth, than do the Turks: neither know they of any more than that they read at mass, matins, and evensong, which yet they understand not: neither care they, but even to mumble up so much every day, as the pie and popinjay speak, they wot not what, to fill their bellies withal. If they will not let the lay-man have the word of God in his mother tongue, yet let the priests have it; which for a great part of them do understand no Latin at all, but sing, and say, and patter all day, with the lips only, that which the heart understandeth not.

Holy days. W. T.

Our schoolmasters take great wages, but teach not. W. T.

Why the preachers are not believed, when they say truth. W. T.

The curates wot not what a bible meaneth. W. T.

The priests understand no Latin. W. T.

Search the scriptures. W. T. John v.

Christ commandeth to search the scriptures. John v. Though that miracles bare record unto his doctrine, yet de-

sired he no faith to be given either to his doctrine, or to his miracles, without record of the scripture. When Paul preached, Acts xvii. Acts xvii. the other searched the scriptures daily, whether they were as he alleged them. Why shall not I likewise see, whether it be the scripture that thou allegest? Yea, why shall I not see the scripture, and the circumstances, and what goeth before and after; that I may know whether thine interpretation be the right sense, or whether thou jugglest, and drawest the scripture violently unto thy carnal and fleshly purpose; or whether thou be about to teach me, or to deceive me?

Christ saith, that there shall come false prophets in his name, and say that they themselves are Christ; that is, they shall so preach Christ that men must believe in them, in their holiness, and things of their imagination, without God's word: yea, and that Against-Christ, or Antichrist, that shall come, is nothing but such false prophets, that shall juggle with the scripture, and beguile the people with false interpretations, as all the false prophets, scribes, and Pharisees did in the old testament. How shall I know whether ye are that Against-Christ, or false prophets, or no, seeing ye will not let me see how ye allege the scriptures? Christ saith, "By their deeds ye shall know them." Now when we look on your deeds, we see that ye are all sworn together, and have separated yourselves from the lay-people, and have a several kingdom among yourselves, and several laws of your own making; wherewith ye violently bind the lay-people, that never consented unto the making of them. A thousand things forbid ye, which Christ made free; and dispense with them again for money: neither is there any exception at all, but lack of money. Ye have a secret council by yourselves. All other men's secrets and counsels know ye; and no man yours. Ye seek but honour, riches, promotion, authority, and to reign over all, and will obey no man. If the father give you ought of courtesy, ye will compel the son to give it violently, whether he will or not, by craft of your own laws. These deeds are against Christ.

Against-Christ is known by his deeds. W. T.

A several kingdom. W. T.

Several laws. W. T.

What Christ looseth freely, the pope bindeth, to loose it again for money. W. T.

A secret council. W. T.

When a whole parish of us hire a schoolmaster to teach our children, what reason is it that we should be compelled to pay this schoolmaster his wages, and he should have licence to go where he will, and to dwell in another country, and to leave our children untaught? Doth not the pope so?

Have we not given our tithes of courtesy unto one, for to teach us God's word; and cometh not the pope, and compelleth us to pay it violently, to them that never teach? Maketh he not one parson, which never cometh at us? Yea, one shall have five or six, or as many as he can get, and wotteth oftentimes where never one of them standeth. Another is made vicar, to whom he giveth a dispensation to go where he will, and to set in a parish priest, which can but minister a sort of dumb ceremonies. And he, because he hath most labour and least profit, polleth on his part; and setteth here a mass-penny, there a trental, yonder dirige-money, and for his bead-roll, with a confession-penny and such like[1]. And thus are we never taught, and are yet nevertheless compelled; yea, compelled[2] to hire many costly schoolmasters. These deeds are verily against Christ. Shall we therefore judge you by your deeds, as Christ commandeth? So are ye false prophets, and the disciples of Antichrist, or Against-Christ.

Parson.

Vicar.

Parish Priest.

The sermons which thou readest in the Acts of the apostles, and all that the apostles preached, were no doubt preached in the mother tongue. Why then might they not be written in the mother tongue? As, if one of us preach a good sermon, why may it not be written? Saint Jerom also translated the bible into his mother tongue: why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English

The properties of the Hebrew

[1] A trental was a service of thirty masses, rehearsed for thirty days successively after the death of the party. The will of Elizabeth, lady Scrope, widow, dated Mar. 7, 9th Hen. VIII., i. e. 1518, says, 'I will that five trentals of masses be sung and said for my soul at the place of my burial, and for the soul of my said lord and husband, and of Alice his daughter and mine,' &c. Nicolas, Test. Vet. pp. 587, 8.

Dirige, was another part of the Romish service for the dead, and so called from a hymn beginning, *Dirige gressus meos.* Bead-roll was so called from the Saxon *bede* a prayer, and roll. Thomas Trethwiffe Esq. in his will, dated Sept. 20, 1528, bequeaths 10*s.* to the intent that his name may be put in the bead-roll, and prayed for every Sunday in the pulpit by name. Nic. T. V. p. 644.]

[2] H. L. has compolde. D. compelde.]

than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one; so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English, word for word; when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shall have much work to translate it well-favouredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin, and as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better may it be translated into the English, than into the Latin. Yea, and except my memory fail me, and that I have forgotten what I read when I was a child, thou shalt find in the English chronicle, how that king Adelstone caused the holy scripture to be translated into the tongue that then was in England, and how the prelates exhorted him thereto[3].

tongue agree with the English. W. T.

King Adelstone. W. T.

Moreover, seeing that one of you ever preacheth contrary to another; and when two of you meet, the one disputeth and brawleth with the other, as it were two scolds; and forasmuch as one holdeth this doctor, and another that; one followeth Duns[4], another St Thomas[5],

Contrary preaching. W. T.

Contrary doctors. W. T.

[3 So Foxe says, 'King Athelstan caused the book of God's word to be translated from Hebrew into English, A. D. 930.' Acts and Mon. B. III. vol. II. p. 94. Farther researches do not however seem to confirm this assertion; but, on the other hand, the laborious Spelman gives his assent to an ancient MS. quoted by Abp. Parker, so far as it entitles us to affirm that king Alfred translated the New testament and some portion of the Old from Latin into Saxon. Spelmanni Vita Alfredi, M. B. III. p. 167. fol. Oxf. 1678.]

[4 See p. 108.]

[5 Thomas Aquinas, so called from Aquino, the place of his birth, but styled 'The angelic Doctor' by his admirers. He was born in 1224; and became a Dominican friar, whilst yet but a boy, against the will of his widowed mother. A native of Italy, he was allured, like Duns Scotus, to Paris, where he wrote and lectured; as also at Cologne, and at Naples. He died, and was buried, near Terracina, in 1274, when on his way from Naples to the general council assembling at Lyons; but, in 1368, his bones were brought to Toulouse, and were there adored as the relics of a saint, in consequence of his having been canonized in 1318, by pope John XXII., as a person who had wrought miracles. The collection of his works, as printed at Paris in 1660, fills nineteen volumes in folio. He was the first writer who laid down the doctrine of transubstantiation in that form in which it was afterwards fastened upon the creed of the Romish church by the council of Trent.]

another Bonaventure[1], Alexander de Hales[2], Raymond[3],

[1 There were at least four popish authors of the name of Bonaventure. The most noted of them, and doubtless the one intended by Tyndale, was a contemporary of Thomas Aquinas, and distinguished by the title of 'The seraphic doctor.' He composed what has been styled 'Our Lady's psalter;' a kind of paraphrase of the psalms, in which the word 'Lady' is generally substituted for Jehovah; as thus, 'Domina mea, in te speravi: de inimicis libera me, Domina: O my Lady, in thee have I put my trust; deliver me from mine enemies, O Lady.' To such a person the college of cardinals is said to have delegated the nomination of a pope, in 1272, when they were wearied with disputing among themselves, for three years, as to whom they should elect. He named the archdeacon of Liege, who took the title of Gregory X. and made Bonaventure bishop of Albano, and a cardinal, in return. About 200 years later, he was canonized by pope Sixtus IV. in 1482; and thenceforward styled St Bonaventura. The Roman edition of his works, published in 1588, is in 8 vols. fol. Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Sæc. x, date 1255. For an account of Bonaventura's Psalter, and extracts from it, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, under date of 1555.]

[2 Alexander de Hales, so called from his English birth-place, entered a Franciscan monastery before he was eight years old, but finished his studies in Paris; where he gained the title of 'The irrefragable doctor,' amongst the schoolmen. He is said to have been such an admirer of Bonaventura, who was his pupil, as to have been wont to affirm, that in him Adam did not seem to have sinned. 'In fratre Bonaventura Adam peccâsse non videtur.' It is stated, however, that he died at Paris, in 1245, when Bonaventura was but a young man. His 'Summa universæ theologiæ' was published at Nuremberg in 1482; at Basle in 1502; at Venice in 1576; and at Cologne in 1622. See Cave, Scriptor. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Sæc. XIII. date 1230; and L'Advocat, Dict. Histor. art. Bonaventura. See also Roman breviary for July 14, Lectio IV.]

[3 There were two school divines of the name of Raymond, in the thirteenth century. The one probably meant here was a Spaniard, born near Barcelona in 1175, and called from his birth-place, Raymond de Pennaforti. In 1238, he became general of the order of Dominicans, and died in his hundredth year. He had studied the canon law at Bologna; and compiled five books of those decretals of the popes which are styled Extravagantes. The popish clergy were also wont to consult his 'Summa de pœnitentia et matrimonio;' which was afterwards printed with notes at Rome, in 1603. He was canonized by Clement VIII. in 1601. Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Sæc. XIII. date 1228. L'Advocat, Dict. Histor. art. St Raimond de Pegnafort, or De Rochefort. And Roman Breviary, Pars hiemalis.]

Lyre[4], Brygot[5], Dorbel[6], Holcot[7], Gorram[8], Trumbett[9],

[4 Lyre, or Nicolas de Lyra, or Lyranus, so called from his native place, in the diocese of Evreux, was a Jew by birth and religion; and is said to have made considerable progress in rabbinical learning before he became a convert to Christianity, and took the habit of a Franciscan in a convent at Verneuil, in 1291. He composed what were then styled postills, or a running commentary on the whole bible. This work he begun in 1293, and completed in 1330. It was printed at Basle, 1508; also at Lyons in 6 vols. fol. in 1529; and again in 1590; and was reprinted three times in the following century. He also composed controversial treatises, intended to convince the Jews of their error. Cave, Sæc. xiv. date 1320; and L'Advocat, Dict. Hist.]

[5 There is a shorter but similar list of writers popular with the Romish clergy in Latimer's letter to Hubbardine (Park. Soc. Remains of Latimer, p 319), which enumerates 'Duns, and St Thomas, Halcot, *Briget*, &c.' The name thus differently spelt, and in each case inaccurately, probably expresses the ordinary manner of citing Brigitta; a nun whose eight books of pretended revelations were held in much respect by the Romanists, not only in Tyndale's day, but long after. She is said to have been a Swedish princess, who instituted a new monastic order, and went on pilgrimages to Naples, Jerusalem, and Rome; in which last city she died, in 1373. Pope Boniface IX. declared her a saint in 1391; and the 8th of October has consequently been dedicated to her worship by the church of Rome. Her works were printed at Lubeck in 1492; at Nuremberg in 1521; at Rome in 1557; at Antwerp in 1611, with the cardinal de Turrecremata for their editor; again at Rome, and at Cologne in 1628, in 2 vols. folio; and at Munich in 1680. The titles of some of these works sufficiently indicate their character. One is, 'Regula S. Salvatoris, data divinitus ab ore Jesu Christi devotæ sponsæ suæ B. Brigittæ;' another, 'Sermo angelicus de excellentia B. Mariæ Virginis, quem angelus Brigitta coram adstans dictavit.' L'Advocat, Dict. Hist. Cave, Script. Eccles. Tom. II. A. date 1363. Breviarium Romanum.]

[6 Dorbel, Dorbellus, or more properly Nicholas de Orbellis, a native of Angers, was a Franciscan friar, and professor of theology at Poitiers, about the middle of the fifteenth century. He wrote an 'Abridgement of Theology according to the doctrine of Scotus,' and other works. See Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. App. under date 1456. Also L'Advocat, art. Orbellis.]

[7 Robert Holcot, born at Northampton, was a Dominican friar, and a teacher of theology in Oxford. Like all, or nearly all the *doctors* in this list, he wrote commentaries on the great text-book of the schoolmen, the 'Libri sententiarum,' composed or compiled by Peter the Lombard, bishop of Paris and head of its university in the middle of the 12th century. There is a long list of Holcot's writings

Hugo de Sancto Victore[1], De Monte Regio[2], De Nova

in Cave; from which it appears that whilst some of them have never been printed, single volumes, of different productions of his pen, have been printed at Lyons, at Paris, at Reutlinger, at Spires, and at Venice; and continued to come forth from the press so late as 1586. For a specimen of his theology the reader may refer to bishop Jewel's works, (Park. Soc.) vol. I. p. 13, with the editor's note.]

[8 Gorram, or Nicholas de Gorham, so called from his native village, near St Alban's in Hertfordshire, was educated at Merton college, Oxford; and subsequently studied at Paris. The Dominicans and Franciscans have alike claimed him as a member of their order, and the time at which he lived cannot be fixed upon with certainty. The titles of his works encourage a hope that his studies were of a more profitable character than those of any other theologian in this list; for they are all of them commentaries on the scriptures, with the exception of a series of discourses 'On the saints for the whole circle of the year.' The different portions of his works previously printed at Hagenau, Cologne, and Paris, were eventually collected and edited in two volumes folio, by John Keerberg, and printed at Antwerp in 1617—20. Wharton, in Appendix to Cave, under date 1400.]

[9 Antonius Trombeta, or, as his name is sometimes Latinized, Antonius Tubeta, was born in the Paduan territory in 1436. He became a Franciscan friar, acquired the reputation of being a great Scotist, and was eventually bishop of Urbino, and titular archbishop of Athens. The only results of his studies which have ever been committed to the press, are his 'Expositiones in isagogicas formalitates ad Scoti theologiam;' and, 'Tractatus contra Averroistas de animarum humanarum purificatione;' both printed at Venice. He died at Padua in 1518.]

[1 Hugo de Sancto Victore, so called from his having been abbot of the monastery of St Victor in Paris, was a native of Ypres, though some affirm him to have been a Saxon. Though but forty-four years old when he died, in 1140, the list of treatises ascribed to his pen fills two columns and a half of Cave's folios. The printed editions of his works came out however in but three volumes; as published at Paris in 1526; at Venice in 1588; and at Cologne in 1617. The latest, or Rouen, edition is in two volumes folio.]

[2 John Muller, a celebrated mathematician and astronomer, who formed for himself the appellation of De Monte Regio, or Regiomontanus, from the name of his native town Koningshoven, or Konigsberg, in Franconia, was born in 1436, and died at Rome in 1476; whither he had been summoned by Pope Sixtus IV, who had given him the archbishopric of Ratisbon, to labour at the reformation of the calendar. The astronomical almanacs of Regiomontanus were much sought after by the superstitious, and by the fraudulent, for astrological uses. See L'Advocat, art. Muller.]

Villa[3], De Media Villa[4], and such like out of number; so that if thou hadst but of every author one book, thou couldst not pile them up in any warehouse in London, and every author is one contrary unto another. In so great diversity of spirits, how shall I know who lieth, and who sayeth truth? Whereby shall I try and judge them? Verily by God's word, which only is true. But how shall I that do, when thou wilt not let me see scripture?

Nay, say they, the scripture is so hard, that thou couldst never understand it but by the doctors. That is, I must measure the meteyard by the cloth. Here be twenty cloths

[3 De Nova Villa. The only discoverable writer of any note, bearing this name, is Arnoldus de Nova Villa, whom Giannone describes as a native of Catalonia: Foxe, in like manner, calls him a Spaniard; but Mosheim says that some have fixed upon France for his native country. L'Advocat informs us that he was by profession a physician, and studied the Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic languages. He was a reformer to such an extent as to obtain a place in the 'Catalogus testium veritatis,' p. 1732, but he was also a writer on astrology, and was still more celebrated for what he wrote on chemistry; which last science was popular, under the name of alchymy, with all who desired to be rich without industry. Giannone, Istoria civile del regno di Napoli. Lib. XXII. Cap. viii. Cave, Hist. Lit. Appendix, accessiones anonymi, p. 10, Vol. II. Oxford, 1743. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, Vol. I. p. 517, and Vol. II. p. 510. Cattley's edition. L'Advocat's Dict. Hist. art. Arnaud de Villeneuve. Mosheim, Centur. XIII. part 2. ch. 1. who refers in his notes to several authorities. According to L'Advocat, an edition of the works of Arnoldus de Nova Villa had been printed at Lyons in 1520, or about eight years before Tyndale's penning this notice of him; and they were again printed at Basle in 1585, in folio.]

[4 De Media Villa is the Latinized form of the name of Richard Middleton, a Franciscan, and a lecturer at Oxford in the latter part of the thirteenth century; who died in, or near, the year 1300. He had left Oxford for a while, to complete his studies at Paris, where he got into difficulties, being charged with heresy, 'nulla alia de causa,' says Cave, 'quam quod molles et collapsos suorum (to wit, the friars) mores publice corripuisset.' After his death the charge of heresy was renewed against him, and Bale adds that his body was dug up and burnt by order of pope Clement. His works, printed at Venice in 1509, and at Brixen in 1591, are but discussions on the 'Magister Sententiarum,' as Peter Lombard was commonly styled. Cave refers, however, to Bale, Cent. IV. p. 359; and to Pits de Script. Angl. p. 386, as also to Du Pin, Hist. Eccles Vol. II. p. 78, for notices of other writings of this Middleton.]

of divers lengths and of divers breadths: how shall I be sure of the length of the meteyard by them? I suppose, rather, I must be first sure of the length of the meteyard, and thereby measure and judge of the cloths. If I must first believe the doctor, then is the doctor first true, and the truth of the scripture dependeth of his truth; and so the truth of God springeth of the truth of man. Thus antichrist turneth the roots of the trees upward. What is the cause that we damn some of Origen's works, and allow some? How know we that some is heresy and some not? By the scripture, I trow. How know we that St Augustine (which is the best, or one of the best, that ever wrote upon the scripture) wrote many things amiss at the beginning, as many other doctors do? Verily, by the scriptures; as he himself well perceived afterward, when he looked more diligently upon them, and revoked many things again. He wrote of many things which he understood not when he was newly converted, ere he had thoroughly seen the scriptures; and followed the opinions of Plato, and the common persuasions of man's wisdom that were then famous.

Antichrist turneth the roots of the tree upward. W. T.

The scripture is the trial of all doctrine, and the right touchstone. W. T.

They will say yet more shamefully, that no man can understand the scriptures without *philautia*, that is to say, philosophy[1]. A man must be first well seen in Aristotle, ere he can understand the scripture, say they. Aristotle's doctrine is, that the world was without beginning, and shall be without end; and that the first man never was, and the last shall never be[2]; and that God doth all of necessity, neither careth what we do, neither will ask any

Philosophy. W. T.

Aristotle. W. T.

[1 *Philautia*, self-love. He means that what they call philosophy, or the love of wisdom, would be more properly described if it were called self-love.]

[2 In Enfield's Hist. of Philosophy, Vol. I. p. 280, there is a reference to Aristotle's Treatise de Cœlo, l. iii. c. 7, 8, 12, as teaching that 'The world is eternal, without beginning or end.' And perhaps what Tyndale here affirms that he taught respecting man, might be a generally received gloss on his teaching that 'In consequence of the perpetual agency of the First Mover and the celestial sphere upon matter, bodies suffer a perpetual succession of dissolution and reproduction.' Enf. p. 281, citing Arist. De Generatione et Corruptione, I. c. 5.]

accounts of that we do[3]. Without this doctrine, how could we understand the scripture, that saith, God created the world of nought; and God worketh all things of his free will, and for a secret purpose; and that we shall all rise again, and that God will have accounts of all that we have done in this life! Aristotle saith, Give a man a law, and he hath power of himself to do or fulfil the law, and becometh righteous with working righteously[4]. But Paul, and all the scripture saith, That the law doth but utter sin only, and helpeth not: neither hath any man power to do the law, till the Spirit of God be given him through faith in Christ. Is it not a madness then to say, that we could not understand the scripture without Aristotle? Aristotle's righteousness, and all his virtues, spring of man's free will. And a Turk, and every infidel and idolater, may be righteous and virtuous with that righteousness and those virtues. Moreover, Aristotle's felicity and blessedness standeth in avoiding of all tribulations; and in riches, health, honour, worship, friends, and authority[5]; which felicity pleaseth our spiritualty well. Now, without these, and a thousand such like points, couldst thou not understand scripture, which saith, That righteousness cometh by Christ, and not of man's will; and how that virtues are the fruits and the gift of God's Spirit; and that Christ blesseth us in tribulations, persecution, and adversity! How, I say, couldst thou understand the scripture without philosophy, inasmuch as Paul, in the second to the Colossians, warned them to 'beware lest any man should spoil them' (that is to say, rob them of their faith in Christ) 'through philosophy and deceitful vanities, and

Scripture. W. T.

Aristotle. W. T.

Paul. W. T.

Aristotle. W. T.

Scripture. W. T.

Philosophy. Paul. W. T. Col. ii.

[3 Aristotle's doctrine is, that 'In producing motion, the Deity acts not voluntarily, but necessarily;' and that being 'eternally employed in the contemplation of his own nature, he observes nothing, he cares for nothing beyond himself.' Enfield, p. 285.]

[4 Τὰς δ' ἀρετὰς λαμβάνομεν ἐνεργήσαντες πρότερον—οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰ μὲν δίκαια πράττοντες δίκαιοι γινόμεθα. Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. lib. II. c. 1. where the subject is discussed.]

[5 In the opening of his subject Aristotle says: Περὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, τί ἐστιν, ἀμφισβητοῦσι καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς ἀποδιδόασιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐναργῶν τι καὶ φανερῶν, οἷον ἡδονὴν ἢ πλοῦτον ἢ τιμήν, ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλο, κ.τ.ἑ. Afterwards, at the conclusion of the discussion, he writes: Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ εὐδαιμονία ψυχῆς ἐνέργειά τις κατ' ἀρετήν, κ.τ.ἑ.—Ethic. Nicom. I. 2. 13.]

through the traditions of men, and ordinances after the world, and not after Christ?'

By this means, then, thou wilt that no man teach another; but that every man take the scripture, and learn by himself. Nay, verily, so say I not. Nevertheless, seeing that ye will not teach, if any man thirst for the truth, and read the scripture by himself, desiring God to open the door of knowledge unto him, God for his truth's sake will and must teach him. Howbeit, my meaning is, that as a master teacheth his apprentice to know all the points of the mete-yard; first, how many inches, how many feet, and the half-yard, the quarter, and the nail; and then teacheth him to mete other things thereby: even so will I that ye teach the people God's law, and what obedience God requireth of us to father and mother, master, lord, king, and all superiors, and with what friendly love he commandeth one to love another; and teach them to know that natural venom and birth-poison, which moveth the very hearts of us to rebel against the ordinances and will of God; and prove that no man is righteous in the sight of God, but that we are all damned by the law: and then, when thou hast meeked them and feared them with the law, teach them the testament and promises which God hath made unto us in Christ, and how much he loveth us in Christ; and teach them the principles and the ground of the faith, and what the sacraments signify: and then shall the Spirit work with thy preaching, and make them feel. So would it come to pass, that as we know by natural wit what followeth of a true principle of natural reason; even so, by the principles of the faith, and by the plain scriptures, and by the circumstances of the text, should we judge all men's exposition, and all men's doctrine, and should receive the best, and refuse the worst. I would have you to teach them also the properties and manner of speakings of the scripture, and how to expound proverbs and similitudes. And then, if they go abroad and walk by the fields and meadows of all manner doctors and philosophers, they could catch no harm: they should discern the poison from the honey, and bring home nothing but that which is wholesome.

When no man will teach, if we desire, God will teach. W. T.

The order of teaching. W. T.

But now do ye clean contrary: ye drive them from God's word, and will let no man come thereto, until he have

The disorder, or overthwart order of our schoolmen. W. T.

been two years master of art. First, they nosel[1] them in sophistry, and in *benefundatum*[2]. And there corrupt they their judgments with apparent arguments, and with alleging unto them texts of logic, of natural *philautia*, of metaphysic, and moral philosophy, and of all manner books of Aristotle, and of all manner doctors which they yet never saw. Moreover, one holdeth this, another that; one is a Real, another a Nominal[3]. What wonderful dreams have they of their predicaments[4], universals[5], second intentions[6], *quid-*

The school doctrine, as they call it, corrupteth the judgments of youth. W.T.

Dreams. W.T.

[1 To bring up as children.]

[2 'Benefundatum', that which is grounded on sure premises.]

[3 Tyndale's antagonist, Sir Thomas More, equally complains of the confusion produced by this metaphysical controversy. 'Utinam,' says he, in his apologetic letter for Erasmus' Moria, addressed to Martin Dorpius, 'Utinam et Lovanienses et Parisienses quoque scholastici omnes Fabri commentarios in Aristotelicam disciplinam reciperent. Esset ea disciplina (ni fallar) et minus utrisque rixosa, et paulo repurgatior. Miror tamen cur Lovanienses ac Parisienses in Dialectices commemoratione conjunxeris, qui usque adeo inter se discordant, ut ne nomine quidem conveniant, cum alteri Realium, alteri Nominalium nomen affectent. Quanquam si Aristotelem utrique recipiunt, utrique tradunt, si non alia de re quam de ejus mente tot inter se rixas excitant, jam cum Parisienses aliter, aliter cum Lovanienses interpretantur, nec aliter modo, sed contra quoque; qui scire possis utris potius accedendum censeas?]

[4 Predicaments are classes of beings or substances, so arranged with reference to some one or more qualities common to each. The same are sometimes called by a name taken from the Greek tongue, 'categories.']

[5 Universals; names for predicaments, as 'man,' 'bird;' general expressions. 'The Nominalists contended that general expressions, as bird, fish, man, were merely words or names created by the mind, for its convenience. The Realists insisted that they had a positive existence, exterior to the mind.' Sharon Turner's History of Middle Ages, ch. XI. Vol. VI. p. 548.]

[6 'The first intention of a term (according to the usual acceptation of this phrase) is a certain vague and general signification of it, as opposed to one more precise and limited, which it bears in some particular art, science, or system, and which is called its second intention. It is evident that a term may have several *second intentions*, according to the several systems into which it is introduced, and of which it is one of the technical terms. Thus *line* signifies in the art military a certain form of drawing up ships or troops; in geography, a certain division of the earth; to the fisherman, a string to catch fish, &c.: all which are so many distinct second intentions, in each of which there is a certain signification of extension in length, which

dities, hæcceities[1], and relatives; and whether *species fundata in chimera* be *vera species;* and whether this proposition be true, *Non ens est aliquid;* whether *ens* be *æquivocum*, or *univocum*. *Ens* is a voice only, say some. *Ens* is *univocum*, saith another, and descendeth into *ens creatum*, and into *ens increatum, per modos intrinsecos*[2]. When they have thiswise brawled eight, ten, or twelve or more years, and after that their judgments are utterly corrupt, then they begin their divinity; not at the scripture, but every man taketh a sundry doctor; which doctors are as sundry and as divers, the one contrary unto the other, as there are divers fashions and monstrous shapes, none like another, among our sects of religion. Every religion, every university, and almost every man, hath a sundry divinity. Now whatsoever opinions every man findeth with his doctor, that is his gospel, and that only is true with him; and that holdeth he all his life long: and every man, to maintain his doctor withal, corrupteth the scripture, and fashioneth it after his own imagination, as a potter doth his clay. Of what text thou provest hell, will another prove purgatory; another *limbo patrum*[3]; and another the as-

School divinity. W. T.

Yet in this they all agree, that no man is saved by Christ, but by holy works; and that Christ hath given up his Godhead to the pope and all his power: and that the pope may give Christ's merits to whom he will, and take them from whom he will. W. T.

constitutes the first intention, and which corresponds pretty nearly with the employment of the term in mathematics.' Abp. Whateley's Elements of Logic, ch. III. Of Fallacies, §. 10.]

[1 'Quiddities, hæcceities.' By these terms Tyndale obviously meant to ridicule the barbarous Latin words, 'quidditas' and 'hæcceitas,' in use among the schoolmen; the first to express the subject of the question, 'What is the essence of the thing under discussion?' the second to express the subject of the reply, 'This is its essence.' The schoolmen had coined a variety of terms analogous to these; such as 'aureitas,' to express the essence of gold; and 'paneitas,' to express the essence of bread.]

[2 In the 'Lucidissima commentaria Petri Tartareti, in quatuor lib. sententiarum et quodlibeta Joh. Duns Scoti, subtilium principis,' published at Venice in 1607, the following headings are such as Tyndale describes:

'Secundo arguitur et probatur quod ens non sit univocum sed æquivocum.' Lib. I. Distinc. III. qu. 3. p. 154.

'Ens etsi sit univocum prædicatum omnibus entibus, non tamen prædicatur univoce de omnibus.' Ibid. p. 152.

'Quidditas quæcunque continet virtualiter veritates quæ possunt sciri de ea, respectu intellectus qui potest ab eo pati.' Index to same.]

[3 'Ante ascensionem Christi Domini erant tria animarum recepta-

sumption of our lady[4]: and another shall prove of the same text that an ape hath a tail. And of what text the gray friar proveth that our lady was without original sin, of the same shall the black friar prove that she was conceived in original sin[5]. And all this do they with apparent reasons,

cula, scilicet *limbus*, infernus, et purgatorium; et tunc animæ justorum, licet plene purgatæ, non recipiebantur in cœlum, sed deducebantur in *limbum:* hinc cœlum adhuc clausum dicebatur, sive, ut loquitur Apost. ad Hebr. cap. IX. ver. 8, Nondum propalata erat sanctorum via.' Erat autem *limbus* locus quietis, refrigerii et consolationis, in quo exspectabant adventum Christi; et dicitur communiter *limbus patrum*, a patribus et patriarchis qui in eo erant. Lucæ cap. xvi. vers. 22 et 23, vocatur *sinus Abrahæ:* Lucæ cap. xxiii. ver. 43. dicitur *paradisus* a Christo. Vocatur etiam aliquando in scriptura sacra *infernus*, ut Psalm. xv. ver. 10. Non derelinques animam meam in inferno. Fuit sub terra, ut constat ex art. 5. Symb. Apost. ubi Christus dicitur *descendisse* ad inferos; et ad Ephes. cap. iv. ver. 9. Descendit... in inferiores partes terræ. Juxta St Thom. hic art. 5, limbus patrum et infernus quantum ad locorum qualitatem sunt diversi; sed quantum ad situm, probabile est quod sint quasi idem locus continuus, sic tamen, ut magnum intervallum mediet.

Docent multi, quod inter limbum et infernum mediarit purgatorium; hocque conforme est menti S. Thom. hic art. 5. et quæst. 100. art. 2. Post judicium universale duo tantum erunt receptacula animarum, cœlum nempe pro beatis, et infernus pro damnatis. Verum S. Thom. conformiter ad suam sententiam, quod parvuli in solo peccato originali morientes non patiantur pœnam sensus, ponit pro eis particularem et distinctum *limbum*, inferiorem *limbo patrum*, partem tamen inferni: vide hic art. 6 et 7. Such is the reasoning in Dens, Tract. de Quatuor novissimis. N. 24. De locis, seu receptaculis animarum. Coloniæ, cum approbatione. Tom. VI. p. 45—7.]

[4 The third of seven reasons given by Petrus de Natalibus for believing that the Virgin's body was taken up into heaven, is as follows: 'Tertia sumitur ex obligatione præcepti. Cum enim lector legit quod non debet facere contra legis præceptum, conveniens est quod Filius Dei, qui legem dedit, non faciat contra suæ legis mandatum. Sed credendum est quod implere voluit præceptum quod dedit de honore materno; sed hoc non implesset, nisi corpus integrum servasset. Nam secundum Augustinum putredo et vermis opprobrium est humanæ conditionis. Qui autem in aliquo sustinet opprobrium, non honoratur.' Catalogus Sanctorum, editus a Reverendissimo Domino Petro de Natalibus, episcopo Equilino. Argentinæ impress. per Martinum Flach. A.D. 1513.]

[5 The gray friars were Franciscans, the black Dominicans. The former regularly sided with the Scotists, because Duns Scotus had been of their order; the latter as regularly with the Thomists, because Thomas Aquinas had been of theirs.]

False similitudes. W. T.

with false similitudes and likenesses, and with arguments and persuasions of man's wisdom. Now there is no other division or heresy in the world save man's wisdom, and when man's foolish wisdom interpreteth the scripture. Man's wisdom scattereth, divideth, and maketh sects; while the wisdom of one is that a white coat is best to serve God in, and another saith a black, and another a gray, another a blue; and while one saith that God will hear your prayer in this place, another saith in that place; and while one saith this place is holier, and another that place is holier; and this religion is holier than that; and this saint is greater with God than that; and an hundred thousand like things. Man's wisdom is plain idolatry: neither is there any other idolatry than to imagine of God after man's wisdom. God is not man's imagination; but that only which he saith of himself. God is nothing but his law and his promises; that is to say, that which he biddeth thee to do, and that which he biddeth thee believe and hope. God is but his word, as Christ saith, John viii. "I am that I say unto you;" that is to say, That which I preach am I; my words are spirit and life. God is that only which he testifieth of himself; and to imagine any other thing of God than that; is damnable idolatry. Therefore saith the hundred and eighteenth psalm, "Happy are they which search the testimonies of the Lord[1];" that is to say, that which God testifieth and witnesseth unto us. But how shall I that do, when ye will not let me have his testi-

Man's wisdom heresy. W. T.

Coats. W. T.

Place. W. T.

One religion is holier than another. W. T.

Man's wisdom is idolatry. W. T.

What God is. W. T.

Joh. viii.

Ps. cxix.

Then think the papists their wicked life will shew itself to their shame and confusion. Ant. ed.

[1 This quotation from psalm cxix. 2, is referred by Tyndale to psalm cxviii. according to the usage of christian writers till the whole scriptures had been again translated from the Hebrew at the reformation. For both Greeks and Latins had departed from the Hebrew numbering of the psalms, by adopting the numbers used in the Septuagint and Latin Vulgate; in which the ninth and tenth psalms are joined together, thereby making the Greek and Latin tenth correspond with the Hebrew eleventh, and so on, to the hundred and fourteenth of the Hebrew psalter. There the Septuagint and Vulgate again comprehend two Hebrew psalms in one, viz. cxiv. and cxv. Hence, in both those versions, the hundred and sixteenth psalm of the Hebrew text is headed cxiv.; but, as they close this psalm with its ninth verse, and entitle the rest of it psalm cxv. their numbering is again only one behind that of the Hebrews. Thus it continues to the proper hundred and forty-seventh psalm, which is divided into two, after the eleventh verse by the Septuagint and Vulgate; thereby making the same psalm to be counted as cxlviii., in the Greek, the Latin, and the Hebrew.]

monics, or witnesses, in a tongue which I understand? Will ye resist God? Will ye forbid him to give his Spirit unto the lay as well as unto you? Hath he not made the English tongue? Why forbid ye him to speak in the English tongue then, as well as in the Latin?

Finally, that this threatening and forbidding the lay people to read the scripture is not for the love of your souls (which they care for as the fox doth for the geese), is evident, and clearer than the sun; inasmuch as they permit and suffer you to read Robin Hood, and Bevis of Hampton, Hercules, Hector and Troilus, with a thousand histories and fables of love and wantonness, and of ribaldry, as filthy as heart can think, to corrupt the minds of youth withal, clean contrary to the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles: for Paul saith, "See that fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, be not once named among you, as it becometh saints; neither filthiness, neither foolish talking nor jesting, which are not comely: for this ye know, that no whoremonger, either unclean person, or covetous person, which is the worshipper of images, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." And after saith he, "Through such things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of unbelief." Now seeing they permit you freely to read those things which corrupt your minds and rob you of the kingdom of God and Christ, and bring the wrath of God upon you, how is this forbidding for love of your souls?

The pope licensed the people to read and say what they would, save the truth. Ant. ed.

Read what thou wilt, yea, and say what thou wilt, save the truth. W. T.

Eph. v.

But the one forbiddeth not their pomp and belly-cheer, as the other doth. Ant. ed.

A thousand reasons more might be made, as thou mayest see in *Paraclesis Erasmi*[2], and in his preface to the *Para-*

[2 Erasmi Paraclesis, id est Adhortatio ad Christianæ Philosophiæ studium, was one of those works by which that learned man promoted the reformation, which he afterwards shrunk from being thought to favour. He had said in his Paraclesis, Vehementer ab istis dissentio, qui nolint ab idiotis legi divinas literas in vulgi linguam transfusas, sive quasi Christus tam involuta docuerit ut vix a pauculis theologis possint intelligi, sive quasi religionis Christianæ præsidium in hoc situm sit, si nesciatur. Regum mysteria celare fortasse satius est; at Christus sua mysteria quam maxime cupit evulgari. Optarem ut omnes mulierculæ legant evangelium, legant Paulinas epistolas. Atque utinam hæc in omnes omnium linguas essent transfusa, ut non solum a Scotis et Hybernis, sed a Turcis quoque et Saracenis, legi cognoscique possent. Primus certe gradus est, utcumque cognoscere. Esto, riderent multi; at caperentur aliquot. Utinam hinc

phrase of Matthew[1], unto which they should be compelled to hold their peace, or to give shameful answers. But I hope that these are sufficient unto them that thirst the truth. God for his mercy and truth shall well open them more, yea, and other secrets of his godly wisdom, if they be diligent to cry unto him; which grace grant God. Amen.

ad stivam aliquid decantet agricola, hinc nonnihil ad radios suos moduletur textor, hujusmodi fabulis itineris tædium levet viator. Ex his sint omnia Christianorum omnium colloquia. Tales enim ferme sumus, quales sunt quotidianæ nostræ confabulationes. . . . Neque enim ob id, opinor, quisquam sibi Christianus esse videatur, si spinosa molestaque verborum perplexitate de instantibus, de relationibus, de quidditatibus ac formalitatibus disputet; sed si quod Christus docuit et exhibuit, id teneat exprimatque. Desid. Erasmi, Op. Tom. v. fol. 140—1.]

[1 In Erasmus' preface to the third edition of his version of Matthew, published three years before Tyndale wrote this, there is a remarkable passage to our reformer's purpose, which begins as follows: Si nemo non gaudet vocari Christianus, nemo debet ignorare principis sui dogmata. Nullus audet se profiteri Augustinensem qui regulam Augustini non legerit. . . . Et tu tibi Christianus videris, qui nusquam scire curaris Christi regulam?

This remark of Erasmus will be understood to have the more force, when it is added, that if any monk was ignorant of Latin, the monastic regulations insisted that he should have the rules of his order in the vulgar tongue. So observed Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, a contemporary whom Erasmus has highly lauded.]

The Prologue unto the Book.

FORASMUCH as our holy prelates and our ghostly religious[2], which ought to defend God's word, speak evil of it, and do all the shame they can to it, and rail on it; and bear their captives in hand, that it causeth insurrection and teacheth the people to disobey their heads and governors, and moveth them to rise against their princes, and to make all common, and to make havock of other men's goods: therefore have I made this little treatise that followeth, containing all obedience that is of God; in which, whosoever readeth it, shall easily perceive, not the contrary only, and that they lie, but also the very cause of such blasphemy, and what stirreth them so furiously to rage and to belie the truth.

Prelates not professors, but profaners of God's word. Ant.ed.

The obedience of monks and friars is not here. For they are not of God, but of their own feigning. W. T.

Howbeit it is no new thing unto the word of God to be railed upon, neither is this the first time that hypocrites have ascribed to God's word the vengeance whereof they themselves were ever cause. For the hypocrites with their false doctrine and idolatry have evermore led the wrath and vengeance of God upon the people, so sore that God could no longer forbear, nor defer his punishment. Yet God, which is always merciful, before he would take vengeance, hath ever sent his true prophets and true preachers, to warn the people that they might repent. But the people for the most part, and namely the heads and rulers, through comfort and persuading of the hypocrites, have ever waxed more hard-hearted than before, and have persecuted the word of God and his prophets. Then God, which is also righteous, hath always poured his plagues upon them without delay; which plagues the hypocrites ascribe unto God's word, saying, 'See what mischief is come upon us since this new learning came up, and this new sect, and this new doctrine.' This seest thou, Jeremiah xliv. where the people cried to go to their old idolatry again, saying, "Since we left it, we have been in all neces-

The hypocrites lay that to God's word which they themselves are cause of. W. T.

God warneth ere he strike. W. T.

When God punisheth the idolatry of the hypocrites, then say they, that new learning is the cause thereof. W. T. Jer. xliv

[2 Here and elsewhere *religious* is used as a substantive, just as in French 'un religieux' is a friar or a monk.]

sity and have been consumed with war and hunger." But the prophet answered them that their idolatry went unto the heart of God, so that he could no longer suffer the maliciousness of their own imaginations or inventions; and that the cause of all such mischiefs was, because they would not hear the voice of the Lord and walk in his law, ordinances, and testimonies. The scribes and the Pharisees laid also to Christ's charge, Luke xxiii. that he moved the people to sedition; and said to Pilate, "We have found this fellow perverting the people, and forbidding to pay tribute to Cæsar, and saith that he is Christ a king." And again in the same chapter, "He moveth the people," said they, "teaching throughout Jewry, and began at Galilee even to this place." So likewise laid they to the apostles' charge, as thou mayest see in the Acts. St Cyprian also, and St Augustine, and many other more, made works in defence of the word of God against such blasphemies[1]. So that thou mayest see how that it is no new thing, but an old and accustomed thing with the hypocrites, to wite[2] God's word and the true preachers of all the mischief which their lying doctrine is the very cause of.

Christ was accused of insurrection. W. T. Luke xxiii.

Why trouble followeth the preaching of the gospel. W. T.

Neverthelater in very deed, after the preaching of God's word, because it is not truly received, God sendeth great trouble into the world; partly to avenge himself of the tyrants and persecutors of his word, and partly to destroy those worldly people which make of God's word nothing but a cloak of their fleshly liberty. They are not all good that follow the gospel. Christ (Matt. xiii.) likeneth the kingdom of

Matt. xiii.

[1 Such is the chief topic of Cyprian's Address to Demetrianus. 'Dixisti,' says he, 'per nos fieri, et quod nobis debeant imputari, omnia ista quibus nunc mundus quatitur et urgetur, quod dii vestri a nobis non colantur... Non enim, sicut tua falsa querimonia, et imperitia veritatis ignara, jactat et clamitat, ista accidunt quod dii vestri a nobis non colantur; sed quod a vobis non colatur Deus.'

Such also was the declared object of Augustine in composing his treatise De civitate Dei; as he himself tell us in his second book of his Retractationes, ch. xliii. 'Interea Roma Gothorum irruptione impetu magnæ cladis eversa est: cujus eversionem deorum falsorum multorumque cultores in Christianam religionem referre conantes, solito acerbius et amarius Deum verum blasphemare cœperunt. Unde ego, exardescens zelo domus Dei, adversus eorum blasphemias, vel errores, libros *De civitate Dei* scribere institui.' Tom. I. col. 56.]

[2 From Saxon Wītan, to blame.]

heaven unto a net cast into the sea, that catcheth fishes both good and bad. The kingdom of heaven is the preaching of the gospel, unto which come both good and bad. But the good are few. Christ calleth them therefore a "little flock," Luke xii. For they are ever few that come to the gospel of a true intent, seeking therein nothing but the glory and praise of God, and offering themselves freely and willingly to take adversity with Christ for the gospel's sake, and for bearing record unto the truth, that all men may hear it. The greatest number come, and ever came, and followed even Christ himself, for a worldly purpose: as thou mayest well see (John vi.), how that almost five thousand followed Christ, and would also have made him a king, because he had well fed them: whom he rebuked, saying, "Ye seek me not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye ate of the bread and were filled"; and drove them away from him with hard preaching.

Luke xii. Christ's flock a little flock. W. T.

As our prelates do not take their vocation to seek God's glory and honour, but to live easily, and promote themselves to dignity. Ant. ed.

Joh. vi.

Even so now, as ever, the most part seek liberty. They be glad when they hear the unsatiable covetousness of the spirituality rebuked; when they hear their falsehood and wiles uttered; when tyranny and oppression is preached against; when they hear how kings and all officers should rule christianly and brotherly, and seek no other thing save the wealth of their subjects; and when they hear that they have no such authority of God so to pill and poll as they do, and to raise up taxes and gatherings to maintain their phantasies, and to make war they wot not for what cause. And therefore, because the heads will not so rule, will they also no longer obey; but resist and rise against their evil heads; and one wicked destroyeth another. Yet is God's word not the cause of this, neither yet the preachers. For though that Christ himself taught all obedience, how that it is not lawful to resist wrong, but for the officer that is appointed thereunto; and how a man must love his very enemy, and pray for them that persecute him, and bless them that curse him; and how that all vengeance must be remitted to God; and that a man must forgive if he will be forgiven of God; yet the people for the most part received it not: they were ever ready to rise, and to fight. For ever when the scribes and Pharisees went about to take Christ, they were afraid of the people. "Not on the holy day," said they, Matt. xxvi. "lest any rumour arise among the people": and, Matt. xxi. "They

Liberty.

God destroyeth one wicked with another. W. T.

God's word is not the cause of evil. W. T.

Matt. xxvi.

Matt. xxi.

would have taken him but they feared the people": and Luke xx. Christ asked the Pharisees a question unto which they durst not answer, lest the people should have stoned them.

Luke xx.

Last of all: forasmuch as the very disciples and apostles of Christ, after so long hearing of Christ's doctrine, were yet ready to fight for Christ, clean against Christ's teaching, (as Peter, Matt. xxvi. drew his sword, but was rebuked; and, Luke ix. James and John would have had fire to come from heaven to consume the Samaritans, and to avenge the injury of Christ, but were likewise rebuked;) if Christ's disciples were so long carnal, what wonder is it if we be not all perfect the first day? Yea, inasmuch as we be taught, even of very babes, to kill a Turk, to slay a Jew, to burn an heretic, to fight for the liberties and right of the church, as they call it; yea, and inasmuch as we are brought in belief, if we shed the blood of our even[1] christian, or if the son shed the blood of his father that begat him, for the defence, not of the pope's godhead only, but also for whatsoever cause it be, yea, though it be for no cause, but that his holiness commandeth it only, that we deserve as much as Christ deserved for us, when he died on the cross; or, if we be slain in the quarrel, that our souls go, nay, fly to heaven, and be there ere our blood be cold: inasmuch, I say, as we have sucked in such bloody imaginations into the bottom of our hearts, even with our mother's milk, and have been so long hardened therein; what wonder were it, if, while we be yet young in Christ, we thought that it were lawful to fight for the true word of God? Yea, and though a man were thoroughly persuaded that it were not lawful to resist his king, though he would wrongfully take away life and goods; yet might he think that it were lawful to resist the hypocrites, and to rise, not against his king but with his king, to deliver his king out of bondage and captivity, wherein the hypocrites hold him with wiles and falsehood, so that no man may be suffered to come at him, to tell him the truth.

Christ's disciples were long weak and worldly minded. W. T. Matt. xxvi.

Luke ix.

The pope's doctrine causeth, yea, commandeth murder. Ant. ed.

This seest thou, that it is the bloody doctrine of the pope which causeth disobedience, rebellion and insurrection: for he teacheth to fight and to defend his traditions, and whatsoever he dreameth, with fire, water, and sword; and to disobey father, mother, master, lord, king, and emperor; yea, and to invade whatsoever land or nation, that will not receive and

The pope's doctrine is bloody. W. T.

[1] Even, i. e. equal.]

admit his godhead: where the peaceable doctrine of Christ teacheth to obey, and to suffer for the word of God, and to remit the vengeance and the defence of the word to God, which is mighty and able to defend it: which also as soon as the word is once openly preached, and testified, or witnessed unto the world, and when he hath given them a season to repent, is ready at once to take vengeance of his enemies, and shooteth arrows with heads dipt in deadly poison at them; and poureth his plagues from heaven down upon them; and sendeth the murrain and pestilence among them; and sinketh the cities of them; and maketh the earth swallow them; and compasseth them in their wiles; and taketh them in their own traps and snares, and casteth them into the pits which they digged for other men; and sendeth them a dazing[2] in the head; and utterly destroyeth them with their own subtle counsel.

Christ's doctrine is peaceable. W. T.

God avengeth his doctrine himself. W. T.

Prepare thy mind therefore unto this little treatise; and read it discreetly; and judge it indifferently. And when I allege any scripture, look thou on the text whether I interpret it right: which thou shalt easily perceive by the circumstance and process of them, if thou make Christ the foundation and the ground, and build all on him, and referrest all to him; and findest also that the exposition agreeth unto the common articles of the faith and open scriptures. And God the Father of mercy, which for his truth's sake raised our Saviour Christ up again to justify us, give thee his Spirit, to judge what is righteous in his eyes; and give thee strength to abide by it, and to maintain it with all patience and long-suffering, unto the example and edifying of his congregation, and glory of his name. Amen.

How a man ought to behave himself in reading of doctors, and also in the scripture. W. T.

[2] Confusion; stupefaction.]

The Obedience of all Degrees proved by God's Word: and first of Children unto their Elders.

God, which worketh all in all things, for a secret judgment and purpose, and for his godly pleasure, provided an hour that thy father and mother should come together, to make thee through them. He was present with thee in thy mother's womb, and fashioned thee and breathed life into thee; and, for the great love he had unto thee, provided milk in thy mother's breasts for thee against thou were born; moved also thy father and mother, and all other, to love thee, to pity thee, and to care for thee.

Our fathers and mothers are to us in God's stead. W. T. Exod. xx.

And as he made thee through them, so hath he cast thee under the power and authority of them, to obey and serve them in his stead; saying, "Honour thy father and mother." Exod. xx. Which is not to be understood in bowing the knee, and putting off the cap only, but that thou love them with all thine heart; and fear and dread them, and wait on their commandments; and seek their worship, pleasure, will and profit in all things; and give thy life for them, counting them worthy of all honour; remembering that thou art their good and possession, and that thou owest unto them thine own self, and all thou art able, yea, and more than thou art able to do.

What we do to our fathers and mothers, that we do to God. W. T.

Understand also, that whatsoever thou doest unto them, be it good or bad, thou doest unto God. When thou pleasest them, thou pleasest God; when thou displeasest them, thou displeasest God; when they are angry with thee, God is angry with thee: neither is it possible for thee to come to the favour of God again, no, though all the angels of heaven pray for thee, until thou have submitted thyself unto thy father and mother again.

The reward of obedience. W. T.

Exod. xx.

The reward of disobedience. W. T.

Exod. xxi.

If thou obey, though it be but carnally, either for fear, for vain glory, or profit, thy blessing shall be long life upon the earth. For he saith, "Honour thy father and mother, that thou mayest live long upon the earth." Exod. xx. Contrariwise, if thou disobey them, thy life shall be shortened upon the earth. For it followeth, Exod. xxi. "He that smiteth his father or mother shall be put to death for it. And

he that curseth," that is to say, raileth or dishonoureth his father or mother with opprobrious words, "shall be slain for it." And, Deut. xxi. "If any man have a son stubborn and disobedient, which heareth not the voice of his father and the voice of his mother, so that they have taught him nurture, and he regardeth them not; then let his father and mother take him, and bring him forth unto the seniors or elders of the city, and unto the gate of the same place: and let them say unto the seniors of that city, This our son is stubborn and disobedient: he will not hearken unto our voice: he is a rioter and a drunkard. Then let all the men of the city stone him with stones unto death: so shall ye put away wickedness from among you, and all Israel shall hear and shall fear." Deut. xxi.

And though that the temporal officers (to their own damnation) be negligent in punishing such disobedience, (as the spiritual officers are to teach it,) and wink at it, or look on it through the fingers, yet shall they not escape unpunished. For the vengeance of God shall accompany them (as thou mayest see Deut. xxviii.) with all misfortune and evil luck; and shall not depart from them until they be murdered, drowned, or hanged; either until, by one mischance or another, they be utterly brought to nought. Yea, and the world oftentimes hangeth many a man for that they never deserved: but God hangeth them because they would not obey, and hearken unto their elders; as the consciences of many well find, when they come unto the gallows. There can they preach, and teach other, that which they themselves would not learn in season. God avengeth disobedience himself, though the officer will not. W. T.

The marriage also of the children pertaineth unto their elders; as thou mayest see 1 Cor. vii. and throughout all the scripture, by the authority of the said commandment, Child, obey father and mother. Which thing the heathen and gentiles have ever kept, and to this day keep, to the great shame and rebuke of us Christians: inasmuch as the weddings of our virgins (shame it is to speak it) are more like to the saute[1] of a bitch than the marrying of a reasonable creature. See not we daily three or four challenging one woman before the commissary or official, of which not one hath the consent of her father and mother? And yet he that hath most Marriage. W. T. 1 Cor. vii. Covetousness maketh our spirituality, that they cannot see that which a Turk is ashamed of. W. T.

[1 Saute or salt: leap.]

money hath best right, and shall have her in the despite of all her friends and in defiance of God's ordinances[1].

Moreover, when she is given by the judge unto the one party, and also married, even then ofttimes shall the contrary party sue before a higher judge, or another that succeedeth the same, and for money divorce her again. So shamefully doth the covetousness and ambition of our prelates mock with the laws of God. I pass over with silence, how many years they will prolong the sentence with cavillations and subtlety, if they be well monied on both parties; and if a damsel promise two, how shameful counsel they will give the second, and also how the religious of Satan do separate unseparable matrimony. For after thou art lawfully married at the commandment of father and mother, and with the consent of all thy friends; yet if thou wilt be disguised like unto one of them, and swear obedience unto their traditions, thou mayest disobey father and mother, break the oath which thou hast sworn to God before his holy congregation, and withdraw love and charity, the highest of God's commandments, and that duty and service which thou owest unto thy wife; whereof Christ cannot dispense with thee: for Christ is not against God, but with God; and came not to break God's ordinances, but to fulfil them. That is, he came to overcome thee with kindness; and to make thee to do, of very

God's commandments break they through their own traditions. W. T.

[1 Art. II. of 'Other heresies and errors collected by the Bishops out of Tyndale's book, named *The Obedience* of a Christian man,' is, as given in Foxe, 'He saith, that children ought not to marry without the consent of their parents.' The document, in which these articles were enrolled, is still preserved among the archives in the Lambeth collection. Its language is sometimes English, and sometimes Latin. The words in this second article are: Dicit quod filii nec debent nec possunt contrahere matrimonium absque consensu parentum. Foxe has neglected the word *possunt*, and has said that the charge is founded on what Tyndale has said in fol. 120 of Day's edition. It is, however, more probable that it was suggested by the paragraph to which this note is attached; and that the paragraph was deemed heretical, because it gave so much weight to the authority of parents, and declared that the decisions of the ecclesiastical courts were not unfrequently 'in defiance of God's ordinances.' Foxe offers no other defence for Tyndale than supplying his readers with Tyndale's own words, from the latter part of the section on 'The office of a father, and how he should rule;' being the passage which he considered as having given occasion for the charge.]

love, the thing which the law compelleth thee to do. For love only, and to do service unto thy neighbour, is the fulfilling of the law in the sight of God. To be a monk or a friar, thou mayest thus forsake thy wife before thou hast lain with her, but not to be a secular priest[2]. And yet, after thou art professed, the pope for money will dispense with thee, both for thy coat and all thy obedience, and make a secular priest of thee: likewise as it is simony to sell a benefice, as they call it, but to resign upon a pension, and then to redeem the same, is no simony at all. O crafty jugglers and mockers with the word of God!

Money maketh merchandise. W. T.

Jugglers.

The Obedience of Wives unto their Husbands.

After that Eve was deceived of the serpent, God said unto her, Gen. iii. "Thy lust or appetite shall pertain unto thy husband; and he shall rule thee, or reign over thee." God, which created the woman, knoweth what is in that weak vessel, (as Peter calleth her,) and hath therefore put her under the obedience of her husband, to rule her lusts and wanton appetites. 1 Peter iii. exhorteth wives to "be in subjection to their husbands, after the ensample of the holy women which in old time trusted in God, and as Sara obeyed Abraham and called him lord." Which Sara, before she was married, was Abraham's sister, and equal with him; but, as soon as she was married, was in subjection, and became without comparison inferior: for so is the nature of wedlock, by the ordinance of God. It were much better that our wives followed the ensample of the holy women of old time in obeying their husbands, than to worship them[3] with a *Paternoster*, an *Ave* and a *Credo*, or to stick up candles before their images. Paul, Eph. v. saith, "Women, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the wife's head, even as Christ is the head of the congregation. Therefore, as the congregation is in subjection to Christ, likewise let wives be

Gen. iii.

1 Pet. iii.

Marriage altereth the degree of nature. W. T.

Eph. v.

[2 Decret. Greg. Lib. iv. Tit. i. cap. 16. 'Commissum,' gives this permission to a person who shall enter a monastery; and by not extending this licence to the other case, must be understood to forbid it.]

[3 That is, Mary and other canonized females.]

in subjection unto their husbands in all things." "Let the woman, therefore, fear her husband," as Paul saith in the said place. For her husband is unto her in the stead of God, that she obey him, and wait on his commandments; and his commandments are God's commandments. If she therefore grudge against him, or resist him, she grudgeth against God, and resisteth God.

The husband is to the wife in God's stead. W. T.

The Obedience of Servants unto their Masters.

Eph. vi. "SERVANTS, obey your carnal masters with fear and trembling, in singleness of your hearts, as unto Christ; not with service in the eye-sight as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, with good will, even as though ye served the Lord, and not men." Eph. vi.

1 Pet. ii. And, 1 Pet. ii. "Servants, obey your masters with all fear, not only if they be good and courteous, but also though they be froward. For it cometh of grace, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what praise is it, if when ye be buffetted for your faults, ye take it patiently? But and if when ye do well, ye suffer wrong and take it patiently, then is there thanks with God. Hereunto, verily, were ye called. For Christ also suffered for our sakes, leaving us an ensample to follow his steps." In whatsoever kind, therefore, thou art a servant, during the time of thy covenants thy master is unto thee in the stead and room of God; and God through him feedeth thee, clotheth thee, ruleth thee, and learneth thee. His commandments are God's commandments; and thou oughtest to obey him as God, and in all things to seek his pleasure and profit. For thou art his good and possession, as his ox or his horse; insomuch that whosoever doth but desire thee in his heart from him, without his love and licence, is condemned of God, which saith, Exod. xx., "See thou once covet not thy neighbour's servants."

In suffering wrongs patiently, we follow the steps of Christ. Ant. ed.

The master is unto the servant in God's stead. W. T.

Exod. xx.

Paul the apostle sent home Onesimus unto his master, as thou readest in the epistle of Paul to Philemon: insomuch that, though the said Philemon, with his servant also, was converted by Paul, and owed to Paul, and to the word that Paul preached, not his servant only but also himself; yea,

Our pirltuality retain men's servants, not to honour God, but their traditions and ceremonies only. W. T.

and though that Paul was in necessity, and lacked ministers to minister unto him in the bonds which he suffered for the gospel's sake; yet would he not retain the servant necessary unto the furtherance of the gospel without the consent of the master.

O how sore differeth the doctrine of Christ and his apostles from the doctrine of the pope and of his apostles! For if any man will obey neither father nor mother, neither lord nor master, neither king nor prince, the same needeth but only to take the mark of the beast, that is, to shave himself a monk, a friar, or a priest, and is then immediately free and exempted from all service and obedience due unto man. He that will obey no man (as they will not) is most acceptable unto them. The more disobedient that thou art unto God's ordinances, the more apt and meet art thou for theirs. Neither is the professing, vowing, and swearing obedience unto their ordinances, any other thing than the defying, denying, and foreswearing obedience unto the ordinances of God[1].

Christ's doctrine and the pope's differ. W. T.

If thy master please thee not, shave thyself a monk, a friar, or a priest. W. T.

To obey no man is a spiritual thing. W. T.

The Obedience of Subjects unto Kings, Princes, and Rulers.

"LET every soul submit himself unto the authority of the higher powers. There is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not to be feared for good works, but for evil. Wilt thou

Rom. xiii.

Kings are chosen to suppress the

[1 In the list of heresies and errors, Art. III. is, 'He saith that vows are against the obedience of God.' To this charge Foxe replies: 'They that say that this article is a heresy, let them shew when these vows, in all the new Testament, be ordained of God; especially such vows of single life and wilful poverty, as by the canon law be obtruded on young priests and novices. St Paul evidently forefendeth any widows to be admitted under the age of threescore years. Is not here, trow you, a perilous heresy?' Foxe, Acts and Mon. B. VIII.]

wicked and support the good. Ant. ed.

be without fear of the power? Do well then, and so shalt thou be praised of the same; for he is the minister of God for thy wealth. But and if thou do evil, then fear: for he beareth not a sword for nought; for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on them that do evil. Wherefore ye must needs obey; not for fear of vengeance only, but also because of conscience. Even for this cause pay ye tribute: for they are God's ministers serving for the same purpose. Give to every man therefore his duty: tribute to whom tribute belongeth; custom to whom custom is due; fear to whom fear belongeth; honour to whom honour pertaineth. Owe nothing to any man; but to love one another: for he that loveth another fulfilleth the law. For these commandments, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not desire, and so forth, if there be any other commandment, are all comprehended in this saying, Love thine neighbour as thyself. Love hurteth not his neighbour: therefore is love the fulfilling of the law."

An apt similitude. Ant. ed.

As a father over his children is both lord and judge, forbidding one brother to avenge himself on another, but, if any cause of strife be between them, will have it brought unto himself or his assigns, to be judged and correct; so God forbiddeth all men to avenge themselves, and taketh the

Deut. xxxii.

authority and office of avenging unto himself; saying, "Vengeance is mine, and I will reward." Deut. xxxii. Which text

Rom. xii.

Paul allegeth, Rom. xii.; for it is impossible that a man should be a righteous, an egal[1] or an indifferent judge in his own cause, lusts and appetites so blind us. Moreover, when thou avengest thyself, thou makest not peace, but stirrest up more debate.

God therefore hath given laws unto all nations, and in all lands hath put kings, governors, and rulers in his own stead, to rule the world through them; and hath commanded all causes to be brought before them, as thou readest

Exod xxii.

Exod. xxii. "In all causes (saith he) of injury or wrong, whether it be ox, ass, sheep, or vesture, or any lost thing which another challengeth, let the cause of both parties be brought unto the gods; whom the gods condemn, the same

[1 Egal: equal.]

shall pay double unto his neighbour[2]." Mark, the judges are called gods in the scriptures, because they are in God's room, and execute the commandments of God. And in another place of the said chapter Moses chargeth, saying: "See that thou rail not on the gods, neither speak evil of the ruler of thy people." Whosoever therefore resisteth them, resisteth God, for they are in the room of God; and they that resist shall receive the damnation. Judges are called gods. W. T.

Such obedience unto father and mother, master, husband, emperor, king, lords and rulers, requireth God of all nations, yea, of the very Turks and infidels. The blessing and reward of them that keep them is the life of this world, as thou readest, Lev. xviii. "Keep my ordinances and laws; which if a man keep, he shall live therein." Which text Paul rehearseth Rom. x., proving thereby that the righteousness of the law is but worldly, and the reward thereof is the life of this world: and the curse of them that breaketh them is the loss of this life; as thou seest by the punishment appointed for them. Blessing. W. T. Lev. xviii. Rom. x. Curse. W. T.

And whosoever keepeth the law (whether it be for fear, for vain glory, or profit), though no man reward him, yet shall God bless him abundantly, and send him worldly prosperity; as thou readest, Deut. xxviii., what good blessings accompany the keeping of the law; and as we see the Turks far exceed us Christian men in worldly prosperity, for their just keeping of their temporal laws. Likewise, though no man punish the breakers of the law, yet shall God send his curses upon them till they be utterly brought to nought, as thou readest most terribly even in the same place. God rewardeth all obedience; though no man else do. W. T. God avengeth all disobedience; though no man else do. W. T.

Neither may the inferior person avenge himself upon the superior, or violently resist him, for whatsoever wrong it be. If he do, he is condemned in the deed-doing; inasmuch as

[2 Our Lord's application of Ps. lxxxii. 6, as recorded in John x. 34, in which he seems to have sanctioned such an interpretation of אלהים when that name is given to judges, as the evangelist has rendered it θεοὶ, was probably deemed by Tyndale, as it had been by the Vulgate translator, sufficient to justify rendering the same word *gods* in this text and the following. In our authorised version of Exod. xxii. אלהים has been rendered *judges*, in v. 8 and 9; and though the word *gods* is retained in v. 28, the margin shews that some of the translators would have prefered rendering *judges* there also.]

he taketh upon him that which belongeth to God only, which saith, "Vengeance is mine, and I will reward." Deut. xxxii. And Christ saith, Matt. xxvi. "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Takest thou a sword to avenge thyself? So givest thou not room unto God to avenge thee, but robbest him of his most high honour, in that thou wilt not let him be judge over thee.

Vengeance is God's. W. T. Deut. xxxii. Matt. xxvi.

If any man might have avenged himself upon his superior, that might David most righteously have done upon king Saul, which so wrongfully persecuted David, even for no other cause, than that God had anointed him king, and promised him the kingdom. Yet when God had delivered Saul into the hands of David, that he might have done what he would with him; as thou seest in the first book of Kings, the xxivth chapter, how Saul came into the camp where David was; and David came to him secretly, and cut off a piece of his garment; and as soon as he had done it, his heart smote him, because he had done so much unto his lord: and when his men encouraged him to slay him, he answered, "The Lord forbid it me that I should lay mine hand on him;" neither suffered he his men to hurt him. When Saul was gone out, David followed him, and shewed him the piece of his garment, and said, "Why believest thou the words of men that say, David goeth about to do thee harm? Perceive and see that there is neither evil nor wickedness in my hand, and that I have not trespassed against thee, and yet thou layest await for my life: God judge between thee and me, and avenge me of thee; but mine hand be not upon thee. As the old proverb saith (saith David), Out of the wicked shall wickedness proceed, but mine hand be not upon thee," meaning that God ever punisheth one wicked by another. And again said David, "God be judge, and judge between thee and me, and behold and plead my cause, and give me judgment or right of thee."

David. W. T. 1 Sam. xxiv. God destroyeth one wicked by another. W. T.

And in the xxvith chapter of the same book, when Saul persecuted David again, David came to Saul by night, as he slept and all his men, and took away his spear and a cup of water from his head. Then said Abishai, David's servant, "God hath delivered thee thine enemy into thine hand this day: let me now therefore nail him to the ground with my spear, and give him but even one stripe and no more." David

1 Sam. xxvi. God provideth a means to take the evil out of the way, when they have fulfilled their wickedness. W. T.

forbad him, saying, "Kill him not; for who (said he) shall lay hands on the Lord's anointed, and be not guilty? The Lord liveth," or by the Lord's life (said he), "he dieth not, except the Lord smite him, or that his day be come to die, or else go to battle, and there perish."

Why did not David slay Saul, seeing he was so wicked, not in persecuting David only, but in disobeying God's commandments, and in that he had slain eighty-five of God's priests wrongfully? Verily, for it was not lawful. For if he had done it, he must have sinned against God; for God hath made the king in every realm judge over all, and over him is there no judge. He that judgeth the king judgeth God; and he that layeth hands on the king layeth hand on God; and he that resisteth the king resisteth God, and damneth God's law and ordinance. If the subjects sin, they must be brought to the king's judgment. If the king sin, he must be reserved unto the judgment, wrath, and vengeance of God. And as it is to resist the king, so is it to resist his officer, which is set, or sent, to execute the king's commandment.

Why David slew not Saul. W. T.

[1 Sam. xxii. 18.]

The king is in the room of God in this world. W. T.

The king must be reserved unto the vengeance of God. W. T.

And in the first chapter of the second book of Kings, David commanded the young man to be slain, which brought unto him the crown and bracelet of Saul, and said, to please David withal, that he himself had slain Saul. And in the fourth chapter of the same book, David commanded those two to be slain which brought unto him the head of Ishbosheth, Saul's son; by whose means yet the whole kingdom returned unto David, according unto the promise of God.

2 Sam. i. iv.

And, Luke xiiith, when they shewed Christ of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate mingled with their own sacrifice, he answered, "Suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all other Galileans, because they suffered such punishment? I tell you, nay; but except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish." This was told Christ, no doubt, of such an intent as they asked him, Matt. xxii. "Whether it were lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar?" For they thought that it was no sin to resist a heathen prince: as few of us would think, if we were under the Turk, that it were sin to rise against him, and to rid ourselves from under his dominion, so sore have our bishops robbed us of the true doctrine of Christ[1]. But Christ

Luke xiii.

Matt. xxii.

It is not lawful for a Christian subject to resist his prince, though he be an heathen man. W. T.

[1 Art. IV. of alleged heresies and errors: 'He saith that a christian man may not resist a prince, being an infidel and an ethnic.

condemned their deeds, and also the secret thoughts of all other, that consented thereunto, saying: "Except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish." As who should say, I know that ye are within, in your hearts, such as they were outward in their deeds, and are under the same damnation: except, therefore, ye repent betimes, ye shall break out at the last into like deeds, and likewise perish; as it came afterward to pass.

Kings must make account of their doings only to God. Ant. ed.

Hereby seest thou that the king is, in this world, without law; and may at his lust do right or wrong, and shall give accounts but to God only.

Another conclusion is this, that no person, neither any degree, may be exempt from this ordinance of God: neither can the profession of monks and friars, or any thing that the pope or bishops can lay for themselves, except them from the sword of the emperor or kings, if they break the laws. For it is written, "Let every soul submit himself unto the authority of the higher powers." Here is no man except; but all souls must obey. The higher powers are the temporal kings and princes; unto whom God hath given the sword, to punish whosoever sinneth. God hath not given them swords to punish one, and to let another go free, and sin unpunished. Moreover, with what face durst the spiritualty, which ought to be the light and an ensample of good living unto all other, desire to sin unpunished[1], or to be excepted from tribute, toll, or custom, that they would not bear pain with their brethren

'The king hath no power, but to his damnation, to privilege the spiritualty to sin unpunished. W. T.

This taketh away freewill.' Foxe's reply is: 'St Peter willeth us to be subject to our princes. St Paul also doth the like; who was also himself subject to the power of Nero; and although every commandment of Nero against God he did not follow, yet he never made resistance against the authority and state of Nero; as the pope useth to do against the state not only of infidels, but also of Christian princes.']

[1 The canon law incorporates a rescript of pope Nicholas, who filled the papal chair between 858 and 867, in which he says: De presbyteris, vobis, qui laici estis, nec judicandum est, nec de eorum vita quidpiam investigandum. Decreti pars 1ma. Dist. XXVIII. ca. xvii., or Consulendum. Another part of the law says: Nullus judicum neque presbyterum, neque diaconum, aut clericum ullum, aut juniores ecclesiæ, sine licentia pontificis per se distringat, aut condemnare præsumat: quod si fecerit, ab ecclesia, cui injuriam irrogare dignoscitur, tamdiu sit sequestratus quousque reatum suum agnoscat et emendet. Decret. pars 2da. Caus. XI. Qu. I. ca. 2. Palea. Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugduni, MDCXXII.]

to the maintenance of kings and officers, ordained of God to punish sin?[2] "There is no power but of God." By power understand the authority of kings and princes. "The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth power, resisteth God:" yea, though he be pope, bishop, monk, or friar. "They that resist shall receive unto themselves damnation." Why? For God's word is against them, which will have all men under the power of the temporal sword: for "rulers are not to be feared for good works, but for evil." Hereby seest thou that they that resist the powers, or seek to be exempt from their authority, have evil consciences; and seek liberty to sin unpunished, and to be free from bearing pain with their brethren. "Wilt thou be without fear of the power? So do well, and thou shalt have laud of the same," that is to say, of the ruler. With good living ought the spiritualty to rid themselves from fear of the temporal sword; and not with craft, and with blinding the kings, and bringing the vengeance of God upon them, and in purchasing licence to sin unpunished.

"For he is the minister of God for thy wealth[3]:" to defend thee from a thousand inconveniences, from thieves, murderers, and them that would defile thy wife, thy daughter, and take from thee all that thou hast, yea, life and all, if thou didst resist. Furthermore, though he be the greatest tyrant in the world, yet is he unto thee a great benefit of God, and a thing wherefore thou oughtest to thank God highly. For it is better to have somewhat, than to be clean

A king is a great benefit, though he be never so evil. W. T.

[2 The canon law requires all Christian rulers, and all who are in authority under them, to abstain from imposing any manner of tax on ecclesiastics, or their property, without the pope's permission; and declares that whosoever shall dare to tax them, or to demand from them any payment, 'sub adjutorii, mutui, subventionis, subsidii vel doni nomine,' without such permission, shall thereby incur the sentence of excommunication, along with every collector and abettor. It also forbids the prelates and clergy to pay any manner of tax, without the pope's express permission, under the like penalty; and further declares that no priest, or prelate, can absolve any person thus excommunicated, unless he shall receive a special licence and authority from the pope so to do. Bull of Boniface VIII. of date 1296, inserted in the Corp. Jur. Canon. Sexti Decretal. Lib. III. Titul. XXIII. ca. 3. Clericis laicos.]

[3 Wealth, i. e. welfare.]

stript out of all together. It is better to pay the tenth than to lose all. It is better to suffer one tyrant than many, and to suffer wrong of one than of every man. Yea, and it is better to have a tyrant unto thy king than a shadow; a passive king that doth nought himself, but suffereth others to do with him what they will, and to lead him whither they list. For a tyrant, though he do wrong unto the good, yet he punisheth the evil, and maketh all men obey, neither suffereth any man to poll but himself only. A king that is soft as silk, and effeminate, that is to say, turned into the nature of a woman,—what with his own lusts, which are as the longing of a woman with child, so that he cannot resist them, and what with the wily tyranny of them that ever rule him,—shall be much more grievous unto the realm than a right tyrant. Read the chronicles, and thou shalt find it ever so.

"But and if thou do evil, then fear; for he beareth not a sword for nought: for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on them that do evil." If the office of princes, given them of God, be to take vengeance of evil doers; then, by this text and God's word, are all princes damned, even as many as give liberty or licence unto the spiritualty to sin unpunished; and not only to sin unpunished themselves, but also to open sanctuaries, privileged places, churchyards, St. John's hold; yea, and if they come too short unto all these, yet to set forth a neck-verse to save all manner trespassers from the fear of the sword of the vengeance of God, put in the hands of princes to take vengeance on all such[1].

Princes are ordained to punish evil-doers. W. T.

The damnation of princes. W. T.

Sanctuaries. W. T.

Neck-verse. W. T.

[1] The church of Rome succeeded more or less, according to the notion which the laity might entertain of the power of the patron-saint, in converting the precincts of churches or monasteries into secure asylums for criminals; and judge Blackstone has described the extent of the exemptions from punishment, which the lay courts conceded to a criminal who had got into sanctuary. Comm. B. IV. ch. 26. Vol. IV. p. 332—3. But if an offender did not reach any such place, before he was laid hold of by the king's officer, he might still elude the judgment of the law of the land, by declaring that he meant to take holy orders, and was consequently only amenable to the ecclesiastical courts, whose sentence against clerks for real crimes was generally but some penance.

To prevent therefore the transfer of all offenders to a rival jurisdiction, the lay courts ruled that no person should be allowed the privileges of a candidate for holy orders, unless he could either read or

God requireth the law to be kept of all men, let them keep it for whatsoever purpose they will. Will they not keep the law? So vouchsafeth he not that they enjoy this temporal life. Now are there three natures of men: one altogether beastly; which in no wise receive the law in their hearts, but rise against princes and rulers, whensoever they are able to make their party good. These are signified by them that worshipped the golden calf: for Moses brake the tables of the law, ere he came at them. Three natures. W. T

The second are not so beastly, but receive the law; and unto them the law cometh; but they look not Moses in the face: for his countenance is too bright for them; that is, they understand not that the law is spiritual, and requireth the heart. They look on the pleasure, profit, and promotion that followeth the keeping of the law, and in respect of the reward keep they the law outwardly with works, but not in the heart. For if they might obtain like honour, glory, promotion and dignity, and also avoid all inconveniences, if they broke the law, so would they also break the law, and follow their lusts. What it is to look Moses in the face. Ant. ed.

The third are spiritual, and look Moses in the open face; and are, as Paul saith, the second to the Romans, "a law unto themselves;" and have the law written in their hearts by the Spirit of God. These need neither of king nor officers to drive them, neither that any man proffer them any reward for to keep the law; for they do it naturally. Rom. ii.

The first work for fear of the sword only: the second

repeat the first verse of the penitential psalm li. in the Latin of the Vulgate, beginning *Miserere mei, Deus:* whilst, farther to diminish the inclination of culprits to get their case transferred to the ecclesiastical courts, the lay judges thought fit to allow any accused person, first to take his chance of an acquittal before them, and then, if convicted, still to claim what became styled *benefit of clergy*, in mitigation of punishment; so as to suffer nothing more than having a mark burnt into his thumb, when, by the letter of the law, his sentence would have been death. Hence it was that the above mentioned verse came to be known, in coarse jocularity, by the name of the neck-verse; the repetition of it being, not very unfrequently, the means of saving a criminal's neck from the hangman's halter.

On the perjury connected with the transfer of criminals to the ecclesiastical courts, and on the distinction of clergyable felonies which sprung from the same source, the reader may consult Blackstone, B. IV. ch. 28. Vol. IV. p. 368.]

for reward: the third work for love freely. They look on the exceeding mercy, love, and kindness, which God hath shewed them in Christ; and therefore love again, and work freely. Heaven they take of the free gift of God, through Christ's deservings; and hope, without all manner doubting, that God, according to his promise, will in this world also defend them, and do all things for them, of his goodness, and for Christ's sake, and not for any goodness that is in them. They consent unto the law, that it is holy and just; and that all men ought to do whatsoever God commandeth, for no other cause but because God commandeth it. And their great sorrow is, because that there is no strength in their members to do that which their heart lusteth to do, and is athirst to do.

Heaven cometh by Christ. W. T.

A Christian man seeketh no more, but God's will. W. T.

These of the last sort keep the law of their own accord, and that in the heart; and have professed perpetual war against the lusts and appetites of the flesh, till they be utterly subdued: yet not through their own strength, but, knowing and knowledging their weakness, cry ever for strength to God, which hath promised assistance unto all that call upon him. These follow God, and are led of his Spirit. The other two are led of lusts and appetites.

Lusts. W. T. Lusts and appetites are divers and many, and that in one man; yea, and one lust contrary to another, and the greatest lust carrieth a man altogether away with him. We are also changed from one lust to another: otherwise are we disposed, when we are children; otherwise when we are young men; and otherwise when we are old; otherwise over even, and otherwise in the morning: yea, sometimes altered six times in an hour. How fortuneth all this? Because that the will of man followeth the wit, and is subject unto the wit; and as the wit erreth, so does the will; and as the wit is in captivity, so is the will; neither is it possible that the will should be free, where the wit is in bondage.

Free will. W. T.

That thou mayest perceive and feel the thing in thine heart, and not be a vain sophister, disputing about words without perceiving; mark this. The root of all evil, the greatest damnation and most terrible wrath and vengeance of God that we are in, is natural blindness. We are all out of the right way, every man his ways: one judgeth this best, and another that to be best. Now is worldly wit no-

Worldly wit. W. T.

thing else but craft and subtlety, to obtain that which we judge falsely to be best. As I err in my wit, so err I in my will. When I judge that to be evil which indeed is good, then hate I that which is good. And when I suppose that good which is evil indeed, then love I evil. As, if I be persuaded, and borne in hand, that my most friend is mine enemy, then hate I my best friend: and if I be brought in belief that my most enemy is my friend, then love I my most enemy. Now when we say, every man hath his free will, to do what him lusteth, I say, verily, that men do what they lust. Notwithstanding, to follow lusts is not freedom, but captivity and bondage. If God open any man's wits, to make him feel in his heart that lusts and appetites are damnable, and give him power to hate and resist them; then is he free, even with the freedom wherewith Christ maketh free, and hath power to do the will of God.

The will is bond and led. W. T.

Freedom. W. T.

Thou mayest hereby perceive, that all that is done in the world before the Spirit of God come, and giveth us light, is damnable sin[1]; and the more glorious, the more damnable; so that that which the world counteth most glorious is more damnable, in the sight of God, than that which the whore, the thief, and the murderer do. With blind reasons of worldly wisdom mayest thou change the minds of youth, and make them give themselves to what thou wilt, either for fear, for praise, or for profit; and yet dost but change them from one vice to another: as the persuasions of her friends made Lucrece chaste. Lucrece believed if she were a good housewife and chaste, that she should be most glorious; and that all the world would give her honour, and praise her. She sought her own glory in her chastity, and not God's. When she had lost her chastity, then counted she herself most abominable in the sight of all men; and for very pain and thought which she had, not that she had displeased God, but that she had lost her honour, slew herself. Look how great her pain and sorrow was for the loss of her chastity, so

All is sin that springeth not of the Spirit of God, and all that is not done in the light of God's word. W. T.

So do our spirituality in all their works. W. T.

[1 Art. V. of alleged heresies and errors: 'Whatsoever is done before the Spirit of God cometh, and giveth us light, is damnable sin. This is against moral virtues.' Foxe replies: 'What heresy Aristotle, in his Ethics, can find by this article, I cannot tell. Sure I am, that the word and Spirit of God, well considered, can find none; but rather will pronounce the contrary to be a damnable heresy.']

great was her glory and rejoicing therein, and so much despised she them that were otherwise, and pitied them not: which pride God more abhorreth than the whoredom of any whore. Of like pride are all the moral virtues of Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates, and all the doctrine of the philosophers, the very gods of our school-men.

In like manner is it for the most part of our most holy religions. For they of like imagination do things which they of Bedlam may see that they are but madness. They look on the miracles which God did by the saints, to move the unbelieving unto the faith, and to confirm the truth of his promises in Christ, whereby all that believe are made saints; as thou seest in the last chapter of Mark. "They preached," saith he, "every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming their preaching with miracles that followed." And in the fourth of the Acts the disciples prayed that God would stretch forth his hands, to do miracles and wonders in the name of Jesus. And Paul 1 Cor. xiv. saith, that the miracle of speaking with divers tongues is but a sign for unbelievers, and not for them that believe. These miracles turn they to another purpose, saying in their blind hearts, See what miracles God hath shewed for this saint; he must be verily great with God!—and at once turn themselves from God's word, and put their trust and confidence in the saint and his merits; and make an advocate, or rather a god of the saint; and of their blind imagination make a testament, or bond, between the saint and them, the testament of Christ's blood clean forgotten. They look on the saints' garments and lives, or rather lies which men lie on the saints, and this-wise imagine in their hearts, saying: The saint for wearing such a garment, and for such deeds, is become so glorious in heaven[1]. If I do likewise, so shall I be also. They see not the faith and trust which the saints had in Christ, neither the word of God which the saints preached; neither the intent of the saints, how that the saints did such things to tame their bodies, and to be an en-

True miracles are wrought to confirm the preaching, and not the godhead of the preacher. W. T.

Mark xvi.

Acts iv.

1 Cor. xiv.

Our hypocrites are blind. W. T.

The religious look upon the outside only. W. T.

[1 Art. VI. of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale: 'He reproveth men that make holy saints their advocates to God; and there he saith, that saints were not rewarded in heaven for their holy works.' To this Foxe only replies, 'The words of Tyndale be these;' and transcribes as much of this paragraph as he thought necessary.]

sample to the world, and to teach that such things are to be despised which the world most wondereth at and magnifieth. They see not also that some lands are so hot that a man can neither drink wine nor eat flesh therein; neither consider they the complexion of the saints; and a thousand like things see they not. So when they have killed their bodies, and brought them in that case that scarce with any restorative they can recover their health again, yet had they lever[2] die than to eat flesh. Why? for they think, I have now this twenty, thirty, or forty years eaten no flesh; and have obtained, I doubt not, by this time as high a room as the best of them: should I now lose that? 'nay, I had lever[2] die. And as Lucretia had lever have been slain, if he had not been too strong for her, than to have lost her glory, even so had these. They ascribe heaven unto their imaginations and mad inventions; and receive it not of the liberality of God, by the merits and deservings of Christ.

He now that is renewed in Christ, keepeth the law without any law written, or compulsion of any ruler or officer, save by the leading of the Spirit only. But the natural man is enticed and moved to keep the law carnally, with carnal reasons and worldly persuasions, as for glory, honour, riches, and dignity. But the last remedy of all, when all other fail, is fear. Beat one, and the rest will abstain for fear: as Moses ever putteth in remembrance, saying, Kill, stone, burn; so shall thou put evil from thee, and all Israel shall hear and fear, and shall no more do so. If fear help not, then will God that they be taken out of this life.

The spiritual man. W. T.

The natural man. W. T.

Fear is the last remedy. W. T.

Kings were ordained then, as I before said, and the sword put in their hands, to take vengeance of evil-doers, that other might fear: and were not ordained to fight one against another, or to rise against the emperor to defend the false authority of the pope, that very antichrist. Bishops, they only can minister the temporal sword; their office, the preaching of God's word, laid apart, which they will neither do, nor suffer any man to do, but slay with the temporal sword, which they have gotten out of the hand of all princes, them that would. The preaching of God's word is hateful and contrary unto them. Why? For it is impossible to preach Christ, except thou preach against antichrist; that is

Kings defend the false authority of the pope; their office, punishing of sin, laid apart. W. T.

Bishops minister the king's duty, their own laid apart: yea they persecute their own office. W. T.

[2 Lever, rather.]

to say, them which with their false doctrine and violence of sword enforce to quench the true doctrine of Christ. And as thou canst heal no disease, except thou begin at the root; even so canst thou preach against no mischief, except thou begin at the bishops. Kings, they are but shadows; vain names and things idle, having nothing to do in the world, but when our holy father needeth their help.

Kings do but wait on the pope's pleasure. W. T.

The juggling of the pope. W. T. John xviii.

Bishops of Almany. W. T.

The pope, contrary unto all conscience and against all the doctrine of Christ, which saith, "My kingdom is not of this world," (John xviii.) hath usurped the right of the emperor; and by policy of the bishops of Almany, and with corrupting the electors, or choosers of the emperor with money, bringeth to pass that such a one is ever chosen emperor that is not able to make his party good with the pope. To stop the emperor that he come not at Rome, he bringeth the French king up to Milan; and on the other side bringeth he the Venetians. If the Venetians come too nigh, the bishops of France must bring in the French king. And the Socheners are called and sent for to come and succour[1]. And for their labour he giveth to some a rose; to another a cap of maintenance[2]. One is called Most Christian King; another, Defender of the faith; another, The eldest son of the most holy seat[3]. He

Milan. W. T.

Bishops of France. W. T.

A cap of maintainance. W. T.

Most Christian king. W. T.

[1 In the above brief sketch Tyndale has given an outline of the history of recent wars in Italy, and of their connection with papal intrigues, which the reader may see confirmed at length in Sismondi Hist. des Republiques Italiennes, from the accession of Julius II. to the pontificate, in 1503, to the date of Tyndale's compiling this treatise. The word Socheners occurs again in the 'Practice of Prelates;' but Scoloker's and Seres ed. of 1548 has Zwitzers in one place, where Day's fol. has Sochenars; and Souchenars in another. In Sir Thos. Eliot's Librarie, or Latin-Engl. Dict. (Ed. 1542) he observes, under the word Caria: 'The people thereof were called Cares, which were good men of war; and therefore they were everywhere retained for soudiours, as Suyzars, or Suychynars be now.']

[2 A golden rose which the pope blesses at mass on the first Sunday in Lent, whilst 'Lætare, Jerusalem' is chaunted. Henry VIII. had received such a rose from Julius II. in 1510, to induce him to attack France. Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XIII. p. 275. The pope's letter to abp. Warham, directing him to present it at high mass, may also be seen in Wilkins' Concil. Vol. III. p. 652. A cap of maintenance is made of crimson velvet, faced with ermine, with two points at the back, and is amongst the regalia carried at a coronation.]

[3 In 1521, pope Leo X. conferred the title of 'Defender of the

blaseth also the arms of other; and putteth in the holy cross, the crown of thorn, or the nails, and so forth. If the French king go too high, and creep up either to Bononia[4] or Naples; then must our English bishops bring in our king. The craft of the bishops is to entitle one king with another's realm. He is called king of Denmark and of England; he, king of England and of France. Then, to blind the lords and the commons, the king must challenge his right. Then must the land be taxed and every man pay, and the treasure borne out of the realm, and the land beggared. How many a thousand men's lives hath it cost! And how many a hundred thousand pounds hath it carried out of the realm in our remembrance! Besides, how abominable an example of gathering was there! such verily as never tyrant since the world began did, yea, such as was never before heard or thought on, neither among Jews, Saracens, Turks, or heathen, since God created the sun to shine; that a beast should break up into the temple of God, that is to say, into the heart and consciences of men, and compel them to swear every man what he was worth, to lend that should never be paid again. How many thousands forsware themselves! How many thousands set themselves above their ability, partly for fear lest they should be forsworn, and partly to save their credence[5]!

Defender of the pope's faith. W. T

The eldest son of the holy seat. W. T.

Blasing of arms. W. T.

The English bishops. W. T.

The falsehood of the bishops. W. T.

O a cruel and an abominable example of tyrants. Judge them by their deeds, saith Christ. W. T.

Faith' on Henry VIII. in a bull, in which he says: Nos qui Petri, quem Christus in cœlum ascensurus vicarium suum in terris reliquit, et cui curam gregis sui commisit, veri successores sumus, et in hac sancta sede, qua omnes dignitates ac tituli emanant, sedemus—majestati tuæ titulum hunc, viz. Fidei Defensorem, donare decrevimus, prout te tali titulo per præsentes insignimus; mandantes omnibus Christi fidelibus, ut majestatem tuam hoc titulo nominent, et, cum ad eam scribent, post dictionem *Regi* adjungant, *Fidei Defensori*. Lord Herbert's Henry VIII. p. 97, Lond. 1672. The title of 'Most Christian king' had been given to the kings of France in 1469; but pope Julius had offered, in 1511, to transfer it to Henry, as he had also given that of 'Defender of the Faith' to James IV. of Scotland. The title of 'Eldest son of the holy see' was also given to the kings of France, because Clovis, the first founder of the French monarchy, was also the first independent monarch in western Europe who publicly adopted the Christian faith with an orthodox creed.]

[4 Bologna.]

[5 In 1524 Henry VIII. was tempted to claim his alleged right to be king of France, and cardinal Wolsey undertook to raise the necessary funds. To effect this he went into the house of commons,

When the pope hath his purpose, then is peace made, no man wotteth how; and our most enemy is our most friend.

Now because the emperor is able to obtain his right, French, English, Venetians and all must upon him. O great whore of Babylon, how abuseth she the princes of the world! how drunk hath she made them with her wine! How shameful licences doth she give them, to use necromancy, to hold whores, to divorce themselves, to break the faith and promises that one maketh with another; that the confessors shall deliver unto the king the confession of whom he will, and dispenseth with them even of the very law of God; which Christ himself cannot do!

The whore of Babylon. W. T.

Confession. W. T.

Against the Pope's False Power.

Matt. xxvi. Matt. xxvi. CHRIST saith unto Peter, "Put up thy sword into his sheath; for all that lay hand upon the sword shall perish with the sword:" that is, whosoever without the commandment of the temporal officer, to whom God hath given the sword, layeth hand on the sword to take vengeance, the same deserveth death in the deed-doing. God did not put Peter only under the temporal sword, but also Christ himself; as it appeareth in the fourth chapter to the Galatians. And Christ saith, Matt. iii. "Thus becometh it us to fulfil all righteousness," that is to say, all ordinances of God. If the head be then under the temporal sword, how can the members be excepted? If Peter sinned in defending Christ against the temporal sword, (whose authority and ministers the bishops then abused against Christ, as ours do now,) who can excuse our prelates of sin, which will obey no man, neither king nor emperor? Yea, who can excuse from sin either the kings that give, either the bishops that receive such exemptions, contrary to God's ordinances and Christ's doctrine?

Not Peter only, but Christ also was under the temporal sword. W. T.

Matt. iii.

The kings sin in giving exceptions, and the prelates in receiving them. W. T.

and urged upon it the duty of granting the king the sum of £800,000; a sum about equivalent to twelve millions now, but far more difficult to raise. The commons refused to grant so much, but Wolsey used his legatine authority and his influence to oblige the clergy to give a fourth of their goods; and abp. Warham speaks in a private letter of the trouble occasioned, by compelling persons to swear to the value of their goods. Lord Herbert, pp. 134—6, 162—3. Hallam's Constit. Hist. of Eng. ch. 1. pp. 20—2. 4to. ed. of 1827.]

And, Matt. xviith, both Christ and also Peter pay tribute; where the meaning of Christ's question unto Peter is, if princes take tribute of strangers only and not of their children, then verily ought I to be free, which am the Son of God, whose servants and ministers they are, and of whom they have their authority. Yet because they neither knew that, neither Christ came to use that authority, but to be our servant, and to bear our burden, and to obey all ordinances, both in right and wrong, for our sakes, and to teach us; therefore said he to St Peter, "Pay for thee and me, lest we offend them." Moreover, though that Christ and Peter, because they were poor, might have escaped, yet would he not, for fear of offending other and hurting their consciences. For he might well have given occasion unto the tribute-gatherers to have judged amiss both of him and his doctrine; yea, and the Jews might happily have been offended thereby, and have thought that it had not been lawful for them to have paid tribute unto heathen princes and idolaters, seeing that he, so great a prophet, paid not. Yea, and what other thing causeth the lay so little to regard their princes, as that they see them both despised and disobeyed of the spiritualty? But our prelates, which care for none offending of consciences, and less for God's ordinances, will pay nought. But when princes must fight in our most holy father's quarrel, and against Christ, then are they the first. There also is none so poor, that then hath not somewhat to give.

Matt. xvii.

When the spiritualty payeth tribute. W. T.

Mark here, how past all shame our school-doctors are, (as Rochester is in his sermon against Martin Luther[1],) which

[1 This sermon was preached by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, upon the occasion of publicly burning some of Luther's works. Two editions of it were soon printed by W. de Worde; and a Latin translation of it by Pace, the king's secretary, has a letter prefixed to it by Nicholas Wilson, bearing date Cantabrigiæ, Kal. Januar. 1521. There is a copy of this translation in the Nuremberg edition of the bishop's works; where it is entitled 'Joh. Roffensis concio, habita in celeberrimo nobilium conventu Londini, eo die quo Martini Lutheri scripta publico apparatu in ignem conjecta sunt.' The earliest edition of this sermon in the Bodleian is entitled 'A sermon very notable, fruitful, and godly, made at Paul's cross in London, A.D. 1521, within the octaves of the ascension, by that famous and great clerk, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, concerning the heresies of Martyn Luther, which he had raised up against the church. Wherein it may appear how men sithens

Shameless jugglers. W. T.

of this text of Matthew dispute that Peter, because he paid tribute, is greater than the other apostles, and hath more authority and power than they, and was head unto them all[1]: contrary unto so many clear texts, where Christ rebuketh them, saying, That is a heathenish thing that one should climb above another, or desire to be greater. To be great in the kingdom of heaven is to be a servant; and he that most humbleth himself, and becometh a servant to other, (after the ensample of Christ, I mean, and his apostles, and not of the pope and his apostles, our cardinals and bishops,) the same is greatest in that kingdom. If Peter in paying tribute became greatest, how cometh it that they will pay none at all? But to pay tribute is a sign of subjection verily; and the cause, why Christ paid, was because he had a household, and for the same cause paid Peter also: for he had a house, a ship and nets, as thou readest in the gospel.

But let us go to Paul again. "Wherefore ye must needs obey, not for fear of vengeance only, but also because of conscience." That is, though thou be so naughty, as now many years our pope and prelates every where are, that thou needest not to obey the temporal sword for fear of vengeance; yet must thou obey because of conscience. First, because of thine own conscience. For though thou be able to resist, yet shalt thou never have a good conscience, as long as God's word, law, and ordinance are against thee. Secondarily, for thy neighbour's conscience. For though through craft and violence thou mightest escape, and obtain liberty or privilege to be free from all manner duties; yet oughtest thou neither to sue or to seek for any such thing, neither yet admit or accept, if it were proffered, lest thy freedom make thy weak

They make noconscience at any evil-doing. W. T.

They care for their neighbour as the wolf doth for the sheep. W. T.

The evil ensample of the spiritualty causeth the lay to believe that they are not bound to obey. W. T.

that time have gone astray. Which sermon was written and put in print by the author aforesaid; and now newly imprinted again according to the original copy. Excusum Londini, in ædibus Roberti Caly, Typographi, mense Novembris, anno 1554, Cum privilegio.']

[1 'Mark here that this tribute was head-money, paid for them that were heads and governors of households. And Christ commanded this to be paid for no more, but only for him and St Peter, and thereby quitted all the residue. Join this fact of the gospel unto that figure before, and what can be more evident to shew that Peter, under Christ, was the head of all the household of Christ?' Bp Fisher's Sermon, Verso of sign. B. II. 'Thereby quitted all the residue,' is rendered by Richard Pace: Hoc modo liberabantur et reliqui.]

brother to grudge and rebel, in that he seeth thee go empty, and he himself more laden, thy part also laid on his shoulders. Seest thou not, if a man favour one son more than another, or one servant more than another, how all the rest grudge; and how love, peace, and unity is broken? What christianly love is in thee to thy neighbour-ward, when thou canst find in thy heart to go up and down empty by him all day long, and see him over-charged, yea, to fall under his burden, and yet will not once set to thine hand to help him? What good conscience can there be among our spiritualty, to gather so great treasure together, and with hypocrisy of their false learning to rob almost every man of house and lands; and yet not therewith content, but with all craft and wiliness to purchase so great liberties, and exemptions from all manner bearing with their brethren, seeking in Christ nothing but lucre? I pass over with silence how they teach princes in every land to lade new exactions and tyranny on their subjects, more and more daily; neither for what purpose they do it, say I. God, I trust, shall shortly disclose their juggling, and bring their falsehood to light; and lay a medicine to them, to make their scabs break out. Nevertheless this I say, that they have robbed all realms, not of God's word only, but also of all wealth and prosperity; and have driven peace out of all lands, and withdrawn themselves from all obedience to princes, and have separated themselves from the lay-men, counting them viler than dogs; and have set up that great idol, the whore of Babylon, antichrist of Rome, whom they call pope; and have conspired against all commonwealths, and have made them a several kingdom, wherein it is lawful, unpunished, to work all abomination. In every parish have they spies, and in every great man's house, and in every tavern and alehouse. And through confessions know they all secrets, so that no man may open his mouth to rebuke whatsoever they do, but that he shall be shortly made a heretic. In all councils is one of them; yea, the most part and chief rulers of the councils are of them: but of their council is no man.

There is no Christian love in them. W. T.

What purpose? even to flatter the princes that they may abuse their authority, to slay whosoever believeth in Christ, and to maintain the pope. W. T.

Confession. W. T.

Prelates know all men's secrets, and no man theirs. W. T.

"Even for this cause pay ye tribute," that is to wit, for conscience' sake to thy neighbour, and for the cause that followeth: "For they are God's ministers, serving for the same purpose." Because God will so have it, we must obey. We

do not look (if we have Christ's Spirit in us) what is good, profitable, glorious and honourable for us; neither on our own will, but on God's will only. "Give to every man therefore his duty; tribute to whom tribute belongeth; custom to whom custom is due; fear to whom fear belongeth; honour to whom honour pertaineth."

That thou mightest feel the working of the Spirit of God in thee, and lest the beauty of the deed should deceive thee, and make thee think that the law of God, which is spiritual, were content and fulfilled with the outward and bodily deed, it followeth: "Owe nothing to any man, but to love one another: for he that loveth another fulfilleth the law. For these commandments, Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not desire, and so forth, if there be any other commandment, are all comprehended or contained in this saying, Love thy neighbour: therefore is love the fulfilling of the law." Here hast thou sufficient against all the sophisters, work-holy, and justifiers, in the world; which so magnify their deeds. The law is spiritual, and requireth the heart; and is never fulfilled with the deed, in the sight of God. With the deed thou fulfillest the law before the world, and livest thereby; that is, thou enjoyest this present life, and avoidest the wrath and vengeance, the death and punishment, which the law threateneth to them that break it. But before God thou keepest the law if thou love only. Now what shall make us love? Verily, that shall faith do. If thou behold how much God loveth thee in Christ, and from what vengeance he hath delivered thee for his sake, and of what kingdom he hath made thee heir; then shalt thou see cause enough to love thy very enemy without respect of reward, either in this life or in the life to come, but because that God will so have it, and Christ hath deserved it: yet thou shouldest feel in thine heart that all thy deeds to come are abundantly recompensed already in Christ.

Love fulfilleth the law before God, and not the outward deed. W. T.

Against workmen. W. T.

The deed fulfilleth the law before the world. W. T.

Faith maketh a man to love. W. T.

Thou wilt say haply, If love fulfil the law, then it justifieth. I say that that wherewith a man fulfilleth the law declareth him justified; but that which giveth him wherewith to fulfil the law, justifieth him. By justifying, understand the forgiveness of sins and the favour of God. Now saith the text, Rom. x. "The end of the law," or the cause wherefore the law

Justifying. W. T.

Rom. x.

was made, "is Christ, to justify all that believe:" that is, the law is given to utter sin, to kill the consciences, to damn our deeds, to bring to repentance, and to drive unto Christ; in whom God hath promised his favour, and forgiveness of sin, unto all that repent and consent to the law that it is good. If thou believe the promises, then doth God's truth justify thee, that is, forgiveth thee, and receiveth thee to favour, for Christ's sake. In a surety whereof, and to certify thine heart, he sealeth thee with the Spirit. Eph. i. and iv. And (2 Cor. v.) saith Paul, "Which gave us his Spirit in earnest." Now the Spirit is given us through Christ. Read the viiith chapter of the epistle to the Romans, and Galat. iii. and 2 Cor. iii. Nevertheless the Spirit, and his fruits, wherewith the heart is purified, as faith, hope, love, patience, long-suffering, and obedience, could never be seen without outward experience. For if thou were not brought sometime into cumbrance, whence God only could deliver thee, thou shouldest never see thy faith; yea, except thou foughtest sometime against desperation, hell, death, sin, and powers of this world, for thy faith's sake, thou shouldest never know true faith from a dream. Except thy brother now and then offended thee, thou couldest not know whether thy love were godly. For a Turk is not angry, till he be hurt and offended. But if thou love him that doth thee evil, then is thy love of[1] God. Likewise if thy rulers were alway kind, thou shouldest not know whether thine obedience were pure or no; but and if thou canst patiently obey evil rulers in all thing that is not to the dishonour of God, and when thou hurtest not thy neighbours, then art thou sure that God's Spirit worketh in thee, and that thy faith is no dream, nor any false imagination.

The office or duty of the law. W. T.

The believing of God's promises justifieth. W. T.

Eph. i. iv.

2 Cor. v.

Rom. viii.

Gal. iii. 2 Cor. iii.

The Spirit and the inward virtues are known by the outward deed. W. T.

Therefore counselleth Paul, Rom. xii. "Recompense to no man evil. And on your part have peace with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but give room unto the wrath of God: for it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will reward, saith the Lord. Therefore, if thy enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head," that is, thou shalt kindle love in him. "Be not overcome of evil;" that is, let not another man's wickedness make thee wicked also. "But overcome evil

Rom. xii.

Overcome thine enemy with well-doing. W. T.

[1 Of, i. e. proceeding from.]

with good;" that is, with softness, kindness, and all patience win him; even as God with kindness won thee.

The law. W. T.

The law was given in thunder, lightning, fire, smoke, and the noise of a trumpet and terrible sight; so that the people

Exod. xx.

quaked for fear, and stood afar off, saying to Moses, "Speak thou to us, and we will hear: let not the Lord speak unto us, lest we die." No ear, if it be awaked and understandeth the meaning, is able to abide the voice of the law, except the promises of mercy be by. That thunder, except the rain of mercy be joined with it, destroyeth all, and buildeth not. The law is a witness against us, and testifieth that God abhorreth the sins that are in us, and us for our sins' sake.

The king. W. T.

In like manner, when God gave the people of Israel a king, it thundered and rained, that the people feared so sore,

1 Sam. xii.

that they cried to Samuel for to pray for them that they should not die. As the law is a terrible thing, even so is the king: for he is ordained to take vengeance, and hath a sword in his hand, and not peacocks' feathers. Fear him, therefore, and look on him as thou wouldest look on a sharp sword that hanged over thy head by a hair.

Rulers are God's gift. W. T.

Heads and governors are ordained of God, and are even the gift of God, whether they be good or bad. And whatsoever is done to us by them, that doth God, be it good or bad.

Why the rulers are evil. W. T.

If they be evil, why are they evil? Verily, for our wickedness' sake are they evil; because that when they were good, we would not receive that goodness of the hand of God, and be thankful, submitting ourselves unto his laws and ordinances; but abused the goodness of God unto our sensual and beastly lusts. Therefore doth God make his scourge of them, and turn them to wild beasts, contrary to the nature of their names and offices, even into lions, bears, foxes, and unclean swine, to avenge himself of our unnatural and blind unkindness, and of our rebellious disobedience.

Ps. cvii.

In the cviith psalm thou readest, "He destroyed the rivers, and dried up the springs of water, and turned the fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of the inhabiters therein." When the children of Israel had forgotten God in Egypt, God moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to subdue them with craft and wiliness. Psal.

civ. And Deuteronomium iii. Moses rehearseth, saying, "God was angry with me for your sakes." So that the wrath of God fell on Moses for the wickedness of the people. And in the second chapter of the second book of Kings, God was angry with the people, and moved David to number them; when Joab and the other lords wondered why he would have them numbered; and, because they feared lest some evil should follow, dissuaded the king; yet it holp not. God so hardened his heart in his purpose, to have an occasion to slay the wicked people[1].

Psal. cv. Deut. iii. 2 Sam. xxiv.

Evil rulers then are a sign that God is angry and wroth with us. Is it not a great wrath and vengeance, that the father and mother should hate their children, even their flesh and their blood? or that an husband should be unkind unto his wife, or a master unto the servant that waiteth on his profit? or that lords and kings should be tyrants unto their subjects and tenants, which pay them tribute, toll, custom, and rent, labouring and toiling to find them in honour, and to maintain them in their estate? Is not this a fearful judgment of God, and a cruel wrath, that the very prelates and shepherds of our souls, which were wont to feed Christ's flock with Christ's doctrine, and to walk before them in living thereafter, and to give their lives for them, to their ensample and edifying, and to strengthen their weak faiths, are now so sore changed, that if they smell that one of their flock (as they now call them, and no longer Christ's) do but once long or desire for the true knowledge of Christ, they will slay him, burning him with fire most cruelly? What is the cause of this; and that they also teach false doctrine, confirming it with lies? Verily, it is the hand of God, to avenge the wickedness of them that have no love nor lust unto the truth of God, when it is preached, but rejoice in unrighteousness. As thou mayest see in the second epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians, where he speaketh of the coming of antichrist: "Whose coming shall be," saith he, "by the working of Satan, with all miracles, signs and wonders, which are but lies, and in all deceivable unrighteousness among them that

Evil rulers are a sign that God is angry with us. W. T.

Why the prelates are so wicked. W. T.

2 Thess. ii.

[1 Art. VII. Of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale: 'God moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate the people; likewise he moved kings.' Foxe makes no reply to this charge; but gives his reader Tyndale's words.]

perish, because they received not any love to the truth to have been saved. Therefore shall God send them strong delusion, to believe lies." Mark how God, to avenge his truth, sendeth to the unthankful false doctrine and false miracles, to confirm them, and to harden their hearts in the false way, that afterward it shall not be possible for them to admit the truth: as thou seest in Exod. vii. and viii., how God suffered false miracles to be shewed in the sight of Pharaoh, to harden his heart, that he should not believe the truth; inasmuch as his sorcerers turned their rods into serpents, and turned water into blood, and made frogs by their enchantment: so thought he that Moses did all his miracles by the same craft, and not by the power of God, and abode therefore in unbelief, and perished in resisting God.

The cause of false miracles is, that we have no lust unto the truth. W. T.

Exod. vii. viii.

Let us receive all things of God, whether it be good or bad: let us humble ourselves under his mighty hand, and submit ourselves unto his nurture and chastising, and not withdraw ourselves from his correction. Read Hebr. xii. for thy comfort; and let us not take the staff by the end, or seek to avenge ourselves on his rod, which is the evil rulers. The child, as long as he seeketh to avenge himself upon the rod, hath an evil heart; for he thinketh not that the correction is right, or that he hath deserved it, neither repenteth, but rejoiceth in his wickedness: and so long shall he never be without a rod: yea, so long shall the rod be made sharper and sharper. If he knowledge his fault and take the correction meekly, and even kiss the rod, and amend himself with the learning and nurture of his father and mother, then is the rod taken away and burnt.

The right way to come off bondage. W. T.

So, if we resist evil rulers, seeking to set ourselves at liberty, we shall, no doubt, bring ourselves into more evil bondage, and wrap ourselves in much more misery and wretchedness. For if the heads overcome, then lay they more weight on their backs, and make their yoke sorer, and tie them shorter. If they overcome their evil rulers, then make they way for a more cruel nation, or for some tyrant of their own nation, which hath no right unto the crown. If we submit ourselves unto the chastising of God, and meekly knowledge our sins for which we are scourged, and kiss the rod, and amend our living; then will God take the rod away, that is, he will give the rulers a better heart. Or if they

Evil rulers ought not to be resisted. Ant. ed.

continue their malice and persecute you for well-doing, and because ye put your trust in God, then will God deliver you out of their tyranny for his truth's sake. It is the same God now that was in the old time, and delivered the fathers and the prophets, the apostles, and other holy saints. And whatsoever he sware to them he hath sworn to us. And as he delivered them out of all temptation, cumbrance, and adversity, because they consented and submitted themselves unto his will, and trusted in his goodness and truth; even so will he do to us, if we do likewise.

God is always one, always true, always merciful, and excludeth no man from his promises. W. T.

Whensoever the children of Israel fell from the way which God commanded them to walk in, he gave them up under one tyrant or another. As soon as they came to the knowledge of themselves, and repented, crying for mercy, and leaning unto the truth of his promises, he sent one to deliver them, as the histories of the bible make mention.

A christian man, in respect of God, is but a passive thing; a thing that suffereth only, and doth nought; as the sick, in respect of the surgeon or physician, doth but suffer only. The surgeon lanceth and cutteth out the dead flesh, searcheth the wounds, thrusteth in tents, seareth, burneth, seweth or stitcheth, and layeth to caustics, to draw out the corruption; and, last of all, layeth to healing plaisters, and maketh it whole. The physician likewise giveth purgations and drinks to drive out the disease, and then with restoratives bringeth health. Now if the sick resist the razor, the searching iron, and so forth, doth he not resist his own health, and is cause of his own death? So likewise is it of us, if we resist evil rulers, which are the rod and scourge wherewith God chastiseth us; the instruments wherewith God searcheth our wounds; and bitter drinks to drive out the sin and to make it appear, and caustics to draw out by the roots the core of the pocks of the soul that fretteth inward. A christian man, therefore, receiveth all things of the hand of God, both good and bad, both sweet and sour, both wealth and woe. If any person do me good, whether it be father, mother, and so forth, that receive I of God, and to God give thanks: for he gave wherewith, and gave a commandment, and moved his heart so to do. Adversity also receive I of the hand of God, as a wholesome medicine, though it be somewhat bitter. Temptation and adversity do both kill sin, and also utter it. For

A christian man doth but suffer only. W. T.

Evil rulers are wholesome medicines. W. T.

A christian man receiveth. W. T.

How profitable adversity is. W. T.

though a christian man knoweth every thing how to live, yet is the flesh so weak, that he can never take up his cross himself, to kill and mortify the flesh: he must have another to lay it on his back. In many also sin lieth hid within, and festereth and rotteth inward, and is not seen; so that they think how they are good and perfect, and keep the law: as the young man, Matt. xix. said, he had observed all of a child; and yet lied falsely in his heart, as the text following well declareth. When all is at peace, and no man troubleth us, we think that we are patient and love our neighbours as ourselves; but let our neighbour hurt us in word or deed, and then find we it otherwise. Then fume we, and rage, and set up the bristles, and bend ourselves to take vengeance. If we loved with godly love, for Christ's kindness' sake, we should desire no vengeance; but pity him, and desire God to forgive and amend him, knowing well that no flesh can do otherwise than sin, except that God preserve him. Thou wilt say, What good doth such persecution and tyranny unto the righteous? First, it maketh them feel the working of God's Spirit in them, and that their faith is unfeigned. Secondarily, I say that no man is so great a sinner, if he repent and believe, but that he is righteous in Christ and in the promises: yet if thou look on the flesh, and unto the law, there is no man so perfect that is not found a sinner; nor any man so pure that hath not somewhat to be yet purged. This shall suffice at this time as concerning obedience.

Matt. xix.

The greatest sinner is righteous in Christ and the promises. And the perfectest and holiest is a sinner in the law and the flesh. W. T.

Because that God excludeth no degree from his mercy; but whosoever repenteth, and believeth his promises, (of whatsoever degree he be of,) the same shall be partaker of his grace; therefore, as I have described the obedience of them that are under power and rule, even so will I, with God's help, (as my duty is,) declare how the rulers, which God shall vouchsafe to call unto the knowledge of the truth, ought to rule.

The Office of a Father, and how he should rule.

"FATHERS, move not your children unto wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord." Eph. vi. and Coloss. iii. "Fathers, rate not your children, lest they be of desperate mind;" that is, lest you discourage them. For where the fathers and mothers are wayward, hasty and churlish, ever brawling and chiding, there are the children anon discouraged and heartless, and apt for nothing; neither can they do any thing aright. "Bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord." Teach them to know Christ, and set God's ordinance before them, saying, 'Son, or daughter, God hath created thee and made thee, through us thy father and mother; and at his commandment have we so long thus kindly brought thee up, and kept thee from all perils: he hath commanded thee also to obey us, saying, Child, obey thy father and mother. If thou meekly obey, so shalt thou grow both in the favour of God and man, and knowledge of our Lord Christ. If thou wilt not obey us at his commandment, then are we charged to correct thee; yea, and if thou repent not, and amend thyself, God shall slay thee by his officers, or punish thee everlastingly.' Nurture them not worldly, and with worldly wisdom, saying, 'Thou shalt come to honour, dignity, promotion, and riches; thou shalt be better than such and such; thou shalt have three or four benefices, and be a great doctor or a bishop, and have so many men waiting on thee, and do nothing but hawk and hunt, and live at pleasure; thou shalt not need to sweat, to labour, or to take any pain for thy living,' and so forth; filling them full of pride, disdain, and ambition, and corrupting their minds with worldly persuasions. Let the fathers and mothers mark how they themselves were disposed at all ages; and by experience of their own infirmities help their children, and keep them from occasions. Let them teach their children to ask marriages of their fathers and mothers. And let their elders provide marriages for them in season; teaching them also to know, that she is not his wife whom the son taketh, nor he her husband which the daughter taketh, without the consent and good-will of their elders, or them that have authority

Rigour in parents towards their children is to be eschewed. Ant. ed. Eph. vi. Col. iii.

The right bringing up of children. W. T.

The destruction and marring of children. W. T.

The marriage of children without consent of their parents is unlawful. Ant. ed.

over them[1]. If their friends will not marry them, then are they not to blame if they marry themselves. Let not the fathers and mothers always take the utmost of their authority of their children; but at a time suffer with them, and bear their weaknesses, as Christ doth ours. Seek Christ in your children, in your wives, servants, and subjects. Father, mother, son, daughter, master, servant, king, and subject, be names in the worldly regiment. In Christ we are all one thing; none better than another, all brethren; and all must seek Christ, and our brother's profit in Christ. And he that hath the knowledge, whether he be the lord or king, is bound to submit himself, and serve his brethren, and to give himself for them, to win them to Christ.

In Christ we are all servants, and he that hath knowledge is bound. W. T.

The Office of a Husband, and how he ought to rule.

Eph. v. "HUSBANDS, love your wives as Christ loved the congregation, and gave himself for it, to sanctify it and cleanse it. Men ought to love their wives as their own bodies. For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall continue with his wife, and shall be made both one flesh. See that every one of you love his wife even as his own body." All this saith Paul, Eph. v. And Col. iii. he saith, "Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter unto them." And Peter, in the iiird chapter of his first epistle, saith, "Men, dwell with your wives according to knowledge," (that is, according to the doctrine of Christ,) "giving reverence unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel," (that is, help her to bear her infirmities;) "and as unto them that are heirs also of the grace of life, that your prayers be not let." In many things God hath made the men stronger than the women; not to rage upon them, and to be tyrants unto them, but to help them, but[2] to bear their weakness. Be courteous therefore

Col. iii.

1 Pet. iii. Men ought to rule their wives by God's word. W. T.

Why the man is stronger than the woman. W. T.

[1 It is to the above passage that Foxe attributes Art. II. of the list of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale. But see n. p. 170.]

[2 So Day's ed. In H. L.'s ed. it is, *to help them to bear.*]

unto them, and win them unto Christ, and overcome them with kindness, that of love they may obey the ordinance that God hath made between man and wife.

The Office of a Master, and how he ought to rule.

PAUL (Eph. vith) saith: "Ye masters, do even the same things to them," (that is, be masters after the ensample and doctrine of Christ, as he before taught the servants to obey to their masters as to Christ,) "putting away threatenings," that is, give them fair words, and exhort them kindly to do their duty; yea, nurture them as thy own sons with the Lord's nurture, that they may see in Christ a cause why they ought lovingly to obey: and "remember (saith he) that your master also is in heaven; neither is there any respect of persons with him;" that is, he is indifferent and not partial: as great in his sight is a servant as a master. And in the ivth chapter to the Colossians saith he: "Ye masters, do unto your servants that which is just and equal, remembering that ye also have a master in heaven." Give your servants kind words, food, raiment, and learning. Be not bitter unto them, rail not on them, give them no cruel countenance: but according to the ensample and doctrine of Christ, deal with them. And when they labour sore, cherish them again. When ye correct them, let God's word be by; and do it with such good manner, that they may see how that ye do it to amend them only, and to bring them to the way which God biddeth us walk in, and not to avenge yourselves, or to wreak your malice on them. If at a time through hastiness ye exceed measure in punishing, recompense it another way, and pardon them another time.

Eph. vi.

Col. iv.

Teach thy servant to know Christ and after Christ's doctrine deal with him. W. T.

Do all things with God's word. W. T.

The Duty of Landlords.

LET Christian landlords be content with their rent and old customs; not raising the rent or fines, and bringing up new customs to oppress their tenants; neither letting two or

Landlords should raise no rents, nor bring up new customs. Ant. ed.

three tenantries unto one man. Let them not take in their commons, neither make parks nor pastures of whole parishes: for God gave the earth to man to inhabit; and not unto sheep and wild deer. Be as fathers unto your tenants: yea, be unto them as Christ was unto us, and shew unto them all love and kindness. Whatsoever business is among them, be not partial, favouring one more than another. The complaints, quarrels, and strife that are among them, count diseases of sick people; and, as a merciful physician, heal them with wisdom and good counsel. Be pitiful and tender-hearted unto them, and let not one of thy tenants tear out another's throat; but judge their causes indifferently, and compel them to make their ditches, hedges, gates, and ways. For even for such causes were ye made landlords; and for such causes paid men rent at the beginning. For if such an order were not, one should slay another, and all should go to waste. If thy tenant shall labour and toil all the year, to pay thee thy rent, and when he hath bestowed all his labour, his neighbours' cattle shall devour his fruits; how tedious and bitter should his life be! See therefore that ye do your duties again; and suffer no man to do them wrong, save the king only. If he do wrong, then must they abide God's judgment.

God gave the earth to men. W. T.

Landlords should withstand the wrong of the tenants. Ant. ed.

The Duty of Kings, and of the Judges and Officers.

Let kings, if they had lever be Christian in deed than so to be called, give themselves altogether to the wealth of their realms after the ensample of Christ; remembering that the people are God's, and not theirs; yea, are Christ's inheritance and possession, bought with his blood. The most despised person in his realm is the king's brother, and fellow-member with him, and equal with him in the kingdom of God and of Christ. Let him therefore not think himself too good to do them service; neither seek any other thing in them, than a father seeketh in his children, yea, than Christ sought in us. Though that the king, in the temporal regiment, be in the room of God, and representeth God himself, and is

There is no respect of person afore God. Ant. ed.

without all comparison better[1] than his subjects; yet let him put off that, and become a brother, doing and leaving undone all things in respect of the commonwealth, that all men may see that he seeketh nothing but the profit of his subjects. When a cause that requireth execution is brought before him, then only let him take the person of God on him. Then let him know no creature, but hear all indifferently; whether it be a stranger or one of his own realm, and the small as well as the great; and judge righteously, "for the judgment is the Lord's." In time of judgment he is no minister in the kingdom of Christ; he preacheth no gospel, but the sharp law of vengeance. Let him take the holy judges of the old Testament for an ensample, and namely Moses, which in executing the law was merciless; otherwise more than a mother unto them, never avenging his own wrongs, but suffering all things; bearing every man's weakness, teaching, warning, exhorting, and ever caring for them, and so tenderly loved them, that he desired God either to forgive them, or to damn him with them.

Deut. i.

Moses. W. T.

Let the judges also privately, when they have put off the person of a judge, exhort with good counsel, and warn the people, and help that they come not at God's judgment: but the causes that are brought to them, when they sit in God's stead, let them judge, and condemn the trespasser under lawful witnesses; and not break up into the consciences of men, after the example of antichrist's disciples, and compel them either to forswear themselves by the almighty God and by the holy gospel of his merciful promises, or to testify against themselves: which abomination our prelates learned of Caiphas, Matt. xxvi. saying to Christ, "I adjure or charge thee in the name of the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be Christ, the Son of God." Let that which is secret to God only, whereof no proof can be made, nor lawful witness brought, abide unto the coming of the Lord, which shall open all secrets. If any malice break forth, that let them judge only. For further authority hath God not given them.

Judges. W.T.

A tyranny to compel a man to accuse himself. W. T.

Matt. xxvi. Our prelates learned of Caiphas. W. T.

Secret sins pertain unto God to punish, and open sins unto the king. W. T.

Moses (Deut. xvii.) warneth judges to keep them upright, and to look on no man's person; that is, that they prefer not the high before the low, the great before the small, the rich

Deut. xvii. Partiality in judges is wicked. Ant. ed.

[1 Better is used here for *superior*, as in the Catechism.]

before poor; his acquaintance, friend, kinsman, countryman, or one of his own nation, before a stranger, a friend or an alien, yea, or one of their own faith before an infidel; but that they look on the cause only, to judge indifferently. For the room that they are in, and the law that they execute, are God's; which, as he hath made all, and is God of all, and all are his sons, even so is he judge over all, and will have all judged by his law indifferently, and to have the right of his law, and will avenge the wrong done unto the Turk or Saracen. For though they be not under the everlasting testament of God in Christ, as few of us which are called Christian be, and even no more than to whom God hath sent his promises, and poured his Spirit into their hearts to believe them, and through faith graven lust in their hearts to fulfil the law of love; yet are they under the testament of the law natural, which is the law of every land made for the common wealth there, and for peace and unity, that one may live by another: in which laws the infidels, if they keep them, have promises of worldly things. Whosoever, therefore, hindereth a very infidel from the right of that law, sinneth against God, and of him will God be avenged. Moreover, Moses warneth them that they receive no gifts, rewards or bribes. For those two points, favouring of one person more than another, and receiving rewards, pervert all right and equity; and is the only pestilence of all judges.

Partiality and bribe-taking is the pestilence of judges. Ant. ed.

And the kings warneth he, that they have not too many wives, lest their hearts turn away; and that they read alway in the law of God, to learn to fear him, lest their hearts be lift up above their brethren. Which two points, women and pride, the despising of their subjects, which are in very deed their own brethren, are the common pestilence of all princes. Read the stories, and see.

Women, pride, and contempt of subjects, are the pestilence of princes. Ant. ed.

The sheriffs, baily-errants, constables, and such like officers, may let no man that hurteth his neighbour scape, but that they bring them before the judges; except they in the mean time agree with their neighbours, and make them amends.

Let kings defend their subjects from the wrongs of other nations, but pick no quarrels for every trifle: no, let not our most holy father make them no more so drunk with vain names, with caps of maintenance, and like baubles, as it were

Vain names. W. T.

puppetry for children, to beggar their realms, and to murder their people, for defending of our holy father's tyranny. If a lawful peace, that standeth with God's word, be made between prince and prince, and the name of God taken to record, and the body of our Saviour broken between them, upon the bond which they have made; that peace, or bond, can our holy father not dispense with, neither loose it with all the keys he hath: no, verily, Christ cannot break it: for he came not to break the law, but to fulfil it.

The holy father looseth peace and unity, truce, truth, and all honesty. W. T. Matt. v.

If any man have broken the law, or a good ordinance, and repent and come to the right way again, then hath Christ power to forgive him: but licence to break the law can he not give; much more his disciples and vicars, as they call themselves, cannot do it. The keys, whereof they so greatly boast themselves, are no carnal things, but spiritual; and nothing else save knowledge of the law, and of the promises or gospel. If any man, for lack of spiritual feeling, desire authority of men, let him read the old doctors. If any man desire authority of scripture, Christ saith, Luke xi. "Woe be to you lawyers, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye enter not in yourselves, and them that come in ye forbid:" that is, they had blinded the scripture (whose knowledge, as it were a key, letteth into God) with glosses and traditions. Likewise findest thou Matt. xxiii. As Peter answered in the name of all, so Christ promised him the keys in the person of all. (Matt. xvi.) And in the xxth of John he paid them, saying, "Receive the Holy Ghost: whosoever's sins ye remit, they are remitted" or forgiven; "and whosoever's sins ye retain, they are retained" or holden. With preaching the promises loose they as many as repent and believe. And for that John saith, "Receive the Holy Ghost." Luke, in his last chapter, saith, "Then opened he their wits, that they might understand the scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." At preaching of the law repent men; and at the preaching of the promises do they believe, and are saved. Peter in the second of the Acts practised his keys; and by preaching the law brought the people into the knowledge of themselves, and bound their consciences, so that "they were pricked in

What the keys are, and why they are so called. W. T.

Luke xi.

Matt. xxiii.

The keys are promised. W. T. Matt. xvi.

The keys are paid. W. T. John xx.

To bind and loose. W. T.

Luke xxiv.

Repentance and forgiveness come by preaching. W. T.

Peter practiseth his keys. W. T.

their hearts, and said unto Peter and to the other apostles, What shall we do?" Then brought they forth the key of the sweet promises, saying, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise was made to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar, even as many as the Lord shall call." Of like ensamples is the Acts full, and Peter's epistles, and Paul's epistles, and all the scripture; neither hath our holy father any other authority of Christ, or by the reason of his predecessor, Peter, than to preach God's word. As Christ compareth the understanding of scripture to a key, so compareth he it to a net, and unto leaven, and unto many other things for certain properties. I marvel, therefore, that they boast not themselves of their net and leaven, as well as of their keys; for they are all one thing. But as Christ biddeth us beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, so beware of their counterfeited keys, and of their false net; which are their traditions and ceremonies, their hypocrisy and false doctrine, wherewith they catch, not souls unto Christ, but authority and riches unto themselves.

The pope's authority is to preach God's word only. W. T.

Beware of the net, and of the leaven, and of the counterfeit keys of our holy father. W. T.

Let Christian kings therefore keep their faith and truth, and all lawful promises and bonds, not one with another only, but even with the Turk or whatsoever infidel it be. For so it is right before God; as the scriptures and ensamples of the bible testify. Whosoever voweth an unlawful vow, promiseth an unlawful promise, sweareth an unlawful oath, sinneth against God, and ought therefore to break it. He needeth not sue to Rome for a licence; for he hath God's word, and not a licence only, but also a commandment to break it. They therefore that are sworn to be true to cardinals and bishops, that is to say, false unto God, the king, and the realm, may break their oaths lawfully, without grudge of conscience, by the authority of God's word. In making them they sinned; but in repenting and breaking them they please God highly, and receive forgiveness in Christ.

Not with an heretic, saith the pope. W. T.

Unlawful vows, or oaths, men are commanded to break. W. T.

Let kings take their duty of their subjects, and that that is necessary to the defence of the realm. Let them rule their realms themselves, with the help of lay-men that are sage, wise, learned, and expert. Is it not a shame above all shames, and a monstrous thing, that no man should be found able to

govern a worldly kingdom, save bishops and prelates; that have forsaken the world, and are taken out of the world, and appointed to preach the kingdom of God? Christ saith that his "kingdom is not of this world." John xviii. And, Luke xii. unto the young man, that desired him to bid his brother to give him part of the inheritance, he answered, "Who made me a judge or a divider among you?" "No man that layeth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of heaven." Luke ix. "No man can serve two masters, but he must despise the one." Matt. vi.

Bishops. W. T.

John xviii.

Luke xii.

Behold the face of the pope and of the bishops in this glass. W. T.

Luke ix.

Matt. vi.

To preach God's word is too much for half a man: and to minister a temporal kingdom is too much for half a man also. Either other requireth an whole man. One therefore cannot well do both. He that avengeth himself on every trifle is not meet to preach the patience of Christ, how that a man ought to forgive and to suffer all things. He that is overwhelmed with all manner riches, and doth but seek more daily, is not meet to preach poverty. He that will obey no man is not meet to preach how we ought to obey all men. Peter saith, Acts vi. "It is not meet that we should leave the word of God, and serve at the tables." Paul saith in the ixth chapter of the first Corinth. "Woe is me if I preach not." A terrible saying, verily, for popes, cardinals, and bishops! If he had said, 'Woe be unto me if I fight not and move princes unto war, or if I increase not St Peter's patrimony,' as they call it, it had been a more easy saying for them.

Acts vi.

1 Cor. ix.

Peter's patrimony. W. T.

Christ forbiddeth his disciples and that oft, (as thou mayest see Matt. xviii. and also xx. Mark ix. and also x. Luke ix. and also xxii. even at his last supper) not only to climb above lords, kings, and emperors in worldly rule, but also to exalt themselves one above another in the kingdom of God: but in vain; for the pope would not hear it, though he had commanded it ten thousand times. God's word should rule only; and not bishops' decrees, or the pope's pleasure. That ought they to preach purely and spiritually, and to fashion their lives after, and with all ensample of godly living and long suffering to draw all to Christ; and not to expound the scriptures carnally and worldly, saying, 'God spake this to Peter, and I am his successor, therefore this authority is mine only;' and then bring in the tyranny of

The pope's authority is improved. W. T.

Matt. xviii. xx.

Mark ix. x. Luke ix. xxii.

Bishops have captived God's word with their own decrees. W. T.

their fleshly wisdom, *In præsentia majoris cessat potestas minoris;* that is, in the presence of the greater the less hath no power. There is no brotherhood where such philosophy is taught.

Such philosophy, and so to abuse the scriptures, and so mock with God's word, is after the manner of the bishop of Rochester's divinity. For he, in his 'Sermon of the condemnation of Martin Luther,' proveth by a shadow of the old Testament, that is, by Moses and Aaron, that Satan and antichrist, our most holy father the pope, is Christ's vicar and head of Christ's congregation[1].

Rochester. W. T.

Moses, saith he, signifieth Christ; and Aaron the pope. And yet the epistle unto the Hebrews proveth, that the high priest of the old law signifieth Christ; and his offering and his going in once in the year into the inner temple signify the offering wherewith Christ offered himself, and Christ's going in unto the Father, to be an everlasting mediator or intercessor for us. Nevertheless, Rochester proveth the contrary by a shadow; by a shadow, verily: for in shadows they walk without all shame, and the light will they not come at, but enforce to stop and quench it with all craft and falsehood, lest their abominable juggling should be seen. If any man look in the light of the new Testament, he shall clearly see that that shadow may not be so understood.

They walk in shadows. W. T.

Understand therefore, that one thing in the scripture representeth divers things. A serpent figureth Christ in one place, and the devil in another; and a lion doth likewise. Christ by leaven signifieth God's word in one place; and in another signifieth thereby the traditions of the Pharisees, which soured and altered God's word for their advantage.

[1 'In their governance was two heads appointed, one under another, Moyses and Aaron, to conduct the people through the desert unto the country that was promised unto them. We wot that the people of the Jews was a shadow of the Christian people, and that their journey by the desert toward the country promised unto them was a shadow of our journey through this wretched world unto the country of heaven. But Moyses and Aaron which were the heads of that people, whereof then be they shadow? Without doubt they must be the shadow of Christ and of his vicar, St Peter, which under Christ was also the head of christian people.' Fisher's Sermon, verso of sign. A. 7.]

Now Moses verily in the said place representeth Christ; and Aaron, which was not yet high priest, represented not Peter only or his successor, as my lord of Rochester would have it, (for Peter was too little to bear Christ's message unto all the world,) but signifieth every disciple of Christ, and every true preacher of God's word. For Moses put in Aaron's mouth what he should say; and Aaron was Moses's prophet, and spake not his own message, as the pope and bishops do, but that which Moses had received of God and delivered unto him. Exod. iv. and also vii. So ought every preacher to preach God's word purely, and neither to add nor minish. A true messenger must do his message truly; and say neither more nor less than he is commanded. Aaron, when he is high priest, and offereth and purgeth the people of their worldly sin which they had fallen in, in touching uncleanly things, and in eating meats forbidden, (as we sin in handling the chalice and the altar stone, and are purged with the bishop's blessing,) representeth Christ, which purgeth us from all sin in the sight of God: as the epistle unto the Hebrews maketh mention. When Moses was gone up into the mount, and Aaron left behind, and made the golden calf, there Aaron representeth all false preachers, and namely our most holy father the pope; which in like manner maketh us believe in a bull, as the bishop of Rochester full well allegeth the place in his sermon[2].

Aaron is every true preacher. W. T.

Exod. iv. vii.

Aaron representeth Christ. W. T.

If the pope be signified by Aaron, and Christ by Moses, why is not the pope as well content with Christ's law and doctrine, as Aaron was with Moses'? What is the cause that our bishops preach the pope, and not Christ; seeing the apostles preached not Peter, but Christ? Paul saith of himself

Aaron addeth nothing to Moses's law. W. T.

[2 'The third likeness is this: Moyses ascended unto the mount to speak with Almighty God, and Aaron remained behind to instruct the people. *Did* not Christ likewise ascend unto his Father, unto the great mount of heaven? and to what intent, I pray you? St Paul telleth: *Ut appareat vultui Dei pro nobis:* To appear before the face of Almighty God for us, and there to be our advocate, as saith St John And did not Peter remain behind to teach the people, the which our Saviour committed unto his charge, like as Aaron was left for to do the people of the Jews, when Moses was alone in the mount with God? Thus every man may see how that shadow, and this thing, agreeth and answereth one to another, fully and clearly.' Fisher's Sermon, Verso of sign. B. I.]

and his fellow apostles, 2 Cor. iv. "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and preach ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake:" and, "Let no man rejoice in men, for all things are yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollos, or Peter; whether it be the world, or life, or death; whether they be present things, or things to come; all are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's." He leaveth out, Ye are Peter's, or ye are the pope's. And in the chapter following he saith, "Let men thuswise esteem us, even the ministers of Christ," &c. And (2 Cor. xi.) Paul was jealous over his Corinthians, because they fell from Christ, to whom he had married them, and did cleave unto the authority of men; for even then false prophets sought authority in the name of the high apostles: "I am (saith he) jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I coupled you to one man, to make you a chaste virgin to Christ; but I fear lest, as the serpent deceived Eve through his subtlety, even so your wits should be corrupt from the singleness that is in Christ." And it followeth: "If he that cometh to you preached another Jesus, or if ye receive another Spirit or another gospel, then might ye well have been content:" that is, ye might have well suffered him to have authority above me: "but I suppose," saith he, "that I was not behind the high apostles;" meaning in preaching Jesus and his gospel, and in ministering the Spirit. And in the said xith chapter he proveth, by the doctrine of Christ, that he is greater than the high apostles: for Christ saith, to be great in the kingdom of God is to do service and to take pain for other: upon which rule Paul disputeth, saying, "If they be the ministers of Christ, I am more; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prison more plenteously, in death oft," and so forth. If Paul preached Christ more than Peter, and suffered more for his congregation, then is he greater than Peter, by the testimony of Christ[1]. And in the xiith he saith, "In nothing was I inferior unto the high apostles: though I be nothing, yet the tokens of an apostle were wrought among you with all patience, with signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds." So proved he his authority, and not with a bull from Peter,

2 Cor. iv. The apostles preached not Peter, but Christ. W. T.

1 Cor. iii.

1 Cor. iv.

2 Cor. xi.

Paul is greater than the high apostles.

Paul is greater than Peter. W. T.

Paul proveth his apostleship with preaching and suffering: the bishops prove their apostleship with bulls and shadows. W. T.

[1 Art. VIII. of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale: 'Paul was of higher authority than Peter.' On which Foxe makes no remark; but merely gives his readers Tyndale's words.]

sealed with cold lead, either with shadows of the old Testament falsely expounded.

Moreover the apostles were sent immediately of Christ; and of Christ received they their authority, as Paul boasteth himself every where. "Christ," saith he, "sent me to preach the gospel." 1 Cor. i. And, "I received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you." 1 Cor. xi. And Gal. i., "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me was not after the manner of men, (that is to wit, carnal or fleshly,) neither received I it of man, neither was it taught me, but I received it by the revelation of Jesus Christ." And Gal. ii. "He that was mighty in Peter in the apostleship over the circumcision, was mighty in me among the gentiles." And 1 Tim. i. readest thou likewise. And (John xx.) Christ sent them forth indifferently, and gave them like power: "As my Father sent me," saith he, "so send I you;" that is, to preach and to suffer, as I have done; and not to conquer empires and kingdoms, and to subdue all temporal power under you with disguised hypocrisy. He gave them the Holy Ghost, to bind and loose indifferently, as thou seest; and afterward he sent forth Paul with like authority, as thou seest in the Acts. And in the last of Matthew saith he: "All power is given me in heaven and in earth; go therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe whatsoever I commanded you." The authority that Christ gave them was to preach; yet not what they would imagine, but what he had commanded. "Lo," saith he, "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." He said not, I go my way, and lo, here is Peter in my stead; but sent them every man to a sundry country, whithersoever the Spirit carried them, and went with them himself. And as he wrought with Peter where he went, so wrought he with the other where they went; as Paul boasteth of himself unto the Galatians. Seeing now that we have Christ's doctrine, and Christ's holy promises, and seeing that Christ is ever present with us his own self; how cometh it that Christ may not reign immediately over us, as well as the pope which cometh never at us? Seeing also that the office of an apostle is to preach only, how can the pope challenge with right any authority, where he preacheth not? How cometh it also that Rochester will not let us be called one

The apostles were sent of Christ with like authority. W. T.

1 Cor. i.

1 Cor. xi. Gal. i.

Gal. ii.

1 Tim. i. John xx.

Matt. xxviii.

The authority that Christ gave was to preach Christ's word. W. T.

congregation by the reason of one God, one Christ, one Spirit, one gospel, one faith, one hope, and one baptism, as well as because of one pope?[1]

☞ If any natural beast with his worldly wisdom strive, that one is greater than another, because that in congregations one is sent of another, as we see in the Acts; I answer that Peter sent no man, but was sent himself; and John was sent, and Paul, Silas, and Barnabas were sent. Howbeit such manner sendings are not worldly, as princes send ambassadors; no, nor as friars send their limiters to gather their brotherhoods[2]; which must obey, whether they will or will not. Here all thing is free and willingly. And the Holy Ghost bringeth them together; which maketh their wills free, and ready to bestow themselves upon their neighbour's profit. And they that come offer themselves, and all that they have, or can do, to serve the Lord and their brethren. And every man, as he is found apt and meet to serve his neighbour, so is he sent or put in office. And of the Holy Ghost are they sent, with the consent of their brethren, and with their own consent also: and God's word ruleth in that congregation; unto which word every man conformeth his will: and Christ, which is always present, is the head. But as our bishops hear not Christ's voice, so see they him not present, and therefore make them a God on the earth, of the kind, I suppose, of Aaron's calf: for he bringeth forth no other fruit but bulls.

Why bishops make them a God on earth. W. T.

Aaron made a calf; and the pope maketh bulls. W. T.

Forasmuch also as Christ is as great as Peter, why is not his seat as great as Peter's? Had the head of the empire been at Jerusalem, there had been no mention made of Peter. It

[1 'Nevertheless the Church of Christ is but one, Una, sancta, catholica et apostolica. This church is one, having one head, the pope, which is the vicar of Christ, of whom it is called *una*.' Bishop Fisher's Sermon, Verso of sign. F. III.]

[2 Limiters were friars sent out of their convent to collect alms, each within his assigned bound; and to induce persons to purchase a partnership, or *brotherhood*, in the merits of the conventual services. A grant of such a brotherhood, under the seal of the prior of a Dominican monastery, was expressed as follows: Fratres prædicatores Warwice admittunt Thomam Cannings, et uxorem ejus Agnetem, ad participationem omnium bonorum operum conventus ejusdem. 4 Non. Oct. A.D. 1347. Stevens, Suppl. to Dugdale, Vol. II. App. p. 370. Russell.]

is verily, as Paul saith in the xith chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians, "*The false apostles are deceitful workers,* and fashion themselves like unto the apostles of Christ:" that is, the shaven nation preach Christ falsely; yea, under the name of Christ preach themselves, and reign in Christ's stead: have also taken away the key of knowledge, and wrapped the people in ignorance, and have taught them to believe in themselves, in their traditions and false ceremonies; so that Christ is but a vain name. And after they had put Christ out of his room, they gat themselves to the emperor and kings, and so long ministered their business till they have also put them out of their, rooms, and have got their authorities from them, and reign also in their stead; so that the emperor and kings are but vain names and shadows, as Christ is, having nothing to do in the world. Thus reign they, in the stead of God and man, and have all power under them, and do what they list.

2 Cor. xi. *The shaven nation hath put Christ out of his room, and all kings, and the emperor.* W. T.

Christ is but a vain name. W. T.

Proper ministers. W. T.

Let us see another point of our great clerk: a little after the beginning of his sermon, intending to prove that which is clearer than the sun, and serveth no more for his purpose than *Ite missa est* serveth to prove that our lady was born without original sin; he allegeth a saying that Martin Luther saith, which is this: "If we affirm that any one epistle of Paul or any one place of his epistles pertaineth not unto the universal church, (that is, to all the congregation of them that believe in Christ,) we take away all St Paul's authority." Whereupon saith Rochester: "If it be thus of the words of St Paul, much rather it is true of the gospels of Christ and of every place of them[3]." O malicious blindness! First, note his blindness. He understandeth by this word *gospel* no more but the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and thinketh not that the Acts of apostles, and the epistles of Peter, of Paul, and of John, and of other like, are also the gospel. Paul calleth his preaching the gospel: Rom. ii. and 1 Cor. iv. and Gal. i. and 1 Tim. i. The gospel is every where one, though it be preached of divers, and signifieth glad tidings: that is to wit, an open preaching of Christ, and the holy testament and gracious promises that God hath made in Christ's blood to all that repent and believe. Now

Rochester is proved both ignorant and malicious. W. T.

The epistles of Paul are the gospel. W. T.

Rom. ii. 1 Cor. iv. Gal. i. 1 Tim. i.

What gospel signifieth. W. T.

[3 Pace's translation of Fisher's Sermon, col. 2. In the Vol. col. 1576.]

is there more gospel in one epistle of Paul, that is to say, Christ is more clearly preached and more promises rehearsed in one epistle of Paul, than in the three first evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

Consider also his maliciousness; how wickedly and how craftily he taketh away the authority of Paul! 'It is much rather true of the gospels, and of every place in them, than of Paul.' If that which the four evangelists wrote be truer than that which Paul wrote, then is it not one gospel that they preached, neither one Spirit that taught them. If it be one gospel and one Spirit, how is one truer than the other? Paul proveth his authority to the Galatians and to the Corinthians, because that he received his gospel by revelation of Christ, and not of man; and because that when he communed with Peter and the high apostles of his gospel and preaching, they could improve nothing, neither teach him any thing; and because also that as many were converted, and as great miracles shewed by his preaching as at the preaching of the high apostles; and therefore will be of no less authority than Peter and other high apostles, nor have his gospel of less reputation than theirs.

One gospel, one Spirit, one truth. W. T.

The authority of Paul and of his gospel. W. T.

Finally: that thou mayest know Rochester for ever, and all the remnant by him, what they are within the skin, mark how he playeth bo-peep with the scripture. He allegeth the beginning of the tenth chapter to the Hebrews, *Umbram habens lex futurorum bonorum*, "the law hath but a shadow of things to come;" and immediately expoundeth the figure clean contrary unto the chapter following, and to all the whole epistle; making Aaron a figure of the pope, whom the epistle maketh a figure of Christ.

Rochester playeth bo-peep. W. T.

Heb. x.

He allegeth half a text of Paul, 1 Tim. iv. "In the latter days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed unto spirits of error and devilish doctrine." But it followeth in the text: "Giving attendance, or heed, unto the devilish doctrine of them which speak false through hypocrisy, and have their consciences marked with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with giving thanks." Which two things who ever did, save the pope, Rochester's god? making sin in the creatures, which God hath created for man's use, to be received with thanks. "The kingdom of heaven is not meat

1 Tim. iv.

Never man forbad to marry, save the pope. W. T.

Rom. xiv.

and drink," saith Paul, "but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. For whosoever in these things serveth Christ, pleaseth God, and is allowed of men." Had Rochester, therefore, not a conscience marked with the hot iron of malice, so that he cannot consent unto the will of God and glory of Christ, he would not so have alleged the text; which is contrary to none save themselves.

He allegeth another text of Paul, in the second chapter of his second epistle to the Thessalonians, *Erit discessio primum:* that is, saith Rochester, before the coming of antichrist there shall be a notable departing from the faith[1]. And Paul saith, "The Lord cometh not, except there come a departing first." Paul's meaning is, that the last day cometh not so shortly, but that antichrist shall come first and destroy the faith, and sit in the temple of God, and make all men worship him, and believe in him (as the pope doth); and then shall God's word come to light again, (as it doth at this time,) and destroy him, and utter his juggling, and then cometh Christ unto judgment. What say ye of this crafty conveyer? Would he spare, suppose ye, to allege and to wrest other doctors pestilently, which feareth not for to juggle with the holy scripture of God, expounding that unto antichrist which Paul speaketh of Christ? No, be ye sure. But even after this manner-wise pervert they the whole scripture and all doctors; wresting them unto their abominable purpose, clean contrary to the meaning of the text, and to the circumstances that go before and after. Which devilish falsehood, lest the laymen should perceive, is the very cause why that they will not suffer the scripture to be had in the English tongue; neither any work to be made that should bring the people to knowledge of the truth. 2 Thess. ii. The cause why they will not have the scripture in English. W. T.

He allegeth, for the pope's authority, St Cyprian[2], St

[1 Pace's Fisher, col. 12.]

[2 'In the remarks prefixed to the opinions delivered by the bishops at the council of Carthage, on the subject of heretical baptism, Cyprian asserts the perfect equality of all bishops, and uses the following remarkable expressions: Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit. That this remark is aimed at some bishop, who had called himself Episcopus episcoporum, cannot, we think, be doubted.' Eccles. Hist. of the 2nd and 3rd centuries illustrated from Tertullian, by Bishop Kaye, 2nd ed. ch. iv. p. 239. The

Augustine[1], Ambrose[2], Jerome[3], and Origen[4]; of which never one knew of any authority that one bishop should have above another. And St Gregory allegeth he, which would receive no such authority above his brethren, when it was proffered him[5]. As the manner is to call Tully chief of orators for

Tully chief of orators. W. T.

words which immediately follow this quotation are, 'Quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium; tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest judicare.' Cyprian, Op. ed. Fell. Tr. p. 229. He also writes concerning Stephen the contemporary pope of Rome: 'Quia desiderasti in notitiam tuam perferri quæ mihi ad literas nostras Stephanus frater noster rescripserit, misi tibi rescripti ejus exemplum; quo lecto magis ac magis ejus errorem denotabis, qui hæreticorum causam contra Christianos et contra ecclesiam Dei asserere conatur. Nam inter cetera vel superba, vel ad rem non pertinentia, vel sibi ipsi contraria, quæ imperite atque improvide scripsit, etiam illud adjunxit quod diceret, &c." Ep. 74.]

[1 In his treatise against Julian, Augustine tells that Pelagian that he ought to have paid more respect to the opinion of Innocent I.: but even when wishing to press this upon him, he does not claim for that pope supreme authority, nor any infallibility of judgment; but asks, 'Quid enim potuit ille vir sanctus Africanis respondere conciliis, nisi quod antiquitus apostolica sedes et Romana cum ceteris tenet perseveranter ecclesia?—Sancto Innocentio vide quid respondeas, qui nihil aliud de hac re sapit, quam quod isti in quorum te conventum, si tamen prodest aliquid, introduxi: cum his etiam ipse considet, etsi posterior tempore, prior loco.' August. Op. Benedict. ed. Paris. 1679, &c. Tom. x. col. 503-4, G. A.]

[2 'Inter Petrum et Paulum quis cui præponatur incertum est.' Ambros. Op. Paris. Tom. v. col. 142. De Fest. Petri et Paul. But this sermon is now reckoned amongst the works falsely ascribed to that Latin father. It is however indisputable that, like Cyprian, Ambrose addresses pope Syricius, his contemporary, as a brother. Ad Syric. Ep. xlii. 2. Op. Ambr. Par. 1684—90. Tom. II. col. 966.]

[3 Jerome says, in his epistle to Evagrius: 'Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe. Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, etc. ejusdem meriti est, ejusdem est et sacerdotii. Ceterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt.']

[4 It will be seen in the note on the next reference to Origen, that his interpretation of the text, 'Thou art Peter, &c.' would entirely cut away the foundation of the papal claim to supremacy.]

[5 In an epistle to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, this pope Gregory has said, Vestra beatitudo mihi sic loquitur... *Sicut jussistis:* quod verbum jussionis, peto, a meo auditu removete; quia scio qui sum et qui estis: loco—mihi fratres estis, moribus patres.—Ecce in

his singular eloquence, and Aristotle chief of philosophers, and Virgil chief of poets, for their singular learning, and not for any authority that they had over other; so was it the manner to call Peter chief of the apostles for his singular activity and boldness, and not that he should be lord over his brethren, contrary to his own doctrine. Yet compare that chief apostle unto Paul, and he is found a great way inferior. This I say not that I would that any man should make a god of Paul, contrary unto his own learning. Notwithstanding yet this manner of speaking is left unto us of our elders; that when we say the apostle saith so, we understand Paul, for his excellency above other apostles. I would he would tell you how Jerome[6], Augustine[7], Bede[8], Origen[9], and other

præfatione epistolæ, quam ad me ipsum, qui prohibui, direxistis, superbæ appellationis verbum, universalem me papam dicentes, imprimere curastis. Quod peto dulcissima mihi sanctitas vestra ultra non faciat; quia vobis subtrahitur, quod alteri plusquam ratio exigit præbetur. Gregorii Papæ I. Op. Paris. 1705. Lib. VIII. Indict. 1. ad Eulog. Episc. Ep. xxx. col. 919.]

[6 Quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Sicut ipse lumen apostolis donavit, ut lumen mundi appellarentur, cetera ex Domino sortiti sunt vocabula; ita et Simoni, qui credebat in petram Christum, Petri largitus est nomen. Ac secundum metaphoram petræ recte dicitur ei, Ædificabo ecclesiam meam super te; et dabo tibi claves regni cœlorum, etc. Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur; quum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæratur. Legimus in Levitico de leprosis, ubi jubentur ut ostendant se sacerdotibus, et si lepram habuerint, tunc a sacerdote immundi fiant; non quo sacerdotes leprosos faciant et immundos, sed quo habeant notitiam leprosi et non leprosi, et possint discernere qui mundus quive immundus sit. Quomodo ergo ibi leprosum sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit; sic et hic alligat vel solvit episcopus et presbyter, non eos qui insontes sunt vel noxii; sed pro officio suo, quum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, quive solvendus. S. Hieron. Comment. Lib. III. in Matt. cap. xvi. Benedict. Edit. 1706. Tom. IV. Par. I. p. 74.]

[7 Augustine in serm. cclxx. in die Pentecostes, expounds the text as follows: Ego dico tibi, Tu es Petrus: Quia ego petra, tu Petrus; neque enim a Petro petra, sed a petra Petrus; quia non a Christiano Christus, sed a Christo Christianus. Et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam; non super petram quod tu es, sed supra petram quam confessus es. Tom. V. col. 1097, C. And of the keys,

doctors, expound this text, "Upon this rock I will build my congregation:" and how they interpret the keys also. Thereto, *Pasce, pasce, pasce,* which Rochester leaveth without any English, signifieth not poll, sheer, and shave. Upon which text behold the faithful exposition of Bede.

Rochester allegeth Paul for his blind ceremonies, contrary to Paul's doctrine. W. T. 2 Thess. ii.

Note also how craftily he would enfeoff the apostles of Christ with[10] their wicked traditions and false ceremonies, which they themselves have feigned; alleging Paul, 2 Thess.

in his treatise on St John's gospel, ch. xix. he says: Solus Petrus respondit, Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi: et ei dicitur, Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, tanquam ligandi et solvendi solus acceperit potestatem; cum et illud unus pro omnibus dixerit, et hoc cum omnibus tanquam personam gerens ipsius unitatis acceperit; ideo unus pro omnibus, quia unitas est in omnibus. Tom. III. pars 2. col. 800, G. And upon *Pasce,* when he comes to ch. xxi: v. 15—17, he says: Redditur negationi trinæ trina confessio, ne minus amori lingua serviat quam timori. Quid est aliud, 'Diligis me?' 'Pasce oves meas,' quam si diceretur, 'Si me diligis, non te pascere cogita; sed oves meas sicut meas pasce, non sicut tuas; gloriam meam in eis quære, non tuam.' col. 817, § 5.]

[8 The following is Bede's exposition of the text: Metaphorice ei dicitur, super hanc petram, id est, Salvatorem quem confessus es, ædificatur ecclesia, qui fideli confessori sui nominis participium donavit. And of the keys he says: Id est, discernendi scientiam potentiamque, qua dignos debeas in regnum recipere, et indignos secludere. And on, *Et quodcunque ligaveris,* etc. he says: Hæc potestas sine dubio cunctis datur Apostolis, quibus ab eo post resurrectionem dicitur generaliter, Accipite Spiritum sanctum. Nec non episcopis et presbyteris, et omni ecclesiæ idem officium committitur. Beda, in Matt. Evang. c. xvi. On *Pasce oves meas,* Bede has transcribed Augustine's words, as given in the previous note.]

[9 Εἰ δὲ φήσαντες καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς ὁ Πέτρος, Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ζῶντος (οὐχ ὡς σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος ἡμῖν ἀποκαλυψάντων, ἀλλὰ φωτὸς ἡμῶν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐλλάμψαντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς Πατρὸς), γινόμεθα Πέτρος, καὶ ἡμῖν ἂν λέγοιτο ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τὸ Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, κ. τ. ἑξῆς. Πέτρα γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθήτης, ἀφ' οὗ ἔπινον οἱ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης Πέτρας, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην Πέτραν οἰκοδομεῖται ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς πᾶς λόγος, καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτεία. Orig. Op. ed. Wirceburgh, Tom. XVI. p. 516. S. Patr. Græc. Op. Omnia, 1785. Παρώνυμοι γὰρ πέτρας πάντες οἱ μιμηταὶ Χριστοῦ, τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης Πέτρας τοῖς σωζομένοις, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῆς πίνωσι τὸ πνευματικὸν πῶμα. He afterwards explains the keys, &c., after his own peculiar way, to be the virtues opening heaven to themselves, when not overcome by the gates of hell. ibid. p. 518.]

[10 Enfeoff with, is equivalent to 'make them owners of.']

ii. I answer, that Paul taught by mouth such things as he wrote in his epistles. And his traditions were the gospel of Christ, and honest manners and living, and such a good order as becometh the doctrine of Christ: as that a woman obey her husband, have her head covered, keep silence, and go womanly and christianly apparelled; that children and servants be in subjection: and that the young obey their elders; that no man eat but he that laboureth and worketh; and that men make an earnest thing of God's word and of his holy sacraments; and to watch, fast, and pray, and such like as the scripture commandeth: which things he that would break were no christian man. But we may well complain, and cry to God for help, that it is not lawful, for the pope's tyranny, to teach the people what prayer is, what fasting is, and wherefore it serveth. There were also certain customs alway, which were not commanded in pain of hell, or everlasting damnation; as to watch all night, and to kiss one another: which as soon as the people abused, then they brake them. For which cause the bishops might break many things now in like manner. Paul also, in many things which God had made free, gave pure and faithful counsel; without tangling of any man's conscience, and without all manner commanding under pain of cursing, pain of excommunication, pain of heresy, pain of burning, pain of deadly sin, pain of hell, and pain of damnation. As thou mayest see, 1 Cor. vii., where he counselleth the unmarried, the widows, and virgins, that it is good so to abide, if they have the gift of chastity: not to win heaven thereby; (for neither circumcision neither uncircumcision is any thing at all, but the keeping of the commandments is altogether;) but that they might be without trouble, and might also the better wait on God's word, and freelier serve their brethren: and saith, as a faithful servant, that he had none authority of the Lord to give them any commandment. But, that the apostles gave us any blind ceremonies, whereof we should not know the reason, that I deny, and also defy, as a thing clean contrary unto the learning of Paul everywhere.

It is not lawful for us to tell what prayer is, what fasting is, or wherefore it serveth. W. T.

Pain of cursing, damnation, and so forth. W. T.

1 Cor. vii.

If Paul had none authority, then had Peter none: where had then the pope this authority? W. T.

For Paul commandeth that no man once speak in the church, that is, in the congregation, but in a tongue that all men understand, except that there be an interpreter by[11]. He

Rochester is improved. W. T.

[11] This sentence and the preceding are quoted by Sir T. More to

commandeth to labour for knowledge, understanding, and feeling; and to beware of superstition, and persuasions of worldly wisdom, philosophy, and of hypocrisy and ceremonies, and of all manner disguising, and to walk in the plain and open truth. "Ye were once darkness," saith he, "but now are ye light in the Lord; walk therefore as the children of light." Eph. v. How doth Paul also wish them increase of grace in every epistle! How crieth he to God to augment their knowledge; that they should be no more children, wavering with every wind of doctrine; but would vouchsafe to make them full men in Christ, and in the understanding of the mysteries or secrets of Christ, so that it should not be possible for any man to deceive them with any enticing reasons of worldly wisdom, or to beguile them with blind ceremonies, or to lead them out of the way with superstitiousness of disguised hypocrisy! Unto which full knowledge are the spiritual officers ordained to bring them. Eph. iv. So far is it away that Christ's apostles should give them traditions of blind ceremonies, without signification, or of which no man should know the reason; as Rochester, which loveth shadows and darkeness, lieth on them: God stop his blasphemous mouth!

Eph. v.

Wherefore the spiritual officers are ordained. W. T. Eph. iv.

Consider also, how studiously Rochester allegeth Origen, both for his pope, and also to stablish his blind ceremonies withal[1]: which Origen of all heretics is condemned to be the greatest. 'He is an ancient doctor,' saith he; yea, 'and to whom in this point great faith is to be given.' Yea, verily, Aristotle and Plato, and even very Robin Hood, is to be believed in such a point, that so greatly maintaineth our holy father's authority, and all his disguisings.

Rochester allegeth heretics for his purpose, for lack of scripture. W. T.

Robin Hood is of authority enough to prove the pope withal. W. T.

Last of all: as once a crafty thief, when he was espied and followed, cried unto the people, Stop the thief! Stop

refute them, in p. 272 of his Confutation of Tyndale's Answer; but he only answers the remark, upon Paul's requiring the use of a language understood by the people, with, 'And what then?']

[1 'Here ye may see by express scripture of S. Paul, that we be bound to believe many more things than be written and put in the bible. We shall confirm this by Origen, which is an ancient doctor, and to whom in this point *great* faith is to be given. He in the book of Numbers, Homilia V. saith, Sed in ecclesiasticis observationibus, &c. Bishop Fisher's Sermon, Sign. D. 6.]

the thief! and as many, to begin withal, cast first in another man's teeth that which he feareth should be laid to his own charge; even so Rochester layeth to Martin Luther's charge the slaying and murdering of Christian men, because they will not believe in his doctrine: which thing Rochester and his brethren have not ceased to do now these certain hundred years, with such malice, that, when they be dead, they rage, burning their bodies; of which some they themselves, of likelihood, killed before secretly. And because that all the world knoweth that Martin Luther slayeth no man, but killeth only with the spiritual sword, the word of God, such cankered consciences as Rochester hath; neither persecuteth, but suffereth persecution; yet Rochester, with a goodly argument, proveth that he would do it if he could! And mark, I pray you, what an orator he is, and how vehemently he persuadeth it! Martin Luther hath burned the pope's decretals; a manifest sign, saith he, that he would have burned the pope's holiness also, if he had had him[2]! A like argument, which I suppose to be rather true, I make: Rochester and his holy brethren have burnt Christ's testament; an evident sign, verily, that they would have burnt Christ himself also, if they had had him!

Rochester is an orator. W. T.

I had almost, verily, left out the chiefest point of all. Rochester, both abominable and shameless, yea, and stark mad with pure malice, and so adased[3] in the brains with spite, that he cannot overcome the truth that he seeth not, or rather careth not what he saith; in the end of his first destruction, I would say *instruction*, as he calleth it, intending to prove that we are justified through holy works, allegeth half a text of Paul, of the fifth to the Galatians, (as his manner is to juggle and convey craftily,) *Fides per dilectionem operans.* Which text he thiswise Englisheth: "Faith, which is wrought by love;" and maketh a verb passive of a

Rochester is clean beside himself. W. T.

Gal. v.

If Rochester be such a juggler, what suppose ye of

[2 'And what, suppose ye, Martin Luther and his adherents would do, if they had the pope's holiness and his favourers, whom he calleth so often in derision *papistas, papastros,* and *papenses,* in his danger? I fear me, that he would use no more courtesy with them than he hath done with their books, that is to say with the Decretals, which he hath burnt. And so likewise, I fear me, that he would burn them, or any other christian man, that he thought might let his opinions to go forward.' Bp. Fisher's Sermon, Sign. F. 6.]

[3 Adase, dase, or daze: to dazzle, confound.]

the rest? Let Rochester be an example, therefore, to judge them all. W. T.

verb deponent[1]. Rochester will have love to go before, and faith to spring out of love. Thus antichrist turneth the roots of the tree upward. I must first love a bitter medicine, (after Rochester's doctrine,) and then believe that it is wholesome: when, by natural reason, I first hate a bitter medicine, until I be brought in belief of the physician that it is wholesome, and that the bitterness shall heal me; and then afterward love it, of that belief. Doth the child love the father first, and then believe that he is his son or heir? or rather, because he knoweth that he is his son or heir and beloved, therefore loveth again? John saith, in the third of his first epistle, "See what love the Father hath shewed upon us, that we should be called his sons." Because we are sons, therefore love we. Now, by faith we are sons, as John saith in the first chapter of his gospel: "He gave them power to be the sons of God, in that they believed on his name." And Paul saith, in the third chapter of his epistle to the Galatians, "We are all the sons of God by the faith which is in Jesus Christ." And John, in the said chapter of his epistle, saith, "Hereby perceive we love, that he gave his life for us." We could see no love, nor cause to love again, except that we believed that he died for us, and that we were saved through his death. And in the chapter following saith John, "Herein is love; not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to make agreement for our sins." So[2] God sent not his Son for any love that we had to him; but of the love that he had to us sent he his Son, that we might so[2] love, and love again. Paul likewise, in the viiith chapter to the Romans, after that he hath declared the infinite love of God to us-ward, in that he spared not his own Son, but gave him for us, crieth out, saying, "Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall persecution, shall a sword? &c." No, saith he; "I am sure that no creature shall separate us from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus our Lord:" as who should say, We see so great love in God to us-ward, in Christ's death, that though all misfortune should fall on us, we cannot but love again.

Faith is the root; and love springeth of faith. W. T.

1 Joh. iii.

John i.

Gal. iii.

1 John iii.

1 John iv.

Rom. viii.

Though Rochester have not the Spirit to judge spiritual things, yet ought reason to have kept him from so shameful

[1 'St Paul sayeth, resolving his own sentence, Fides per dilectionem operatur: that is to say, Faith which is wrought by love.' Ib. Verso of sign. D. 3.]

[2 The first ed. has *See* in both these places.]

Now how know we that God loveth us? Verily, by faith. So therefore, though Rochester be a beast faithless, yet ought natural reason to have taught him, that love springeth out of faith and knowledge; and not faith and knowledge out of love. But let us see the text. Paul saith thus: "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision is any thing worth, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh through love;" or which through love is strong or mighty in working; and not which is wrought by love, as the juggler saith. Faith, that loveth God's commandments, justifieth a man. If thou believe God's promises in Christ, and love his commandments, then art thou safe. If thou love the commandment, then art thou sure that thy faith is unfeigned, and that God's Spirit is in thee.

lying. But God hath blinded him, to bring their falsehood to light. W. T.

Gal. v.

How faith justifieth before God in the heart; and how love springeth of faith, and compelleth us to work; and how the works justify before the world, and testify what we are, and certify us that our faith is unfeigned, and that the right Spirit of God is in us; see in my book of the Justifying of Faith[3]; and there shalt thou see all thing abundantly. Also of the controversy between Paul and James, see there. Nevertheless, when Rochester saith, if faith only justified, then both the devils and also sinners that lie still in sin should be saved[4], his argument is not worth a straw. For neither the devils, nor yet sinners, that continue in sin of purpose and delectation, have any such faith as Paul speaketh of. For Paul's faith is to believe God's promises. "Faith," saith he, Rom. x., "cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh by the word of God." "And how shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be sent? As it is written," saith he, "How beautiful are the feet that bring glad tidings of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!" Now when sent God any messengers unto the devils, to preach

The controversy between James and Paul. W. T.

Why devils have none of Paul's faith, nor sinners that repent not. W. T.

Rom. x.

[3 He means his treatise on the Parable of Mammon.]

[4 'Which thing S. James doth not only say, but also proveth it by divers ways. One is this: Dæmones credunt et contremiscunt. The devils, he saith, hath faith; and yet no man may say that the devils be justified by their faith. How many that live in horrible sin, that yet have the faith of Christ Jesu, and would rather die or they should renie their faith, but for all that they be not justified! But if only faith did justify, both they and the devils also should be justified.' Bp Fisher's Sermon, Verso of sign. C. 7.]

them peace, or any good thing? The devil hath no promise; he is therefore excluded from Paul's faith. The devil believeth that Christ died, but not that he died for his sins. Neither doth any, that consenteth in the heart to continue in sin, believe that Christ died for him. For to believe that Christ died for us is to see our horrible damnation, and how we were appointed unto eternal pains, and to feel, and to be sure, that we are delivered therefrom through Christ: in that we have power to hate our sins, and to love God's commandments. All such repent and have their hearts loosed out of captivity and bondage of sin, and are therefore justified through faith in Christ. Wicked sinners have no faith, but imaginations and opinions about Christ; as our schoolmen have in their principles, about which they brawl so fast one with another. It is another thing to believe that the king is rich, and that he is rich unto me, and that my part is therein; and that he will not spare a penny of his riches at my need. When I believe that the king is rich, I am not moved: but when I believe that he is rich for me, and that he will never fail me at my need, then love I; and of love am ready to work unto the uttermost of my power.

A man may believe that Christ died, and many other things, and not believe in Christ. W. T.

What it is to believe in Christ. W. T.

But let us return at the last unto our purpose again. What is the cause that laymen cannot now rule, as well as in times past, and as the Turks yet do? Verily, because that antichrist with the mist of his juggling hath beguiled our eyes, and hath cast a superstitious fear upon the world of christian men, and hath taught them to dread not God and his word, but himself and his word; not God's law and ordinances, princes and officers which God hath set to rule the world, but his own law and ordinances, traditions and ceremonies, and disguised disciples, which he hath set every where to deceive the world, and to expel the light of God's word, that his darkness may have room. For we see by daily experience, of certain hundred years long, that he which feareth neither God nor his word, neither regardeth father, mother, master, or Christ himself; which rebelleth against God's ordinances, riseth against the king's, and resisteth his officers, dare not once lay hands on one of the pope's anointed: no, though he slay his father before his face, or do violence unto his brother, or defile his sister, wife, or mother. Like honour give we unto his traditions and ceremonies. What

Why laymen cannot rule. W. T.

Men fear the pope's ord more than God's commandment. Ant. ed.

devotion have we when we are blessed (as they call it) with the chalice, or when the bishop lifteth up his holy hand over us? Who dare handle the chalice, touch the altar-stone, or put his hand in the font, or his finger into the holy oil? What reverence give we unto holy water, holy fire, holy bread, holy salt, hallowed bells[1], holy wax, holy boughs, holy candles, and holy ashes! And last of all, unto the holy candle commit we our souls at our last departing[2]. Yea, and of the very clout which the bishop, or his chaplain that standeth by, knitteth about children's necks at confirmation, what lay-person dare be so bold as to unloose the knot[3]? Thou wilt say, Do not such things bring the Holy Ghost and put away sin and drive away spirits? I say that a stedfast faith, or belief in Christ and in the promises that God hath sworn to give us for his sake, bringeth the Holy Ghost, as all the scriptures make mention, and as Paul saith, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost through faith, or believing?" Faith is the rock whereon Christ buildeth his congregation; against which, saith Christ, Matt. xvi. hell-gates shall not prevail. As soon as thou believest in Christ, the Holy Ghost cometh, sin

Acts xix.

Faith driveth the devils away. W. T. Matt. xvi.

[1 The chasing away of evil spirits was believed to be effected by the ringing of hallowed bells. Brand, Obs. on popular antiquities, II. 130; and Durand. Rationale Div. Offic. i. 4. § 15.]

[2 Bishop Latimer has given a curious account of what he was bidden to do with a holy candle, when yet a Romanist. Latimer's Sermons, Serm. XXVII. on Ep. for 21st S. aft. Trin. p. 499. Park. Soc. ed. In the preceding pages he has mentioned also some of the superstitions connected with holy water, holy bread, holy bells, &c.]

[3 'The papists say to such as are witnesses of the child's baptism, Ye are bound by the order of our mother, the holy church, to see that this child be confirmed so soon as is possible, or as soon as ye hear that the bishop cometh within 7 mile of this town, without any farther delay. And what is the confirmation of the children that is used at this present, but plain sorcery, legerdemain, and all that naught is? The bishop mumbleth a few Latin words over the child, charmeth him, crosseth him, smeareth him with stinking popish oil, and tieth a linen band about the child's neck, and sendeth him home.' Becon's Prayers, &c. Park. Soc. ed. p. 234. This linen cloth was called the Chrisom; and its use, though apparently changed into a white vesture, was retained in the baptismal service of K. Edward's first book (1549), but not in his second book of 1552. See Liturgies of Edw. VI. Park. Soc. ed. p. 112—3, where the minister is bidden to 'command that the chrisoms be brought to the church and delivered to the priests after the *accustomed manner*, at the purification of the mother of every child.']

Why do not the bishops make him flee from shooting of guns? W. T.

falleth away, and devils fly. When we cast holy water at the devil, or ring the bells, he fleeth as men do from young children, and mocketh with us, to bring us from the true faith, that is in God's word, unto a superstitious and a false belief of our own imagination. If thou hadst faith and threwest an unhallowed stone at his head, he would earnestly flee, and without mocking; yea, though thou threwest nothing at all, he would not yet abide.

Ceremonies did not the miracle, but faith. W. T.

Though that at the beginning miracles were shewed through such ceremonies, to move the infidels to believe the word of God, as thou readest how the apostles anointed the sick with oil, and healed them; and Paul sent his pertelet or jerkin[1] to the sick, and healed them also; yet was it not the ceremony that did the miracle, but faith of the preacher and the truth of God, which had promised to confirm and stablish his gospel with such miracles. Therefore, as soon as the gift of miracles ceased, ought the ceremony to have ceased also; or else if they needs will have a ceremony to signify some promise or benefit of God (which I praise not, but would have God's word preached every Sunday, for which intent Sundays and holy days were ordained), then let them tell the people what it meaneth; and not set up a bald and a naked ceremony without signification, to make the people believe therein, and to quench the faith that ought to be given unto the word of God.

Let them tell what the ceremony meaneth. W. T.

The priest disguiseth himself with the passion of Christ. W. T.

What helpeth it also that the priest, when he goeth to mass, disguiseth himself with a great part of the passion of Christ, and playeth out the rest under silence, with signs and proffers, with nodding, becking and mowing[2], as it were jackanapes, when neither he himself, neither any man else wotteth what he meaneth[3]? Not at all, verily; but hurteth, and that exceedingly; forasmuch as it not only destroyeth the faith, and quencheth the love that should be given unto the commandments, and maketh the people unthankful, in that it bringeth them into such superstition, that they think

Dumb ceremonies quench faith and love, and make the infidels to mock us. W. T.

[1 In his translation of the new Testament, Tyndale renders the corresponding words in Acts xix. 12, napkyns or partlettes.]

[2 Making gestures with the mouth.]

[3 In p. 64 of his Confutation of Tyndale's answer to him, where his professed subject is the preface of that answer, Sir Thomas More has quoted this paragraph thus far.]

that they have done abundantly enough for God, yea, and deserved above measure, if they be present once in a day at such mumming[4]; but also maketh the infidels to mock us and abhor us, in that they see nothing but such apes' play among us, whereof no man can give a reason.

All this cometh to pass to fulfil the prophecy which Christ prophesied; that there shall come in his name, which shall say that they themselves are Christ. That do verily the pope and our holy orders of religion. For they, under the name of Christ, preach themselves, their own word and their own traditions, and teach the people to believe in them. The pope giveth pardons of his full power, of the treasure of the church, and of the merits of saints. The friars likewise make their benefactors (which only they call their brethren and sisters) partakers of their masses, fasting, watchings, prayings, and woolward goings[5]. Yea, and when a novice of the Observants is professed, the father asketh him, Will ye keep the rules of holy St Francis? and he saith, Yea. Will ye so in deed? saith he. The other answereth, Yea, forsooth, father. Then saith the father, And I promise you again everlasting life. O blasphemy! If eternal life be due unto the pilled[6] traditions of lousy friars, where is the testament become that God made unto us in Christ's blood? Christ saith, 'That there shall come pseudo-Christi;' which though I, for a consideration, have translated false Christs, keeping the Greek word, yet signifieth it in the English 'false anointed,' and ought so to be translated. "There shall come," saith Christ, "false anointed, and false prophets, and shall do miracles and wonders so greatly, that, if it were possible, the very elect, or chosen, should be brought out of the way." Compare the pope's doctrine unto the word of God, and thou shalt find that there hath been, and yet is, a great going out of the way; and that evil men and deceivers

The prophecy of Christ is fulfilled. W. T. Mark xiii. Luke xxi.

The testament of the Observants. Ant. ed.

Matt. xxiv. Mark xiii. False anointed. W. T.

[4 This is also quoted by More in the same place, but for 'they' he writes 'Christian men think;' and it provoked him to say, 'Surely there needeth no man to doubt, but he that can find in his heart to make such mocks upon the devout observances, used so many hundred years about the mass, hath a lewd beastly mind against the very sacrament itself.']

[5 Woolward going: wearing woollen, instead of linen, next the skin, as a meritorious penance. See also p. 212, note 2.]

[6 Bald, bare. See n. p. 117.]

2 Tim. iii.

(as Paul prophesied 2 Tim. iii.) have prevailed, and waxed worse and worse, beguiling other as they are beguiled themselves. Thou tremblest and quakest, saying, Shall God let us go so sore out of the right way? I answer, It is Christ that warneth us; which, as he knew all that should follow, so prophesied he before, and is a true prophet, and his prophecies must needs be fulfilled.

Christ's prophecy, be it never so terrible, must be yet fulfilled. W. T.

Christ was neither shaven nor shorn, nor anointed with oil. W. T.

God anointed his son Jesus with the Holy Ghost, and therefore called him Christ; which is as much to say as anointed. Outwardly he disguised him not; but made him like other men, and sent him into the world to bless us, and to offer himself for us a sacrifice of a sweet savour, to kill the stench of our sins, that God henceforth should smell them no more, nor think on them any more; and to make full and sufficient satisfaction, or amends, for all them that repent, believing the truth of God, and submitting themselves unto his ordinances, both for their sins that they do, have done, and shall do. For sin we through fragility never so oft, yet as soon as we repent and come into the right way again, and unto the testament which God hath made in Christ's blood, our sins vanish away as smoke in the wind, and as darkness at the coming of light; or as thou castest a little blood, or milk, into the main sea: insomuch that whosoever goeth about to make satisfaction for his sins to God-ward, saying in his heart, This much have I sinned, this much will I do again; or this-wise will I live to make amends withal; or this will I do, to get heaven withal; the same is an infidel, faithless, and damned in his deed-doing, and hath lost his part in Christ's blood; because he is disobedient unto God's testament, and setteth up another of his own imagination, unto which he will compel God to obey. If we love God, we have a commandment to love our neighbour also, as saith John in his epistle; and if we have offended him, to make him amends; or if we have not wherewith, to ask him forgiveness, and to do and suffer all things for his sake, to win him to God, and to nourish peace and unity. But to God-ward Christ is an everlasting satisfaction, and ever sufficient[1].

He that doth aught to make satisfaction, or to get heaven, hath lost his part of Christ's blood. W. T.

1 Joh. iv.

To our neighbour make we amends. W. T.

[1 It was to the above passage that Foxe considered the papal commissioners for the examination of Tyndale's works as alluding,

Christ, when he had fulfilled his course, anointed his apostles and disciples with the same Spirit, and sent them forth, without all manner disguising, like other men also, to preach the atonement and peace which Christ had made between God and man. The apostles likewise disguised no man, but chose men anointed with the same Spirit: one to preach the word of God, whom we call, after the Greek tongue, a bishop or a priest; that is, in English, an overseer and an elder. How he was anointed, thou readest, 1 Tim. iii. "A bishop or an overseer must be faultless, the husband of one wife." Many Jews, and also Gentiles, that were converted unto the faith, had at that time divers wives, yet were not compelled to put any of them away; which Paul, because of ensample, would not have preachers, forasmuch as in Christ we return again unto the first ordinance of God, that one man and one woman should go together. "He must be sober, of honest behaviour, honestly apparelled, harborous," that is, ready to lodge strangers; "apt to teach, no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre; but gentle, abhorring fighting, abhorring covetousness, and one that ruleth his own household honestly, having children under obedience with all honesty. For if a man cannot rule his own house, how can he care for the congregation of God? He may not be young in the faith," or, as a man would say, a novice, "lest he swell and

The apostles were neither shaven nor shorn, nor anointed with oil. W. T.

Bishop, an overseer. W. T. The true anointing of a priest. W. T.

This oil is not among our bishops. W. T.

when they made it the first article in their list of heresies and errors, that he said, 'We are bound to make satisfaction to our neighbour, but not to God.' And it is certain that Sir T. More, who was one of those commissioners, and probably a leading one, has strongly condemned this paragraph, which he has quoted from the words, 'For sin we,' to the end, in p. 46 of his answer to the preface of Tyndale's confutation. More speaks of the passage as an encouragement to sin, inasmuch as in his opinion it makes the obtaining of forgiveness an easy matter. 'But because,' says he, 'Tyndale will that men repent the doing of their sin, and then no more but faith; I would wit of Tyndale what calleth he repenting, a little short sorrow, or a great sorrow and a long? If a little pretty sorrow, and very shortly done; I would as fain he said true, as I fear he lieth. If a great fervent sorrow, with grief and trouble of mind, not shortly shot over, but kept and continued long, then force I little of his heresy. For no doubt is it, but that Tyndale's tale to such a man shall seem, God wote, full fond. For he that hath such repentance will to shrift, I warrant you, and take penance of the priest, and do much more thereto, whatsoever Tyndale tell him.']

fall into the judgment of the evil speaker;" that is, he may not be unlearned in the secrets of the faith: for such are at once stubborn and headstrong, and set not a little by themselves. But, alas! we have above twenty thousand that know no more scripture than is written in their portesses; and among them is he exceedingly well learned that can turn to his service[1]. "He must be well reported of them that are without, lest he fall into rebuke, and into the snare of the evil speaker;" that is, lest the infidels, which yet believe not, should be hurt by him, and driven from the faith, if a man that were defamed were made head or overseer of the congregation.

Priests ought to have wives; and why. W. T.

He must have a wife for two causes[2]: one, that it may thereby be known who is meet for the room. He is unapt for so chargeable an office, which had never household to rule. Another cause is, that chastity is an exceeding seldom gift, and unchastity exceeding perilous for that degree; inasmuch as the people look as well unto the living as unto the preaching, and are hurt at once if the living disagree, and fall from the faith, and believe not the word.

What the priest's duty is to do: and what to have. W. T.

This overseer, because he was taken from his own business and labour, to preach God's word unto the parish, hath right, by the authority of his office, to challenge an honest living of the parish, as thou mayest see in the evangelists, and also in Paul. For who will have a servant, and will not give him meat, drink, and raiment, and all things necessary? How they would pay him, whether in money, or assign him so much rent, or in tithes, as the guise is now in many countries, was at their liberty.

Men are not bound to pay the priest in tithes, by God's law. W. T.

Deacon, what it signifieth, and what is his office. W. T. Acts vi.

Likewise in every congregation chose they another after the same ensample, and even so anointed, as it is to see in the said chapter of Paul, and Acts vi.; whom, after the Greek word, we call deacon; that is to say in English, a servant or a minister; whose office was to help and assist the priest, and

[1 Portess, spelt also *porteux* and *portass*, is a name for the Breviary, or Roman service-book. Hence, 'to turn to his service,' is equivalent to 'finding the place' in our books of Common prayer.]

[2 Art. IX. of the heresies and errors charged against Tyndale is, 'A priest ought to have a wife for two causes.' 'The words of Tyndale be these,' is Foxe's only remark upon the charge; and he then gives the passage.]

to gather up his duty, and to gather for the poor of the parish, which were destitute of friends, and could not work. Common beggars to run from door to door were not then suffered. On the saints' days, namely such as had suffered death for the word sake, came men together into the church; and the priest preached unto them, and exhorted them to cleave fast unto the word, and to be strong in the faith, and to fight against the powers of the world, with suffering for their faith's sake, after the ensample of the saints: and taught them not to believe in the saints, and to trust in their merits, and to make gods of them; but took the saints for an ensample only, and prayed God to give them like faith and trust in his word, and like strength and power to suffer therefore, and to give them so sure hope of the life to come; as thou mayest see in the collects of St Lawrence and of St Stephen in our lady matins[3]. And in such days, as we now offer, so gave they every man his portion according to his ability, and as God put in his heart, to the maintenance of the priest, deacon, and other common ministers, and of the poor, and to find learned men to teach, and so forth. And all was put in the hands of the deacon; as thou mayest see in the life of St Lawrence, and in the histories. And for such purposes gave men lands afterwards, to ease the parishes; and made hospitals, and also places to teach their children, and to bring them up, and to nurture them in God's word; which lands our monks now devour.

No beggars. W. T.

How holy days and offerings came up. W. T.

Saints were not yet gods. W. T.

Why lands were given unto the spiritual officers before we fell from the faith. W. T.

[3 Collect of St Laurence, in the Roman breviary, for Aug. 10.

O Almighty God, who didst give the blessed Laurence victory over the fires of his torments, grant to us, we beseech thee, that we may extinguish the flames of our vices. Through our Lord.

Collect of St Stephen's day, Dec. 26, in the same.

Grant us, O Lord, we beseech thee, that we may imitate what we reverence, and may learn to love even our enemies; since we are celebrating the birth of him, who learnt to implore mercy for his persecutors from our Lord Jesus Christ, thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with thee.]

Antichrist.

False anointed. W. T.

ANTICHRIST of another manner hath sent forth his disciples, those "false anointed," of which Christ warneth us before, that they should come and shew miracles and wonders, even to bring the very elect out of the way, if it were possible. He anointeth them after the manner of the Jews; and shaveth them and sheareth them after the manner of the heathen priests, which serve the idols. He sendeth them forth not with false oil only, but with false names also: for compare their names unto their deeds, and thou shalt find them false. He sendeth them forth, as Paul prophesied of them, with lying signs and wonders. What sign is the anointing? That they be full of the Holy Ghost. Compare them to the signs of the Holy Ghost, which Paul reckoneth, and thou shalt find it a false sign. "A bishop must be faultless, the husband of one wife." Nay, saith the pope, the husband of no wife, but the holder of as many whores as he listeth. God commandeth all degrees, if they burn, and cannot live chaste, to marry. The pope saith, If thou burn, take a dispensation for a concubine, and put her away when thou art old; or else, as our lawyers say, *Si non caste, tamen caute;* that is, If ye live not chaste, see ye carry clean, and play the knave secretly. "Harborous:" yea, to whores and bawds; for a poor man shall as soon break his neck as his fast with them, but of the scraps and with the dogs, when dinner is done. "Apt to teach," and, as Peter saith, "ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that ye have, and that with meekness." Which thing is signified by the boots[1] which doctors of

Shaving is borrowed of the heathen, and oiling of the Jews. W. T.

False names. W. T. 2 Thess. ii.

Lying signs. W. T.

No wife but a whore. W. T.

Take a dispensation. W. T.

Knaveate. W. T.

1 Pet. iii.

Boots. W. T.

[1 Boots. In a Tract entitled, 'A light shining out of darkness, or Occasional Queries,' &c. 4to. 1659, p. 30, it is asked, 'Whether it be not a pretty foundation for the Oxford doctors, to stand booted and spurred in the act, because there is mention in the scripture of being shod with the preparation of the gospel?' Boots were introduced by the Benedictines, and were worn by masters of arts at their inception, till the doctors appropriated them, and the masters wore pantables, or sandals. Russell.—The boot was buttoned up the side of the leg, like gaiters now. Fosbroke's Brit. Monachism, p. 283, ed. 3.]

divinity are created in, because they should be ready always to go through thick and thin, to preach God's word; and by the bishop's two-horned mitre, which betokeneth the absolute and perfect knowledge that they ought to have in the new Testament and the old. Be not these false signs? For they beat only, and teach not. 'Yea,' saith the pope, 'If they will not be ruled, cite them to appear; and pose them sharply, what they hold of the pope's power, of his pardons, of his bulls, of purgatory, of ceremonies, of confession, and such like creatures of our most holy father's. If they miss in any point, make heretics of them, and burn them. If they be of mine anointed, and bear my mark; disgrace them, (I would say, disgraduate them,) and after the ensample of noble Antiochus (2 Macc. vii.) pare the crowns and the fingers of them[2], and torment them craftily, and for very pain make them deny the truth.' ('But now,' say our bishops, 'because the truth is come too far abroad, and the lay-people begin to smell our wiles, it is best to oppress them with craft secretly, and to tame them in prison. Yea, let us find the means to have them in the king's prison, and to make treason of such doctrine: yea, we must stir up some war, one where or another, to bring the people into another imagination.') 'If they be gentlemen, abjure them secretly. Curse them four times in the year[3]. Make them afraid of every thing; and namely, to touch mine anointed; and make them to fear the

Mitres. W. T.

Cite them. W. T.

Pose them. W. T.

Make them heretics. W. T.

Burn them. W. T.

Curse them. W. T.

Fear them. W. T.

[2 'Moreover the bishop scraped the nails of both his [John Castellane's] hands with a piece of glass, saying, By this scraping we take away from thee all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to bless, which thou hadst received by the anointing of thy hands.' Foxe's Acts and Mon. under date of 1525; where may be seen the other forms used in degrading a clerk of the church of Rome, Vol. IV. pp. 363—5, 1837.]

[3 'In the year 1534, when orders came forth for the regulating of preaching and bidding of the beads, the general curse, as it was called, was also forbidden to be used any more.' Strype's Eccles. Mem. ch. xxii. In his Appendix, No. XLVI, Strype gives this curse at length, as taken from the Festival, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1532. It begins as follows: 'Good men and women, I do you to understand, that we that have the cure of your souls be commanded of our ordinaries, and by the constitutions and the law of holy church, to shew to you four times in the year, in each quarter of the year once, when the people is most plenary in holy church, the articles of the sentence of cursing.']

sentence of the church, suspensions, excommunications and curses. Be they right or wrong, bear them in hand that they are to be feared yet. Preach me and mine authority, and how terrible a thing my curse is, and how black it maketh their souls. On the holidays, which were ordained to preach God's word, set up long ceremonies, long matins, long masses, and long evensongs, and all in Latin, that they understand not; and roll them in darkness, that ye may lead them whither ye will. And lest such things should be too tedious, sing some, say some, pipe some, ring the bells, and lull them and rock them asleep.' And yet Paul (1 Cor. xiv.) forbiddeth to speak in the church or congregation, save in the tongue that all understand. For the layman thereby is not edified or taught. How shall the layman say Amen (saith Paul) to thy blessing or thanksgiving, when he wotteth not what thou sayest? He wotteth not whether thou bless or curse.

All in Latin. W. T.
Roll them. W. T.
Sing. W. T.
Ring. W. T.
Lull them. W. T.
Rock them asleep. W. T.
1 Cor. xiv.

What then saith the pope? 'What care I for Paul? I command by the virtue of obedience, to read the gospel in Latin. Let them not pray but in Latin, no, not their *Pater noster*. If any be sick, go also and say them a gospel, and all in Latin: yea, to the very corn and fruits of the field, in the procession week, preach the gospel in Latin: make the people believe, that it shall grow the better.' It is verily as good to preach it to swine as to men, if thou preach it in a tongue they understand not. How shall I prepare myself to God's commandments? How shall I be thankful to Christ for his kindness? How shall I believe the truth and promises which God hath sworn, while thou tellest them unto me in a tongue which I understand not?

Pray in Latin. W. T.
Say them a gospel. W. T.

What then saith my lord of Canterbury to a priest that would have had the new testament gone forth in English? "What," saith he, "wouldest thou that the lay-people should wete[1] what we do?"

What quoth my lord of Canterbury? W. T.

"No fighter:" which I suppose is signified by the cross that is borne before the high prelates, and borne before them in procession. Is that also not a false sign? What realm can be in peace for such turmoilers? What so little a parish is it, but they will pick one quarrel or another with them,

Cross. W. T.
Turmoilers. W. T.

[1 Wete: know.]

either for some surplice, chrisom[2], or mortuary[3], either for one trifle or other, and cite them to the Arches? Traitors they are to all creatures, and have a secret conspiration between themselves. One craft they have, to make many kingdoms, and small; and to nourish old titles or quarrels; that they may ever move them to war at their pleasure; and if much lands by any chance fall to one man, ever to cast a bone in the way, that he shall never be able to obtain it, as we now see in the emperor. Why? For as long as the kings be small, if God would open the eyes of any to set a reformation in his realm, then should the pope interdict his land, and send in other princes to conquer it.

The craft of the prelates. W. T.

Interdict. W. T.

"Not given to filthy lucre, but abhorring covetousness[4];" and, as Peter saith, "Taking the oversight of them, not as though ye were compelled thereunto, but willingly; not for desire of filthy lucre, but of a good mind; not as though ye were lords over the parishes[5]." Over the parishes, quoth he! O Peter, Peter, thou wast too long a fisher; thou wast never brought up at the Arches, neither wast master of the Rolls, nor yet chancellor of England. They are not content to reign over king and emperor, and the whole earth; but challenge authority also in heaven and in hell. It is not enough for them to reign over all that are quick, but have created them a purgatory, to reign also over the dead, and to have one kingdom more than God himself hath. "But that ye be an ensample to the flock," saith Peter; "and when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive an incorruptible crown of glory." This "abhorring of covetousness" is signified, as I suppose, by shaving and shearing of the hair, that they have no superfluity. But is not this also a false sign? Yea,

1 Pet. v.

Peter went never to school at the Arches. W. T.

The pope hath one kingdom more than God himself. W. T.

Shearing, what it signifieth. W. T.

[2 H. L. Day, Cresome. See note 3 to p. 225.]

[3 Mortuary, says Linwood, is so called, Quia relinquitur ecclesiæ pro anima defuncti. But whether left by will, or not, it was demanded; and the amount of the claim became a source of contention between the clergy and the heirs of the defunct. See Spelman's Concilia, p. 517, Lond. 1639. The first effectual restraint upon the exaction of mortuaries was by an act passed within two years after Tyndale's writing this, and when Henry VIII. had read what he here wrote. Foxe's Acts and Mon. iv. 611. Strype's Eccles. Mem. ch. xv.]

[4 1 Tim. iv. 3. Tyndale's translation.]

[5 Such is the rendering in Tyndale's new Testament.]

verily, it is to them a remembrance to shear and shave, to heap benefice upon benefice, promotion upon promotion, dignity upon dignity, bishoprick upon bishoprick, with pluralities, unions and TOT QUOTS[1].

Tot quot. W. T.

First, by the authority of the gospel, they that preach the word of God in every parish, and other necessary ministers, have right to challenge an honest living like unto one of the brethren, and therewith ought to be content. Bishops and priests that preach not, or that preach aught save God's word, are none of Christ's, nor of his anointing; but servants of the beast, whose mark they bear, whose word they preach, whose law they maintain clean against God's law, and with their false sophistry give him greater power than God ever gave to his Son Christ.

Bishops that preach not. W. T.

But they, as unsatiable beasts, not unmindful why they were shaven and shorn, because they will stand at no man's grace, or be in any man's danger, have gotten into their own hands, first the tithe or tenth of all the realm; and then, I suppose within a little, or altogether, the third foot of all the temporal lands.

Tithes. W.T.

Temporal lands. W.T.

Mark well how many parsonages or vicarages are there in the realm, which at the least have a plow-land[2] a-piece. Then note the lands of bishops, abbots, priors, nuns, knights of St John's, cathedral churches, colleges, chauntries, and free-chapels. For though the house fall in decay, and the ordinance of the founder be lost, yet will not they lose the lands. What cometh once in, may never more out. They make a free-chapel of it; so that he which enjoyeth it shall do nought therefore. Besides all this, how many chaplains

Free chapel. W. T.

[1 In a scheme propounded to the council by a lawyer, for the amendment of certain grievances without casting off the pope's authority, A.D. 1532, one clause is, 'Whereas all such acts made for reformation and abusion, to have plurality, triality, unions, pensions, totquot portions, &c. be smally regarded—let an act be made, &c.' Strype's Eccles. Mem. ch. xvii.]

[2 A plow-land, called in Norman surveys a carucate, from *caruca*, a plough, was as much arable land as could be managed by a person having but one plough and team of horses, or oxen, with pasture and houses for the cattle and labourers. This quantity would therefore properly vary, according to the supposed productiveness of the ground; and does in fact appear to have varied from 60 to 240 acres. Hutchins' Dissert. on Doomsday-book.]

do gentlemen find at their own cost, in their houses? How many sing for souls, by testaments? Then the proving of testaments, the prizing of goods, the bishop of Canterbury's prerogative; is that not much through the realm in a year? Four offering days, and privy tithes. There is no servant, but that he shall pay somewhat of his wages[3]. None shall receive the body of Christ at Easter, be he never so poor a beggar, or never so young a lad or maid, but they must pay somewhat for it. Then mortuaries for forgotten tithes, as they say. And yet what parson or vicar is there that will forget to have a pigeon-house, to peck up somewhat both at sowing-time and harvest, when corn is ripe? They will forget nothing. No man shall die in their debt; or if any man do, he shall pay it when he is dead. They will lose nothing. Why? It is God's; it is not theirs. It is St Hubert's rents, St Alban's lands, St Edmond's right, St Peter's patrimony, say they, and none of ours. Item, if a man die in another man's parish, besides that he must pay at home a mortuary for forgotten tithes, he must there pay also the best that he there hath; whether it be an horse of twenty pound, or how good soever he be; either a chain of gold of an hundred marks, or five hundred pounds, if it so chance[4]. It is much, verily, for so little pains-taking in confession, and in ministering the sacraments. Then bead-rolls. Item chrysome, churchings, banns, weddings, offering at weddings, offering at buryings, offering to images, offering of wax and lights, which come to their vantage; besides the superstitious waste of wax in torches and tapers throughout the land. Then brotherhoods and pardoners. What get they also by confessions? Yea, and many enjoin penance, to give a certain [sum] for to have so many masses said, and desire to provide a chaplain themselves; soul-masses, dirges, month-minds,

Testaments. W. T.

Offering days W. T.

Privy tithes. W. T.

Mortuaries. W. T.

If ye die from home. W. T.

Thou must pay ere thou pass. W. T.

Petty pillage. W. T.

Confession. W. T.

[3 In Simon Fish's 'Supplication of Beggars,' against their rivals the popish ecclesiastics, which Henry VIII. had read, it is said: 'This idle ravenous sort, setting all labour aside, have begged so importunately that they have gotten into their hands more than the third part of all your realm—over and beside the tenth part of every servant's wages, &c.' Foxe's Acts and Mon. Vol. IV. p. 659.]

[4 The same ancient Saxon council, which ordered the payment of mortuaries, had declared that if a man died out of his parish, the mortuary should be paid to that church which he frequented whilst living. Spelman's Concilia, p. 517, under date 1009.]

year-minds[1], All-souls-day, and trentals. The mother church, and the high altar, must have somewhat in every testament.

First mass. Professings. W. T. Offerings at priests' first masses. Item, no man is professed, of whatsoever religion it be, but he must bring somewhat.

Conjurations. W. T. The hallowing, or rather conjuring of churches, chapels, altars, super-altars, chalice, vestments, and bells. Then book, bell, candlestick, organs, chalice, vestments, copes, altar-cloths, surplices, towels, basins, ewers, ship[2], censer, and all manner ornament, must be found them freely; they will not give a mite thereunto. Last of all, what swarms of begging friars

Parson. Vicar. Parish priest. Friars. W. T. are there! The parson sheareth, the vicar shaveth, the parish priest polleth, the friar scrapeth, and the pardoner pareth; we lack but a butcher to pull off the skin.

Spiritual law. W. T. What get they in their spiritual law, as they call it, in a year, at the Arches and in every diocese? What get the commissaries, and officials with their somners and apparitors,

A proper commodity of confession. W. T. by bawdery in a year? Shall ye not find curates enough which, to flatter the commissaries and officials withal, that they may go quit themselves, shall open unto them the confessions of the richest of their parishes; whom they cite privily, and lay to their charges secretly? If they desire to know their accusers, 'Nay,' say they, 'the matter is known

Lay your hand on the book. W. T. well enough, and to more than ye are ware of. Come, lay your hand on the book; if ye forswear yourself, we shall bring proofs, we will handle you, we will make an ensample of

[1 'The days which our ancestors called their month's mind, their year's mind, and the like, were days whereon their souls were to be had in special remembrance, and obits, diriges, &c. said for them.' T. Blount, Fragm. Antiq.]

[2 In modern editions this word has been printed *sheep*. In Day's folio, it is *shepe;* but in the original 4to. dated May 8, 1528, by Hans Luft, at Malborowe in the land of Hesse, it stands *ship*. The utensil meant was that employed for holding incense; which was usually formed of metal, more or less enriched with ornaments, and fashioned like a boat; from which last circumstance it was called the *ship* for incense, and in low Latin navicula, or naveta. In the Continuatio Historiæ Dunelmensis ab ann. 1333 ad ann. 1559, it is stated in the account of Richard de Burg, bishop of Durham, that the sacristan of the cathedral obtained from the bishop's executors, Vestimentum de albâ camicâ, cum tribus capis ejusdem sectæ, nobiliter broudatum—duas cistulas, unum baculum pastoralem, unam mitram, annulum, et sandalia, duo candelabra argentea, unum turibulum argenteum et deauratum, cum unâ *naviculâ*, item, &c.]

you.' Oh, how terrible are they! 'Come, and swear,' say they, 'that you will be obedient unto our injunctions.' And by that craft wring they their purses, and make them drop, as long as there is a penny in them. In three or four years shall they in those offices get enough to pay for a bishop's bull. What other thing are these in a realm save horse-leeches, and even very maggots, cankers, and caterpillars, which devour no more but all that is green; and those wolves which Paul prophesied should come, and should not spare the flock; and which Christ said should come in lamb's skins; and bade us beware of them, and judge them by their works? Acts xx.

Though, as I have before sufficiently proved, a christian man must suffer all things, be it never so great unright, as long as it is not against God's commandment; neither is it lawful for him to cast any burden off his back by his own authority, till God pull it off, which laid it on for our deservings; yet ought the kings everywhere to defend their realms from such oppression, if they were Christians; which is seldom seen, and is a hard thing verily, though not impossible. For, alas! they be captives or ever they be kings, yea, almost ere they be born. No man may be suffered about them but flatterers, and such as are first sworn true unto our most holy fathers the bishops; that is to say, false to God and man. No man may avenge save the king, and he is bound by his office. W. T. Kings are in captivity. W. T.

If any of the nobles of the realm be true to the king, and so bold that he dare counsel him that which should be to his honour and for the wealth of the realm; they will wait a season for him, as men say; they will provide a ghostly father for him. God bring their wickedness to light! There is no mischief whereof they are not the root; nor bloodshed but through their cause, either by their counsel, or in that they preach not true obedience, and teach not the people to fear God. If any faithful servant be in all the court, he shall have twenty spies waiting upon him; he shall be cast out of the court, or, as the saying is, conveyed to Calais, and made a captain or an ambassador; he shall be kept far enough from the king's presence.

The kings ought, I say, to remember that they are in God's stead, and ordained of God, not for themselves, but for the wealth of their subjects. Let them remember that their subjects are their brethren, their flesh and blood, members of The duty of kings. W. T.

their own body, and even their ownselves in Christ. Therefore ought they to pity them, and to rid them from such wily tyranny, which increaseth more and more daily. And though that the kings, by the falsehood of the bishops and abbots, be sworn to defend such liberties; yet ought they not to keep their oaths, but to break them; forasmuch as they are unright and clean against God's ordinance, and even but cruel oppression, contrary unto brotherly love and charity. Moreover the spiritual officer ought to punish no sin; but and if any sin break out, the king is ordained to punish it, and they not; but to preach and exhort them to fear God, and that they sin not.

Unlawful oaths ought to be broken; and may, without dispensation. W. T.

The king only ought to punish sin: I mean that is broken forth. The heart must remain to God. W. T.

And let the kings put down some of their tyranny, and turn some unto a common wealth. If the tenth part of such tyranny were given the king yearly, and laid up in the shire-towns, against the realm had need, what would it grow to in certain years? Moreover one king, one law, is God's ordinance in every realm. Therefore ought not the king to suffer them to have a several law by themselves, and to draw his subjects thither. It is not meet, will they say, that a spiritual man should be judged of a worldly or temporal man. O abomination! see how they divide and separate themselves: if the lay-man be of the world, so is he not of God! If he believe in Christ, then is he a member of Christ, Christ's brother, Christ's flesh, Christ's blood, Christ's spouse, coheir with Christ, and hath his Spirit in earnest, and is also spiritual. If they would rob us of the Spirit of God, why should they fear to rob us of worldly goods? Because thou art put in office to preach God's word, art thou therefore no more one of the brethren? Is the mayor of London no more one of the city, because he is the chief officer? Is the king no more of the realm, because he is head thereof? The king is in the room of God; and his law is God's law, and nothing but the law of nature and natural equity, which God graved in the hearts of men. Yet antichrist is too good to be judged by the law of God; he must have a new, of his own making. It were meet verily that they went to no law at all. No more needed they, if they would study to preach God's word truly, and be contented with sufficient, and to be like one of their brethren.

The Spirit pertaineth unto the shaven only. W. T.

The king's law is God's law. W. T.

How men ought to

If any question arose about the faith of the scripture,

that let them judge by the manifest and open scriptures, not excluding the lay-men: for there are many found among the lay-men, which are as wise as the officers. Or else, when the officer dieth, how could we put another in his room? Wilt thou so teach twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty years, that no man shall have knowledge or judgment in God's word save thou only? Is it not a shame that we Christians come so oft to church in vain, when he of fourscore years old knoweth no more than he that was born yesterday?

Judge questions of the scripture. W. T.

We come oft to school, but are never taught. W.T.

Moreover, when the spiritual officers have excommunicate any man, or have condemned any opinion for heresy; let not the king nor temporal officers punish and slay by and by[1] at their commandment: but let them look on God's word, and compare their judgment unto the scripture, and see whether it be right or no, and not believe them at the first chop[2] whatsoever they say, namely in things that pertain unto their own authorities and power: for no man is a right judge in his own cause. Why doth Christ command the scripture to be preached unto all creatures, but that it pertaineth unto all men to know them? Christ referreth himself unto the scriptures, John v. And in the xith chapter of Matthew, unto the question of John Baptist's disciples, he answered, "The blind see, the lepers are cleansed, the dead arise again," &c. meaning that if I do the works which are prophesied that Christ should do when he cometh, why doubt ye whether I be he or no? As who should say, Ask the scripture, whether I be Christ or no, and not myself. How happeneth it then that our prelates will not come to the light also, that we may see whether their works be wrought in God, or no? Why fear they to let the lay-men see what they do? Why make they all their examinations in darkness? Why examine they not their causes of heresy openly, as the lay-men do their felons and murderers? Wherefore did Christ, and his apostles also, warn us so diligently of Antichrist, and of false prophets that should come? Because that we should slumber or sleep careless? or rather that we should look in the light of the scripture with all diligence, to spy them when they came, and not to suffer ourselves to be deceived and led out

Kings ought to see what they do, and not to believe the bishops, namely, seeing their living is so sore suspect. W. T.

It pertaineth unto all men to know the scriptures. W. T.

John v. Matt. xi.

[1 *By and by*, like *immediately*, *presently*, &c., meant, when first used, *without delay*. Compare Matt. xiii. 21.]

[2 In haste.]

of the way? John biddeth judge the spirits. Whereby shall we judge them, but by the scriptures? How shalt thou know whether the prophet be true or false, or whether he speak God's word, or of his own head, if thou wilt not see the scriptures? Why said David, in the second psalm, "Be learned ye that judge the earth, lest the Lord be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way?" A terrible warning, verily: yea, and look on the stories well, and thou shalt find very few kings, since the beginning of the world, that have not perished from the right way, and that because they would not be learned.

Be learned ye that judge the earth. W. T. Ps. ii.

The kings are become Antichrist's hangmen. W. T.

The emperor and kings are nothing now-a-days, but even hangmen unto the pope and bishops, to kill whosoever they condemn without any more ado; as Pilate was unto the scribes and Pharisees and the high bishops, to hang Christ. For as those prelates answered Pilate, when he asked what he had done, "If he were not an evil doer, we would not have brought him unto thee;" as who should say, We are too holy to do any thing amiss, thou mayest believe us well enough: yea, and "his blood on our heads," said they; kill him hardly, we will bear the charge, our souls for thine: "We have also a law by which he ought to die, for he calleth himself God's son:"—even so say our prelates, 'He ought to die by our laws, he speaketh against the church.' And, 'Your grace is sworn to defend the liberties and ordinances of the church, and to maintain our most holy father's authority; our souls for yours, ye shall do a meritorious deed therein.' Nevertheless, as Pilate escaped not the judgment of God, even so is it to be feared lest our temporal powers shall not. "Wherefore be learned, ye that judge the earth, lest the Lord be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way."

Be learned ye that judge the earth. W. T.

Who slew the prophets? W. T.

Who slew the prophets? Who slew Christ? Who slew his apostles? Who the martyrs, and all the righteous that ever were slain? The kings and the temporal sword at the request of the false prophets. They deserved such murder to do, and to have their part with the hypocrites, because they would not be learned, and see the truth themselves. Wherefore suffered the prophets? Because they rebuked the hypocrites which beguiled the world, and namely princes and rulers, and taught them to put their trust in things of vanity, and not in God's word, and taught them to do such deeds of

Why were the prophets slain? W. T.

What deeds of mercy teach the hypocrites? W. T.

mercy as were profitable unto no man, but unto the false prophets themselves only; making merchandise of God's word. Wherefore slew they Christ? Even for rebuking the hypocrites; because he said, "Woe be to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men," Matt. xxiii.: that is, as it is written, Luke xi. "Ye have taken away the key of knowledge." The law of God, which is the key wherewith men bind, and the promises, which are the keys wherewith men loose, have our hypocrites also taken away. They will suffer no man to know God's word, but burn it, and make heresy of it! yea, and because the people begin to smell their falsehood, they make it treason to the king, and breaking of the king's peace, to have so much as their *Pater noster* in English. And instead of God's law, they bind with their own law: and instead of God's promises, they loose and justify with pardons and ceremonies, which they themselves have imagined for their own profit. They preach, 'It were better for thee to eat flesh on Good Friday, than to hate thy neighbour:' but let any man eat flesh but on a Saturday, or break any other tradition of theirs, and he shall be bound, and not loosed, till he have paid the uttermost farthing, either with shame most vile, or death most cruel. But hate thy neighbour as much as thou wilt, and thou shalt have no rebuke of them; yea, rob him, murder him, and then come to them and welcome. They have a sanctuary for thee, to save thee; yea, and a neck-verse, if thou canst but read a little Latinly, though it be never so sorrily, so that thou be ready to receive the beast's mark. They care for no understanding: it is enough if thou canst roll up[1] a pair of matins, or an even-song, and mumble a few ceremonies. And because they be rebuked thus, they rage. "Be learned, therefore, ye that judge the world, lest God be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way."

Why slew they Christ? W. T. Matt. xxiii.

Luke xi.

The keys. W. T.

Christ is a traitor and a breaker of the king's peace. W. T.

How the hypocrites bind and loose. W. T.

Be learned ye that judge the earth. W. T.

"Woe be to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!" saith Christ, Matt. xxiii. "for ye devour widows' houses under a colour of long prayer." Our hypocrites rob not the widows only, but knight, squire, lord, duke, king, and emperor, and even the whole world, under the same colour; teaching the people to trust in their prayers, and not in Christ, for whose sake God hath

For rebuking this was Christ slain. And for the same cause are we persecuted. W. T. Matt. xxiii.

[1 To roll up: to chaunt; so called by a metaphor which somewhat resembles that used when we say, To run up the notes of the gamut.]

forgiven all the sin of the whole world unto as many as repent and believe. They fear them with purgatory, and promise to pray perpetually, lest the lands should ever return home again unto the right heirs. What hast thou bought with robbing thy heirs, or with giving the hypocrites that which thou robbest of other men? Perpetual prayer? Yea, perpetual pain: for they appoint thee no time of deliverance, their prayers are so mighty. The pope for money can empty purgatory when he will. It is, verily, purgatory; for it purgeth and maketh clean riddance: yea, it is hell; for it devoureth all things. His fatherhood sendeth them to heaven with *Scala cœli*[1]; that is, with a ladder to scale the walls: for by the door, Christ, will they not let them come in. That door have they stopped up; and that because ye should buy ladders of them. For some they pray daily, which gave them perpetuities, and yet make saints of them, receiving offerings in their names, and teaching other to pray to them. None of them, also, which taketh upon them to save other with their prayers, trusteth to be saved thereby themselves; but hire other to pray for them.

They be not a little afraid of purgatory that make perpetuities. W. T.

Why it is called purgatory. W. T.

Scala cœli. W. T.

The door is stopped up: ye must climb and scale the walls. W. T.

Some are prayed for, and prayed to also. W. T.

The craft, that helpeth other, helpeth not his own master. W. T.

Numb. xvi. Numeri xvi. Moses taketh record of God, that he took not of any of the people so much as an ass, neither vexed any of them.

1 Sam. xii. Samuel, in the first book of Kings, the xiith chapter, asked all Israel, Whether he had taken any man's ox or ass; or had vexed any man, or had taken any gift or reward of any man? and all the people testified, 'Nay:' yet these two both taught the people, and also prayed for them, as much as our prelates do.

Prayer was not sold in the old time. W. T.

1 Pet. v. Peter, 1 Peter v. exhorteth the elders to take the oversight of Christ's flock, not for filthy lucre, but of a good will, even for love.

Acts xx. Paul, Acts xx. taketh the priests, or elders,

[1 In 1526, the year before Tyndale's writing this, Henry VIII. had requested and obtained from pope Clement VII. a confirmation of the pardons, as they were styled, which his predecessors had granted to 'the brethren and sisters of the guild of our lady in St Botolph's church at Boston.' One article of this indulgence was, "that if they, for any impediment, could not be present at the chapel of our lady in the said church, yet if they came unto their own parish church and there said one Paternoster and Ave-Maria, they should enjoy full remission of all their sins; or whosoever came every Friday to the same chapel should have as much remission as if he went to the chapel of our Lady called *Scala Cœli*." Foxe's Acts and Mon. Vol. v. pp. 364—5.—The chapel of Scala Cœli was at Rome.]

to record, that he had taught repentance and faith, and all the counsel of God; and yet had desired no man's gold, silver, or vesture, but fed himself with the labour of his hands. And yet these two taught and prayed for the people as much as our prelates do, with whom it goeth after the common saying, 'No penny, no Paternoster:' which prelates yet, as they teach not but beat only, so wot they not what prayer meaneth.

Moreover, the law of love, which Christ left among us, is to give, and not to receive. What prayer is it then, that thus robbeth all the world, contrary to that great commandment, which is the end of all commandments, and in which all others are contained? If men should continue to buy prayer four or five hundred years more, as they have done, there would not be a foot of ground in Christendom, neither any worldly thing, which they, that will be called spiritual only, should not possess. And thus all should be called spiritual.

Their prayer breaketh the great commandment of God. It is time that they were tied up therefore. W. T.

"Woe be to you lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens which they are not able to bear, and ye yourselves touch not the packs with one of your fingers," saith Christ, Luke xi. Our lawyers, verily, have laden us a thousand times more. What spiritual kindred have they made in baptism to let matrimony![2] besides that they have added certain degrees unto the law natural for the same purpose. What an unbearable burden of chastity do they violently thrust on other men's backs, and how easily bear they it themselves! How sore a burden, how cruel a hangman, how grievous a torment, yea, and how painful an hell, is this ear-confession unto men's consciences! For the people are brought in belief, that without that they cannot be saved; insomuch that some fast certain days in the year, and pray certain superstitious prayers all their lives long, that they may not die without confession. In peril of death, if the priest be not by, the shipmen shrive themselves unto the mast. If any be present, they run then every man into his ear: but to God's promises fly they not,

Luke xi.

The burdens of our spiritual lawyers. W. T.

Confession tormenteth the conscience, robbeth the purse of money, and the soul of faith. W. T.

[2 By the papal law, the father of a child might not marry the wife of his son's godfather if he became a widower and she a widow. Decret. Greg. Lib. iv. Tit. xi. cap. iv. *A fortiori* he might not marry his son's godmother, Id. cap. vi. And if children of those who had stood for the same child should be found to have intermarried, the law said, Hujusmodi personæ non possunt matrimonium contrahere; et si contraxerint, possunt ab invicem separari; et qui contractum sciverint, debent ecclesiæ illud nunciare.' Id. cap. vii.]

for they know them not. If any man have a death's wound, he crieth immediately for a priest. If a man die without shrift, many take it for a sign of damnation. Many, by reason of that false belief, die in desperation. Many, for shame, keep back of their confession twenty, thirty years, and think all the while that they be damned. I knew a poor woman with child, which longed, and, being overcome of her passion, ate flesh on a Friday; which thing she durst not confess in the space of eighteen years, and thought all that while that she had been damned, and yet sinned she not at all. Is not this a sore burden, that so weigheth down the soul unto the bottom of hell? What should I say? A great book were not sufficient to rehearse the snares which they have laid to rob men both of their goods, and also of the trust which they should have in God's word[1].

"The scribes and Pharisees do all their works to be seen of men. They set abroad their phylacteries, and make long borders on their garments, and love to sit uppermost at feasts, and to have the chief seats in the synagogues;" that is, in the congregations or councils, "and to be called Rabbi;" that is to say, masters, saith Christ, Matt. xxiii. Behold the deeds of our spiritualty, and how many thousand fashions are among them to be known by: which, as none is like another, so loveth none another: for every one of them supposeth that all other poll too fast, and make too many captives. Yet to resist Christ are they all agreed, lest they should be all compelled to deliver up their prisoners to him. Behold the monsters, how they are disguised with mitres, crosiers, and hats, with crosses, pillars, and poleaxes, and with three crowns! What names have they? My lord prior, my lord abbot, my lord bishop, my lord archbishop, cardinal, and legate; if it please your fatherhood; if it please your lordship; if it please your grace; if it please your holiness; and innumerable such like. Behold how they are esteemed, and how high they be crept up above all; not into worldly seats only, but into the seat of God, the hearts of men, where they sit above God himself. For both they, and whatsoever they make of their own heads, is more feared and dread than God and his commandments. In them and their deservings put

Matt. xxiii.

Badges or baubles to be known by. W. T.

Glorious names. W. T.

How are they esteemed? W. T.

[1 Art. X. of heresies and errors fixes on the above paragraph, and says, 'He condemneth auricular confession.']

we more trust than in Christ and his merits. To their promises give we more faith than to the promises which God hath sworn in Christ's blood.

The hypocrites say unto the kings and lords, 'These heretics would have us down first, and then you, to make of all common.' Nay, ye hypocrites and right heretics, approved by open scripture, the kings and lords are down already; and that so low, that they cannot go lower. Ye tread them under your feet, and lead them captive, and have made them your bond-servants to wait on your filthy lusts, and to avenge your malice on every man, contrary unto the right of God's word. Ye have not only robbed them of their land, authority, honour, and due obedience which ye owe unto them; but also of their wits, so that they are not without understanding in God's word only, but even in worldly matters, that pertain unto their offices, they are more than children. Ye bear them in hand what ye will, and have brought them even in case like unto them which, when they dance naked in nets, believe they are invisible. We would have them up again, and restored unto the room and authority which God hath given them, and whereof ye have robbed them. And your inward falsehood we do but utter only with the light of God's word, that your hypocrisy might be seen. "Be learned, therefore, ye that judge the world, lest God be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way."

Kings are down, they cannot go lower. W. T.

"Woe be to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye make clean the utterside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of bribery and excess," saith Christ, Matt. xxiii. Is that which our hypocrites eat and drink, and all their riotous excess, any other thing save robbery, and that which they have falsely gotten with their lying doctrine? "Be learned, therefore, ye that judge the world," and compel them to make restitution again.

Matt. xxiii.

Our hypocrites live by theft. W. T.

"Ye blind guides," saith Christ, "ye strain out a gnat and swallow a camel." Matt. xxiii. Do not our blind guides also stumble at a straw, and leap over a block; making narrow consciences at trifles, and at matters of weight none at all? If any of them happen to swallow his spittle, or any of the water wherewith he washeth his mouth, ere he go to mass; or touch the sacrament with his nose; or if the ass[2] forget

Matt. xxiii.

Consciences that are so narrow about traditions, have wide mouths about God's commandments. W. T.

[2] An old black-letter edition reads here, oste.]

to breathe on him[1], or happen to handle it with any of his fingers which are not anointed; or say 'Alleluia' instead of 'Laus tibi, Domine;' or 'Ite, missa est' instead of 'Benedicamus Domino;' or pour too much wine in the chalice; or read the gospel without light; or make not his crosses aright, how trembleth he! How feareth he! What an horrible sin is committed! I cry God mercy, saith he, and you, my ghostly father. But to hold an whore, or another man's wife, to buy a benefice, to set one realm at variance with another, and to cause twenty thousand men to die on a day, is but a trifle and a pastime with them!

John viii. As the Jews are the children of Abraham, so are the bishops the successors of the apostles. W. T.

The Jews boasted themselves of Abraham; and Christ said unto them, John viii. "If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the deeds of Abraham." Our hypocrites boast themselves of the authority of Peter, and of Paul, and the other apostles clean contrary unto the deeds and doctrine of Peter, Paul, and of all the other apostles; which both obeyed all worldly authority and power, usurping none to themselves, and taught all other to fear the kings and rulers, and to obey them in all things not contrary to the commandment of God; and not to resist them, though they took away life and goods wrongfully; but patiently to abide God's vengeance. This did our spiritualty never yet, nor taught it. They taught not to fear God in his commandments; but to fear them in their traditions: insomuch that the evil people, which fear not to resist a good king and to rise against him, dare not

The spiritualty have taught to fear their traditions. W. T.

[1 In a list of 'Articles to be followed and observed, according to the king's majesty's injunctions and proceedings,' set forth under the authority of Edward VI, in 1549, the second article enjoins, 'That no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, as to kiss the Lord's table; washing his fingers at every time in the communion; blessing his eyes with the paten or sudary, or crossing his head with the paten; shifting of the book from one place to another; laying down and licking the chalice of the communion; holding up his fingers, hands, or thumbs, joined towards his temples; breathing upon the bread, &c. Burnet's Hist. of Reform. Vol. II. Coll. of Records, p. 165. Part II. B. I. No. 33. Tyndale calls 'breathing upon the bread,' *breathing on him;* because the bread after consecration was called GOD by the church of Rome. Thus in the canon of the mass, 'Here let the priest bow himself to the host, saying, I beseech Thee, that thou fail not us thy servants, but forgive our sins.' See translation of canon of the mass, in Foxe's Acts and Mon. B. x. Vol. VI. p. 366.]

lay hands on one of them, neither for defiling of wife, daughter, or very mother. When all men lose life and lands, they remain always sure and in safety, and ever win somewhat. For whosoever conquereth other men's lands unrightfully, ever giveth them part with them. To them is all thing lawful. In all councils and parliaments are they the chief. Without them may no king be crowned, neither until he be sworn to their liberties. All secrets know they, even the very thoughts of men's hearts. By them all things are ministered. No king nor realm may, through their falsehood, live in peace. To believe they teach not in Christ, but in them and their disguised hypocrisy. And of them compel they all men to buy redemption and forgiveness of sins. The people's sin they eat, and thereof wax fat. The more wicked the people are, the more prosperous is their commonwealth. If kings and great men do amiss, they must build abbeys and colleges; mean men build chantreys; poor find trentals, and brotherhoods, and begging friars. Their own heirs do men disherit, to endote[2] them. All kings are compelled to submit themselves to them. Read the story of king John, and of other kings. They will have their causes avenged, though whole realms should therefore perish. Take from them their disguising; so are they not spiritual. Compare that they have taught us unto the scripture; so are we without faith.

They win somewhat always. W. T.

Christ saith, John v. "How can ye believe, which receive glory one of another?" If they that seek to be glorious can have no faith, then are our prelates faithless, verily. And, John vii. he saith: "He that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory." If to seek glory and honour be a sure token that a man speaketh of his ownself, and doth his own message, and not his master's; then is the doctrine of our prelates of themselves, and not of God. "Be learned, therefore, ye that judge the earth, lest God be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way."

John v. They that seek honour have no faith, neither can they do God's message. W. T. John vii.

Be learned, lest the hypocrites bring the wrath of God upon your heads, and compel you to shed innocent blood; as they have compelled your predecessors to slay the prophets, to kill Christ and his apostles, and all the righteous that since were slain. God's word pertaineth unto all men; as it pertaineth unto all servants to know their master's will and

Be learned. W. T.

God's word ought all men to know. W. T.

[2 Endow.]

pleasure, and to all subjects to know the laws of their prince. Let not the hypocrites do all things secretly. What reason is it that mine enemy should put me in prison at his pleasure, and there diet me, and handle me as he lusteth; and judge me himself, and that secretly; and condemn me by a law of his own making, and then deliver me to Pilate to murder me? Let God's word try every man's doctrine, and whomsoever God's word proveth unclean, let him be taken for a leper. One scripture will help to declare another. And the circumstances, that is to say, the places that go before and after, will give light unto the middle text. And the open and manifest scriptures will ever improve the false and wrong exposition of the darker sentences. Let the temporal power, to whom God hath given the sword to take vengeance, look or ever that they leap, and see what they do. Let the causes be disputed before them, and let him that is accused have room to answer for himself. The powers, to whom God hath committed the sword, shall give accounts for every drop of blood that is shed on the earth. Then shall their ignorance not excuse them, nor the saying of the hypocrites help them, 'My soul for yours, your grace shall do a meritorious deed;' 'your grace ought not to hear them;' 'it is an old heresy condemned by the church.' The king ought to look in the scripture, and see whether it were truly condemned or no, if he will punish it. If the king, or his officer for him, will slay me; so ought the king, or his officer, to judge me. The king cannot, but unto his damnation, lend his sword to kill whom he judgeth not by his own laws. Let him that is accused stand on the one side, and the accuser on the other side; and let the king's judge sit and judge the cause, if the king will kill, and not be a murderer before God.

They do all secretly. W. T.

God's word ought to judge. W. T.

The right way to understand the scripture. W. T.

The kings have a judge, before whom 'my soul for yours' helpeth not. W. T.

Hereof may ye see, not only that our persecution is for the same cause that Christ's was, and that we say nothing that Christ said not; but also that all persecution is only for rebuking of hypocrisy; that is to say, of man's righteousness, and of holy deeds, which man hath imagined to please God and to be saved by without God's word, and beside the testament that God hath made in Christ. If Christ had not rebuked the Pharisees because they taught the people to believe in their traditions and holiness, and in offerings that came to their advantage, and that they taught the widows,

Preach what thou wilt, but rebuke not hypocrisy. W. T.

and them that had their friends dead, to believe in their prayers, and that through their prayers the dead should be saved; and through that means robbed them both of their goods, and also of the testament and promises that God had made to all that repented in Christ to come; he might have been uncrucified unto this day.

If St Paul also had not preached against circumcision, that it justified not; and that vows, offerings, and ceremonies justified not; and that righteousness, and forgiveness of sins, came not by any deserving of our deeds, but by faith, or believing the promises of God, and by the deserving and merits of Christ only; he might have lived unto this hour. Likewise, if we preached not against pride, covetousness, lechery, extortion, usury, simony, and against the evil living both of the spiritualty as well as of the temporalty, and against inclosings of parks, raising of rents and fines, and of the carrying out of wool out of the realm; we might endure long enough. But touch the scab of hypocrisy, or pope-holiness, and go about to utter their false doctrine, wherewith they reign as gods in the heart and consciences of men, and rob them not of lands, goods, and authority only, but also of the testament of God, and salvation that is in Christ; then helpeth thee neither God's word, nor yet if thou didst miracles; but that thou art not an heretic only, and hast the devil within thee, but also a breaker of the king's peace, and a traitor. But let us return unto our lying signs again.

The prelates are clothed in red. W. T.

What signifieth that the prelates are so bloody, and clothed in red? That they be ready every hour to suffer martyrdom for the testimony of God's word. Is that also not a false sign? When no man dare, for them, once open his mouth to ask a question of God's word, because they are ready to burn him.

Poleaxes. W. T.

What signifieth the poleaxes that are borne before high legates *a latere?* Whatsoever false sign they make of them, I care not; but of this I am sure, that as the old hypocrites, when they had slain Christ, set poleaxes to keep him in his sepulchre, that he should not rise again, even so have our hypocrites buried the testament that God made unto us in Christ's blood; and to keep it down, that it rise not again, is all their study; whereof these poleaxes are the very sign.

Is not that shepherd's hook, the bishop's crose[1], a false sign? Is not that white rochet, that the bishops and canons wear, so like a nun, and so effeminately, a false sign? What other things are their sandals, gloves, mitres, and all the whole pomp of their disguising, than false signs, in which Paul prophesied that they should come? And as Christ warned us to beware of wolves in lamb's skins, and bade us look rather unto their fruits and deeds than to wonder at their disguisings, run throughout all our holy religions, and thou shalt find them likewise all clothed in falsehood.

Judge the tree by his fruit, and not by his leaves. W. T.

Of the Sacraments.

Forasmuch as we be come to signs, we will speak a word or two of the signs which God hath ordained; that is to say, of the sacraments which Christ left among us for our comfort, that we may walk in light and in truth, and in feeling of the power of God. For "he that walketh in the day stumbleth not;" when contrariwise he that walketh in the night stumbleth, John xi. And "they that walk in darkness wot not whither they go."

John xi.

John xii.

This word, sacrament, is as much to say as an holy sign, and representeth alway some promise of God: as in the old Testament God ordained that the rainbow should represent and signify unto all men an oath, that God sware to Noe and to all men after him, that he would no more drown the world through water.

Sacraments are signs of God's promises. W. T.

The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

So the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ hath a promise annexed, which the priest should declare in the English tongue. "This is my body, that is broken for you." "This is my blood, that is shed for many, unto the forgiveness of sins." "This do in remembrance of me," saith Christ, Luke xxii. and 1 Cor. xi. If when thou seest the sacrament, or eatest his body, or drinkest his blood, thou have this promise fast in thine heart, that his body was slain and his blood

Luke xxii.

1 Cor. xi.

The promise, which the sacrament preacheth, justifieth only. W. T.

[1 Crose: i. e. crosier.]

shed for thy sins, and believest it, so art thou saved and justified thereby. If not, so helpeth it thee not, though thou hearest a thousand masses in a day, or though thou doest nothing else all thy life long than eat his body or drink his blood: no more than it should help thee, in a dead thirst, to behold a bush at a tavern door, if thou knewest not thereby that there were wine within to be sold.

Baptism.

BAPTISM hath also his word and promise, which the priest ought to teach the people, and christen them in the English tongue; and not to play the popinjay with '*Credo* say ye,' '*Volo* say ye,' and '*Baptismum* say ye;' for there ought to be no mumming in such a matter. The priest, before he baptizeth, asketh, saying: 'Believest thou in God the Father Almighty, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, and that the congregation of Christ is holy?' And they say, 'Yea.' Then the priest upon this faith baptizeth the child in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for the forgiveness of sins, as Peter saith, Acts ii. Acts ii.

The washing without the word helpeth not: but through the word it purifieth and cleanseth us: as thou readest, Eph. v. how Christ cleanseth the congregation in the fountain of water through the word. The word is the promise that God hath made. Now as a preacher, in preaching the word of God, saveth the hearers that believe; so doth the washing, in that it preacheth and representeth unto us the promise that God hath made unto us in Christ. The washing preacheth unto us, that we are cleansed with Christ's blood-shedding; which was an offering, and a satisfaction, for the sin of all that repent and believe, consenting and submitting themselves unto the will of God. The plunging into the water signifieth that we die, and are buried with Christ, as concerning the old life of sin, which is Adam. And the pulling out again signifieth that we rise again with Christ in a new life, full of the Holy Ghost, which shall teach us and guide us, and work the will of God in us, as thou seest, Rom. vi. Eph. v. How the sacraments justify. W. T.

Of Wedlock.

MATRIMONY, or wedlock, is a state or a degree ordained of God, and an office wherein the husband serveth the wife, and the wife the husband. It was ordained for a remedy, and to increase the world; and for the man to help the woman, and the woman the man, with all love and kindness; and not to signify any promise, that ever I heard or read of in the scripture. Therefore ought it not to be called a sacrament. It hath a promise, that we sin not in that state, if a man receive his wife as a gift given to him of God, and the wife her husband likewise: as all manner meats and drinks have a promise that we sin not, if we use them measurably with thanksgiving. If they call matrimony a sacrament, because the scripture useth the similitude of matrimony to express the marriage, or wedlock, that is between us and Christ; (for as a woman, though she be never so poor, yet when she is married, is as rich as her husband; even so we, when we repent and believe the promises of God in Christ, though we be never so poor sinners, yet are as rich as Christ; all his merits are ours, with all that he hath;) if for that cause they call it a sacrament, so will I mustard-seed, leaven, a net, keys, bread, water, and a thousand other things[1], which Christ and the prophets and all the scripture use, to express the kingdom of heaven and God's word withal. They praise wedlock with their mouth, and say, 'It is an holy thing,' as it is verily; but had lever be sanctified with a whore, than to come within the sanctuary.

Matrimony was not ordained to signify any promise. W. T.

If wedlock be holy, why had they lever have whores than wives? W.T.

Of Order.

SUBDEACON, deacon, priest, bishop, cardinal, patriarch, and pope, be names of offices and service, or should be, and not

[1 Sir T. More, quoting the above to confute it, and to disparage Tyndale, in p. 43 of his Answer to Tyndale's 'Preface to the Confutation' introduces the word *make* before *mustard-seed;* and then, presently, speaks as follows: 'Where St Paul for those holy significations sayth that matrimony is a great sacrament' (he means, in Eph. v. 32), 'Tyndale dare say nay to his teeth; and saith he can make as good a sacrament of leaven, of keys, of mustard-seed, or else of a net. He should rather yet, lest the grace got out, perde, make it of a sack.']

sacraments. There is no promise coupled therewith. If they minister their offices truly, it is a sign that Christ's Spirit is in them; if not, that the devil is in them. Are these all sacraments, or which one of them? Or what thing in them is that holy sign or sacrament? The shaving, or the anointing? What also is the promise that is signified thereby? But what word printeth in them that character, that spiritual seal? O dreamers and natural beasts, without the seal of the Spirit of God; but sealed with the mark of the beast and with cankered consciences!

Character. W. T.

There is a word called in Latin[1] *sacerdos*, in Greek *hiereus*, in Hebrew *cohan*, that is, a minister, an officer[2], a sacrificer or a priest; as Aaron was a priest, and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediator between God and them. And in the English should it have had some other name than priest[3]. But Antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange terms, to bring us into confusion and superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a priest for ever; and all we priests through him, and need no more of any such priest on earth, to be a mean for us unto God[4]. For Christ

Sacerdos. W. T.

[2 Tyndale has here given evidence of his being aware that the primary meaning of כֹּהֵן is *minister*, or *officer*; so that, like our *minister*, it is sometimes used to signify an officer or attendant of the sovereign, though more frequently for one who attends on God's service. In 2 Sam. viii. 18, David's sons are styled כֹּהֲנִים, and in the parallel passage, 1 Chron. xviii. 17, 'the chief men at the king's hand.']

[3 In Day's folio there is here a mark of interrogation; but not so in H. Luft's edition, nor in More's Confutation of Tyndale's Answer, where this passage is quoted. Tyndale doubtless meant that the English word *priest* is but an abbreviation of *presbyter*.]

[4 Art. IX. of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale, is, 'Every man is a priest, and we need no other priest to be a mean for us unto God.' Foxe replies to this by giving Tyndale's own words, with a note quoting Rev. i. 6, 'Hath made us kings and priests unto GOD and his Father.' But the feeling of the commissioners, who condemned this sentence, may be gathered from the remarks of Sir Thos. More, who in p. 66 of his Confutation of Tyndale's Answer to him says: 'Tyndale teacheth plainly that the blessed sacrament is, in the mass, no sacrifice, none hoste, nor none oblation; by which abominable heresy he taketh quite away the very special profit and fruit of all the mass. These be his very words.' And then More copies the above paragraph, from 'There is a word,' to this place, and proceeds as

hath brought us all into the inner temple, within the veil or forehanging, and unto the mercy-stool of God, and hath coupled us unto God; where we offer, every man for himself, the desires and petitions of his heart, and sacrifice and kill the lusts and appetites of his flesh, with prayer, fasting, and all manner godly living[1].

Presbyter. W. T.

Another word is there in Greek, called *presbyter*, in Latin *senior*, in English an *elder*, and is nothing but an officer to teach, and not to be a mediator between God and us. This needeth no anointing of man. They of the old Testament were anointed with oil, to signify the anointing of Christ, and of us through Christ, with the Holy Ghost. Thiswise is no man priest, but he that is chosen; save as in time of necessity every person christeneth, so may every man teach his wife and household, and the wife her children. So in time of need, if I see my brother sin, I may between him and me rebuke him, and damn his deed by the law of God; and may also comfort them that are in despair, with the promises of God; and save them if they believe.

Priests now ought not to be anointed with oil. W. T.

The office of a priest. W. T.

By a priest then, in the new Testament, understand nothing but an elder to teach the younger, and to bring them unto the full knowledge and understanding of Christ, and to minister the sacraments which Christ ordained[2], which is also

follows:—'By these words ye see, that whereas the priests in the old law offered sacrifices for the people, and that of diverse kinds, as appeareth in Levitici and Numeri and other places of holy scripture, instead of all which sacrifices Christ hath in his new law instituted one only sacrifice, his own blessed body and blood to be offered up to his Father for his people by the hands of the priest, in form of bread and wine, of which holy offering in the mass now the offering of Melchisedech, that offered bread and wine, was a solemn figure; Tyndale telleth us here that because Christ is a priest for ever, and that all we be priests through him, man and woman ye must understand, we need therefore, he saith, no more of any such priest on earth, that should be a mean between God and the people, to offer up any sacrifice to God for the people.']

[1 The last two sentences of this paragraph are next quoted by More, in the same place, and commented upon by him in like manner.]

[2 Sir T. More has quoted this sentence thus far, in p. 48 of his Confutation, where he is professing to combat the preface of Tyndale's answer to him; and in his remarks, on the words he has quoted, More says: 'What would it avail to dispute with him (Tyndale), since he mocketh and scoffeth out the words of St Paul, written unto

nothing but to preach Christ's promises. And by them that give all their study to quench the light of truth, and to hold the people in darkness, understand the disciples of Satan and messengers of antichrist, whatsoever names they have, or whatsoever they call themselves. And as concerning that our spiritualty (as they will be called) make themselves holier than the lay-people, and take so great lands and goods to pray for them, and promise them pardons and forgiveness of sins, or absolution, without preaching of Christ's promises, [it] is falsehood, and the working of antichrist; and (as I have said) the ravening of those wolves which Paul (Acts xx.) prophesied should come after his departing, not sparing the flock. Their doctrine is that merchandise whereof Peter speaketh, saying: "Through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you." 2 Pet. ii. And their reasons, wherewith they prove their doctrine, are (as saith Paul 1 Tim. vi.) "Superfluous disputings, arguings or brawlings of men with corrupt minds, and destitute of truth, which think that lucre is godliness." But Christ saith, Matt. vii. "By their fruits shalt thou know them;" that is, by their filthy covetousness, and shameless ambition, and drunken desire of honour, contrary unto the ensample and doctrine of Christ and of his apostles. Christ said to Peter, the last chapter of John: "Feed my sheep:" and not, 'Shear thy flock.' And Peter saith, (1 Pet. v.) "Not being lords over the parishens[3]." But these shear, and are become lords. Paul saith, 2 Cor. ii. "Not that we be lords over your faith:" but these will be lords; and compel us to believe whatsoever they lust, without any witness of scripture, yea, clean contrary to the scripture; when the open text rebuketh it. Paul saith, "It is better to give, than to receive," Acts xx.; but these do nothing in the world but lay snares to catch and receive whatsoever cometh, as it were the gaping mouth of hell. And 2 Cor. xii., "I seek not yours, but you:" but these seek not you to Christ, but yours to themselves; and therefore, lest their deeds should be rebuked, will not come at the light.

They will be holier, but their deeds be not holy at all. W. T.

Acts xx.

2 Pet. ii.

Compare their deeds to the doctrine and deeds of Christ, and of his apostles; and judge their fruits. W. T.

1 Tim. vi.

Matt. vii.

John xxi.

1 Pet. v.

2 Cor. i.

Acts xx.

Timothy, in which the sacrament of orders is so plainly proved that all the world cannot deny it, but if they make a mock at St Paul as Tyndale doth.']

[3 Parishens, i. e. parishioners. So in Chaucer: 'Why covet ye shrifte and burying of other mens parishens?' But Day's folio has *parishes*.]

Nevertheless the truth is, that we are all equally beloved in Christ, and God hath sworn to all indifferently. According, therefore, as every man believeth God's promises, longeth for them, and is diligent to pray unto God to fulfil them, so is his prayer heard; and as good is the prayer of a cobbler as of a cardinal, and of a butcher as of a bishop; and the blessing of a baker that knoweth the truth is as good as the blessing of our most holy father the pope. And by blessing understand not the wagging of the pope's or bishop's hand over thine head, but prayer; as when we say, 'God make thee a good man,' 'Christ put his Spirit in thee,' or 'Give thee grace and power to walk in the truth, and to follow his commandments,' &c.: as Rebecca's friends blessed her when she departed, (Gen. xxiv.) saying, "Thou art our sister: grow unto thousand thousands, and thy seed possess the gates of their enemies:" and as Isaac blessed Jacob, (Gen. xxvii.) saying, "God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, abundance of corn, wine and oil," &c.: and, (Gen. xxviii.) "Almighty God bless thee, and make thee grow, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a great multitude of people, and give to thee and to thy seed after thee the blessings of Abraham; that thou mayest possess the land wherein thou art a stranger, which he promised to thy grandfather:" and such like.

What blessing meaneth. W. T.

Gen. xxiv.

Gen. xxvii.

Gen. xxviii.

Last of all, one singular doubt they have: what maketh the priest; the anointing, or putting on of the hands, or what other ceremony, or what words? About which they brawl and scold, one ready to tear out another's throat. One saith this, and another that; but they cannot agree. Neither can any of them make so strong a reason which another cannot improve[1]: for they are all out of the way, and without the Spirit of God, to judge spiritual things. Howbeit to this I answer, that when Christ called twelve up into the mountain, and chose them, then immediately, without any anointing or ceremony, were they his apostles; that is to wit, ministers chosen to be sent to preach his testament unto all the whole world. And after the resurrection, when he had opened their wits, and given them knowledge, to understand the secrets of his testament, and how to bind and loose, and what he would have them to do in all things; then he sent them forth with

[1 Disprove, or find fault with.]

a commandment to preach, and bind the unbelieving that continue in sin, and to loose the believing that repent. And that commandment, or charge, made them bishops, priests, popes, and all thing. If they say that Christ made them priests at his maundy, or last supper, when he said, "Do this in the remembrance of me;" I answer, Though the apostles wist not then what he meant, yet I will not strive nor say thereagainst. Neverthelater the commandment and the charge, which he gave them, made them priests.

The commandment maketh priests. W. T.

And, Acts the first, when Matthias was chosen by lot, it is not to be doubted but that the apostles, after their common manner, prayed for him, that God would give him grace to minister his office truly; and put their hands on him, and exhorted him, and gave him charge to be diligent and faithful; and then was he as great as the best. And, Acts vi. when the disciples that believed had chosen six deacons to minister to the widows, the apostles prayed and put their hands on them, and admitted them without more ado. Their putting on of hands was not after the manner of the dumb blessing of our holy bishops, with two fingers; but they spake unto them, and told them their duty, and gave them a charge, and warned them to be faithful in the Lord's business: as we choose temporal officers, and read their duty to them, and they promise to be faithful ministers, and then are admitted. Neither is there any other manner or ceremony at all required in making of our spiritual officers, than to choose an able person, and then to rehearse him his duty, and give him his charge, and so to put him in his room[2]. And as for that other solemn doubt, as they call it, Whether Judas was a priest or no? I care not what he then was; but of this I am sure, that he is now not only priest, but also bishop, cardinal, and pope.

Acts i.

Acts vi.

Putting on of hands. W. T.

What Judas is now. W. T.

[2 Art. XII. of heresies says, 'He destroyeth the sacraments of matrimony and orders,' and is founded on this paragraph. Foxe only replies: 'As truly as matrimony and orders be sacraments, so truly is this article a heresy.']

Of Penance.

PENANCE is a word of their own forging, to deceive us withal[1], as many others are. In the scripture we find *pœnitentia*, "repentance:" *agite pœnitentiam*, "do repent;" *pœniteat vos*, "let it repent you:" *metanoyte*, in Greek, "forthink ye," or "let it forthink you[2]." Of repentance they have made penance, to blind the people, and to make them think that they must take pains, and do some holy deeds, to make satisfaction for their sins; namely such as they enjoin them. As thou mayest see in the chronicles, when great kings and tyrants (which with violence of sword conquered other kings' lands, and slew all that came to hand) came to themselves, and had conscience of their wicked deeds; then the bishops coupled them, not to Christ, but unto the pope, and preached the pope unto them; and made them to submit themselves, and also their realms, unto the holy father the pope, and to take penance, as they call it; that is to say, such injunctions as the pope and bishops would command them to do, to build abbeys, to endote them with livelihood, to be prayed for for ever; and to give them exemptions and privilege and licence to do what they lust unpunished.

A point of practice. W. T.

[1 Sir T. More quotes the preceding words in p. 45 of his Confutation, where he professes to be answering Tyndale's answer to him, and says: 'Here ye see that the sacrament of penance he setteth at less than nought; for he says, It is but a thing forged and contrived to deceive us with. But every good Christian knoweth that such folk as he is, that against the sacrament of penance contrive and forge such false heresies, sore deceive themself, and all them whom the devil blindeth to believe them.']

[2 The word *forthink* as equivalent for Μετανοεῖτε, or *Repent ye*, occurs repeatedly in Wicliffe's translation of the New Testament, though he always keeps close to the Vulgate in speaking of doing penance, where it has *pœnitentia* united with the verb *ago;* and sometimes renders *pœnitentia* by penance, where *ago* is not found in the Latin, as Acts v. 31. Thus in Luke xvii. 3, he read, Si pœnitentiam egerit, and rendered it accordingly, 'if he do penance;' but in the next verse he found pœnitet me, and his translation is, 'It forthinketh me.' It is only in rendering 2 Cor. vii. 8, that Wicliffe used *rew* for *pœnitet;* and he has used the verb *repented* but once, viz. in Matt. xxvii. 3. Sir Thomas More says, 'God's high providence so forseeth what he promised, that he can never forthink it.' Confut. p. 61.]

Repentance goeth before faith, and prepareth the way to Christ, and to the promises. For Christ cometh not but unto them that see their sins in the law, and repent. Repentance, that is to say, this mourning and sorrow of the heart, lasteth all our lives long: for we find ourselves, all our lives long, too weak for God's law, and therefore sorrow and mourn, longing for strength. Repentance is no sacrament: as faith, hope, love, and knowledge of a man's sins, are not to be called sacraments. For they are spiritual and invisible. Now must a sacrament be an outward sign that may be seen, to signify, to represent, and to put a man in remembrance of some spiritual promise, which cannot be seen but by faith only. Repentance, and all the good deeds which accompany repentance, to slay the lusts of the flesh, are signified by baptism. For Paul saith, Rom. vi. as it is above rehearsed: "Remember ye not (saith he), that all we which are baptized in the name of Christ Jesus are baptized to die with him? We are buried with him in baptism for to die;" that is, to kill the lusts and the rebellion which remaineth in the flesh. And after that he saith, "Ye are dead, as concerning sin, but live unto God through Christ Jesus our Lord." If thou look on the profession of our hearts, and on the Spirit and forgiveness which we have received through Christ's merits, we are full dead: but if thou look on the rebellion of the flesh, we do but begin to die, and to be baptized, that is, to drown and quench the lusts, and are full baptized at the last minute of death. And as concerning the working of the Spirit, we begin to live, and grow every day more and more, both in knowledge and also in godly living, according as the lusts abate: as a child receiveth the full soul at the first day, yet groweth daily in the operations and works thereof.

Repentance. W. T.

Rom vi.

Repentance is signified by baptism. W. T.

Of Confession.

CONFESSION is diverse: one followeth true faith inseparably, and is the confessing, and knowledging with the mouth, wherein we put our trust and confidence. As when we say our *Credo*, confessing that we trust in God the Father Almighty, and in his truth and promises; and in his Son Jesus, our Lord, and in his merits and deservings; and in

One confession is to knowledge wherein thou puttest thy trust. W. T.

the Holy Ghost, and in his power, assistance and guiding. This confession is necessary unto all men that will be saved.

Matt. x. For Christ saith, Matt. x. "He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father that is in heaven." And of this confession, saith the holy apostle Paul, in the xth chapter:

Rom. x. "The belief of the heart justifieth; and to knowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe." This is a wonderful text for our philosophers, or rather sophisters, our worldly-wise enemies to the wisdom of God, our deep and profound wells without water, our clouds without moisture of rain; that is to say, natural souls without the Spirit of God and feeling of godly things. To justify, and to make safe, are both one thing. And to confess with the mouth is a good work, and the fruit of a true faith, as all other works are.

If thou repent and believe the promises, then God's truth justifieth thee; that is, forgiveth thee thy sins, and sealeth thee with his holy Spirit, and maketh thee heir of everlasting life, through Christ's deservings. Now if thou have true faith, so seest thou the exceeding and infinite love and mercy which God hath shewed thee freely in Christ: then must thou needs love again: and love cannot but compel thee to work, and boldly to confess and knowledge thy Lord Christ, and the trust which thou hast in his word. And this knowledge maketh thee safe; that is, declareth that thou art safe already, certifieth thine heart, and maketh thee feel that thy faith is right, and that God's Spirit is in thee, as all other good works do. For if, when it cometh unto the point, thou hadst no lust to work, nor power to confess, how couldest thou presume to think that God's Spirit were in thee?

If when tyrants oppose thee, thou have power to confess, then art thou sure that thou art safe. W. T.

Another confession is there, which goeth before faith, and accompanieth repentance. For whosoever repenteth, doth knowledge his sins in his heart. And whosoever doth knowledge his sins, receiveth forgiveness, as saith John, in the first of his first epistle: "If we knowledge our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;" that is, because he hath promised, he must for his truth's sake do it. This confession is necessary all our lives long, as is repentance. And as thou understandest of repentance, so understand of this confession; for it is likewise included in the sacrament of baptism. For we always repent, and always knowledge or confess our sins unto God,

Another confession is to knowledge thy sins in thine heart unto God. W. T.

1 John i.

and yet despair not; but remember that we are washed in Christ's blood: which thing our baptism doth represent and signify unto us.

Shrift in the ear is verily a work of Satan; and that the falsest that ever was wrought, and that most hath devoured the faith[1]. It began among the Greeks, and was not as it is now, to reckon all a man's sins in the priest's ear; but to ask counsel of such doubts as men had, as thou mayest see in St Hierome, and in other authors. Neither went they to priests only, which were very few at that time, no more than preached the word of God; for this so great vantage in so many masses saying was not yet found; but went indifferently, where they saw a good and a learned man. And for because of a little knavery, which a deacon at Constantinople played through confession with one of the chief wives of the city, it was laid down again[2]. But we, antichrist's possession, the more knavery we see grow thereby daily, the more we stablish it. A christian man is a spiritual thing; and hath God's word in his heart, and God's Spirit to certify him of all thing. He is not bound to come to any ear. And as for the reasons which they make, [they] are all but persuasions of man's wisdom. First, as pertaining unto the keys and manner of binding and loosing, is enough above rehearsed, and in other places. Thou mayest also see how the apostles used them in the Acts; and, in Paul's epistles, how at the preaching of faith the Spirit came, and certified their hearts that they were justified through believing the promises.

Shrift. W. T.

Shrift was put down for knavery among the Greeks; but is stablished thereby among us. W. T.

When a man feeleth that his heart consenteth unto the law of God, and feeleth himself meek, patient, courteous, and merciful to his neighbour, altered and fashioned like unto

How a man shall know that his sins are forgiven. W. T.

[1 This sentence is quoted by Sir T. More in p. 45 of his Confutation, where he professes to be answering the preface of Tyndale's answer to him; and he says, 'Luther, that was Tyndale's master, as lewd as he is, played never the blasphemous fool against confession so far yet as Tyndale doth. For Luther, albeit he would make every man, and every woman too, sufficient and meetly to serve for a confessor, yet confesseth he that shrift is very necessary, and doth much good, and would in no wise have it left.']

[2 The office of penitentiary was abolished by Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, near the close of the fourth century, on the occasion alluded to by Tyndale. See Sozom. B. VII. c. 16, and Socrat. B. V. c. 19.]

Christ; why should he doubt but that God hath forgiven him, and chosen him, and put his Spirit in him, though he never crome[1] his sin into the priest's ear?

Blind reason is their guide, and not God's Spirit. W. T.

One blind reason have they, saying, How shall the priest unbind, loose, and forgive the sin which he knoweth not? How did the apostles? The scripture forsake they, and run unto their blind reasons; and draw the scripture unto a carnal purpose. When I have told thee in thine ear all that I have done my life long, in order and with all circumstances after the shamefullest manner, what canst thou do more than preach me the promises, saying, 'If thou repent and believe, God's truth shall save thee for Christ's sake?' Thou seest not mine heart; thou knowest not whether I repent or no; neither whether I consent to the law, that it is holy, righteous, and good. Moreover, whether I believe the promises or no, is also unknown to thee. If thou preach the law and the promises (as the apostles did), so should they that God hath chosen repent, and believe, and be saved, even now as well as then. Howbeit antichrist must know all secrets, to stablish his kingdom, and to work his mysteries withal.

Learn to know them; for they are verily lepers in their hearts. W. T. Luke xvii.

They bring also for them the story of the ten lepers, which is written in the xviith chapter of Luke. Here mark their falsehood, and learn to know them for ever. The fourteenth Sunday after the feast of the Trinity, the beginning of the seventh lesson is the said gospel; and the eighth and the ninth lessons, with the rest of the seventh, is the exposition of Bede upon the said gospel: where saith Bede, "Of all that Christ healed, of whatsoever disease it were, he sent none unto the priest but the lepers;" and by the lepers interpreteth followers of false doctrine only, which the spiritual officers and the learned men of the congregation ought to examine, and rebuke their learning with God's word, and to warn the congregation to beware of them. Which, if they were afterward healed by the grace of Christ, ought to come before the congregation, and there openly confess their true faith. But all other vices (saith he) doth God heal within, in the conscience[2].

[1 Crome: crammed.]

[2 Et factum est etc. occurrerunt ei decem viri leprosi. Leprosi non absurde intelligi possunt, qui scientiam veræ fidei non habentes, varias doctrinas profitentur erroris. Non enim vel abscondunt impe-

Though they thiswise read at matins, yet at high mass, if they have any sermon at all, they lie, clean contrary unto this open truth. Neither are they ashamed at all. For why? they walk altogether in darkness.

Of Contrition.

CONTRITION and repentance are both one, and nothing else but a sorrowful and a mourning heart. And because that God hath promised mercy unto a contrite heart, that is, to a sorrowful and repenting heart, they, to beguile God's word and to stablish their wicked tradition, have feigned that new word *attrition*[3], saying, 'Thou canst not know whether thy sorrow or repentance be contrition or attrition, except thou be shriven. When thou art shriven, then it is true contrition.' O foxy Pharisee! that is thy leaven, of which Christ so diligently bade us beware, Matt. xvi.; and the very prophecy of Peter, "Through covetousness with feigned words shall they make merchandise of you." 2 Pet. ii. With such glosses corrupt they God's word, to sit in the consciences of the people, to lead them captive, and to make a prey of them; buying and selling their sins, to satisfy their unsatiable covetousness.

Attrition is of the leaven of the Pharisees. W. T. Matt. xvi. 2 Pet. ii.

ritiam suam, sed pro summa peritia proferunt in lucem. Nullum Dominus eorum, quibus hæc corporalia beneficia præstitit, invenitur misisse ad sacerdotes nisi leprosos; quia videlicet sacerdotium Judæorum figura erat futuri sacerdotii regalis, quod est in ecclesia, quo consectantur omnes pertinentes ad corpus Christi, summi et veri principis sacerdotum. Et quisquis vel hæretica pravitate, vel superstitione gentili, vel Judaica perfidia, vel etiam schismate fraterno, quasi vario colore, Domini gratia caruerit, necesse est ad ecclesiam veniat, coloremque fidei verum quem acceperit ostendat. Cetera vero vitia, tamquam valetudinis et quasi membrorum animæ atque sensuum, per se ipsum interius in conscientia et intellectu Dominus sanat et corrigit. Bed. in Luc. Evang. cap. xvii. c. 69.]

[3 The council of Trent has described Attrition as follows:— Illam vero contritionem imperfectam, quæ *attritio* dicitur, quoniam vel ex turpitudinis peccati consideratione vel ex gehennæ et pœnarum metu communiter concipitur, si voluntatem peccandi excludat cum spe veniæ, declarat [synodus] donum Dei esse, et Spiritus sancti impulsum; non adhuc quidem inhabitantis, sed tantum moventis, quo pœnitens adjutus viam sibi ad justitiam parat. Sessio XIV. De contritione, cap. iv. Conc. Trident. Venet. 1582.]

Nevertheless the truth is, when any man hath trespassed against God, if he repent and knowledge his trespass, God promiseth him forgiveness without ear-shrift.

If he that hath offended his neighbour repent and knowledge his fault, asking forgiveness if his neighbour forgive him, God forgiveth him also by his holy promise. Matt. xviii. Likewise, if he that sinneth openly, when he is openly rebuked, repent and turn, then if the congregation forgive him, God forgiveth him: and so forth whosoever repenteth, and, when he is rebuked, knowledgeth his fault, is forgiven.

Matt. xviii.

He also that doubteth, or hath his conscience tangled, ought to open his mind unto some faithful brother that is learned, and he shall give him faithful counsel to help him withal.

Whom a man offendeth, to him must he confess. W. T.

To whom a man trespasseth, unto him he ought to confess. But to confess myself unto thee, O antichrist, whom I have not offended, am I not bound.

They of the old law had no confession in the ear. Neither the apostles, nor they that followed many hundred years after, knew of any such whispering. Whereby then was their attrition turned into contrition? Yea, why are we, which Christ came to loose, more bound than the Jews? Yea, and why are we more bound without scripture? For Christ came not to make us more bound; but to loose us, and to make a thousand things no sin which before were sin, and are now become sin again. He left none other law with us, but the law of love. He loosed us not from Moses to bind us unto antichrist's ear. God hath not tied Christ unto antichrist's ear, neither hath poured all his mercy in thither; for it hath no record in the old Testament, that antichrist's ear should be *Propitiatorium*, that is to wit, God's mercy-stool, and that God should creep into so narrow a hole, so that he could no where else be found. Neither did God write his laws, neither yet his holy promises, in antichrist's ear; but hath graved them with his holy Spirit in the hearts of them that believe, that they might have them always ready at hand to be saved thereby.

It hath no record in the scripture that God should creep in, and hide himself, in antichrist's ear. W. T.

Satisfaction.

As pertaining unto satisfaction, thiswise understand, that he that loveth God hath a commandment (as St John saith in the fourth chapter of his first epistle) to "love his neighbour also:" whom if thou have offended, thou must make him amends or satisfaction, or at the leastway, if thou be not able, ask him forgiveness; and if he will have mercy of God, he is bound to forgive thee. If he will not, yet God forgiveth thee, if thou thus submit thyself. "But unto God-ward Christ is a perpetual and an everlasting satisfaction for evermore. 1 John iv. Christ is an everlasting satisfaction. W. T.

As oft as thou fallest through frailty, repent and come again, and thou art safe and welcome; as thou mayest see by the similitude of the riotous son, Luke xv. If thou be lopen[1] out of sanctuary, come in again. If thou be fallen from the way of truth, come thereto again, and thou art safe: if thou be gone astray, come to the fold again, and the shepherd, Christ, shall save thee; yea, and the angels of heaven shall rejoice at thy coming, so far it is off that any man shall beat thee or chide thee. If any Pharisee envy thee, grudge at thee, or rail upon thee, thy Father shall make answer for thee, as thou seest in the fore-rehearsed likeness or parable. Whosoever therefore is gone out of the way, by whatsoever chance it be, let him come to his baptism again, and unto the profession thereof, and he shall be safe. Luke xv.

For though that the washing of baptism be past, yet the power thereof, that is to say, the word of God which baptism preacheth, lasteth ever and saveth for ever: as Paul is past and gone, nevertheless the word that Paul preached lasteth ever, and saveth ever as many as come thereto with a repenting heart and a stedfast faith. Baptism lasteth ever. W. T.

Hereby seest thou that, when they make penance of repentance, and call it a sacrament, and divide it into contrition, confession, and satisfaction, they speak of their own heads, and lie falsely.

Absolution.

THEIR absolution also justifieth no man from sin. "For with the heart do men believe to be justified withal," saith Rom. x.

[1 Lopen: leaped.]

Paul, Rom. x.; that is, through faith and believing the promises are we justified, as I have sufficiently proved in other places with the scripture. "Faith" (saith Paul in the same place) "cometh by hearing," that is to say, by hearing the preacher that is sent from God, and preacheth God's promises. Now, when thou absolvest in Latin, the unlearned heareth not: for, "How," saith Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. "when thou blessest in an unknown tongue, shall the unlearned say Amen unto thy thanksgiving? for he wotteth not what thou sayest." So likewise the lay wotteth not whether thou loose or bind, or whether thou bless or curse. In like manner is it if the lay understand Latin, or though the priest absolve in English: for in his absolution he rehearseth no promise of God; but speaketh his own words, saying, 'I, by the authority of Peter and Paul, absolve or loose thee from all thy sins.' Thou sayest so, which art but a lying man; and never more than now, verily.

Cor. xiv.

Thou sayest, 'I forgive thee thy sins;' and the scripture, John the first, That Christ only forgiveth, and "taketh away the sins of the world." And Paul and Peter, and all the apostles, preach that all is forgiven in Christ, and for Christ's sake. God's word only looseth; and thou in preaching that mightest loose also, and else not.

John i.

Whosoever hath ears let him hear, and let him that hath eyes see. If any man love to be blind, his blindness on his own head, and not on mine.

Of binding and loosing, and of the pope's authority or power. W. T.

They allege for themselves the saying of Christ to Peter, Matt. xvi. "Whatsoever thou bindest on earth, it shall be bound; and whatsoever thou loosest," and so forth. 'Lo, say they, whatsoever we bind, and whatsoever we loose, here is nothing excepted.' And another text say they of Christ, in the last of Matthew: "All power is given to me," saith Christ, "in heaven and in earth: go therefore and preach," &c. Preaching leaveth the pope out; and saith, 'Lo, all power is given me in heaven and in earth;' and thereupon taketh upon him temporal power above king and emperor, and maketh laws and bindeth them. And like power taketh he over God's laws, and dispenseth with them at his lust, making no sin of that which God maketh sin, and maketh sin where God maketh none: yea, and wipeth out God's laws clean, and maketh at his pleasure; and with him is lawful what he lusteth. He bindeth where God looseth, and looseth where

Matt. xvi.

Matt. xxviii.

The pope challengeth power, not over man only, but over God also. W. T.

God bindeth. He blesseth where God curseth, and curseth where God blesseth. He taketh authority also to bind and loose in purgatory. That permit I unto him; for it is a creature of his own making[1]. He also bindeth the angels: for we read of popes that have commanded the angels to fet[2] divers out of purgatory. Howbeit I am not yet certified whether they obeyed or no.

Purgatory is the pope's creature: he may therefore be bold there. W. T.

The pope bindeth the angels. W. T.

Understand therefore that to bind and to loose is to preach the law of God and the gospel or promises; as thou mayest see in the iiid chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians, where Paul calleth the preaching of the law the ministration of death and damnation, and the preaching of the promises the ministering of the Spirit and of righteousness. For when the law is preached, all men are found sinners, and therefore damned: and when the gospel and glad tidings are preached, then are all, that repent and believe, found righteous in Christ, And so expound it all the old doctors. Saint Hierome saith upon this text, "Whatsoever thou bindest," 'The bishops and priests, (saith he,) for lack of understanding, take a little presumption of the Pharisees upon them; and think that they have authority to bind innocents, and to loose the wicked:' which thing our pope and bishops do. For they say the curse is to be feared, be it right or wrong. Though thou have not deserved, yet if the pope curse thee, thou art in peril of thy soul, as they lie: yea, and though he be never so wrongfully cursed, he must be fain to buy absolution. But Saint Hierome saith, 'As the priest of the old law made the lepers clean or unclean, so bindeth and unbindeth the priest of the new law[3].'

The true binding and loosing. W. T.

2 Cor. iii.

St Jerome against bishops and priests. W. T.

The curse is to be feared. W. T.

The right manner of loosing. W. T.

[1 Art. XIII. of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale is, 'He saith that purgatory is the pope's invention, and therefore he may do there whatsoever he will.' Foxe's reply is: 'One of the pope's own writers saith thus: *Souls being in purgatory are under the pope's jurisdiction, and the pope may, if he will, evacuate all purgatory.* Furthermore, the old fathers make little mention of purgatory; the Greek church never believed the purgatory; St Augustine doubteth of purgatory; and the scriptures plainly disprove purgatory. St John saith, *The blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, purgeth us from all sin;* and the pope saith, *Sin cannot be purged but by the fire of purgatory.* Now, whose invention can purgatory be, but only the pope's?']

[2 Fet, i. e. fetch.]

[3 *Et dabo tibi claves regni cœlorum*, &c. Istum locum episcopi et

The priest there made no man a leper, neither cleansed any man, but God; and the priest judged only, by Moses' law, who was clean and who was unclean, when they were brought unto him.

So here we have the law of God to judge what is sin and what is not, and who is bound and who is not. Moreover, if any man have sinned, yet if he repent and believe the promise, we are sure by God's word, that he is loosed and forgiven in Christ. Other authority than thiswise to preach, have the priests not. Christ's apostles had no other themselves, as it appeareth throughout all the new Testament: therefore it is manifest that they have not.

1 Cor. xv. Christ understood this text, 'All power is given me in heaven and in earth,' and also used it, far otherwise than the pope. W. T.

St Paul saith, 1 Cor. xv. "When we say all things are under Christ, he is to be excepted that put all under him." God the Father is not under Christ, but above Christ, and Christ's head.

John xii.

Christ saith, John xii. "I have not spoken of mine own head, but my Father, which sent me, gave a commandment what I should say and what I should speak. Whatsoever I speak therefore, even as my Father bade me so I speak." If Christ had a law what he should do, how happeneth it that the pope so runneth at large, lawless? Though that all power were given unto Christ in heaven and in earth, yet had he no power over his Father, nor yet to reign temporally over temporal princes, but a commandment to obey them. How hath the pope then such temporal authority over king and emperor? How hath he authority above God's laws, and to command the angels, the saints, and God himself?

What authority Christ gave his apostles. W. T.

Christ's authority, which he gave to his disciples, was to preach the law, and to bring sinners to repentance, and

presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur, cum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum sed reorum vita quæratur. Legimus in Levitico de leprosis, ubi jubentur ut ostendant se sacerdotibus, et si lepram habuerint, tunc a sacerdote immundi fiant; non quo sacerdotes leprosos faciant et immundos, sed quo habeant notitiam leprosi et non leprosi, et possint discernere qui mundus quive immundus sit. Quomodo ergo ibi leprosum sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit, sic et hic alligat vel solvit episcopus et presbyter, non eos qui insontes sunt vel noxii, sed pro officio suo, cum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit quive solvendus.—Hieron. Comm. in Matt. cap. xvi. Lib. III. Tom. IX. p. 41, col. 1. Francofurt. 1684.]

then to preach unto them the promises, which the Father had made unto all men for his sake. And the same to preach only, sent he his apostles. As a king sendeth forth his judges, and giveth them his authority, saying, 'What ye do, that do I; I give you my full power:' yet meaneth he not, by that full power, that they should destroy any town or city, or oppress any man, or do what they list, or should reign over the lords and dukes of his realm, and over his own self; but giveth them a law with them, and authority to bind and loose, as far forth as the law stretcheth and maketh mention: that is, to punish the evil that do wrong, and to avenge the poor that suffer wrong. And so far as the law stretcheth, will the king defend his judge against all men. And as the temporal judges bind and loose temporally, so do the priests spiritually, and no other ways. Howbeit, by falsehood and subtlety the pope reigneth under Christ, as cardinals and bishops do under kings, lawless.

The right binding and loosing. W. T.

How the pope reigneth under Christ. W. T.

The pope (say they) absolveth or looseth *a pœna et culpa;* that is, from the fault or trespass, and from the pain due unto the trespass. God, if a man repent, forgiveth the offence only, and not the pain also, say they, save turneth the everlasting pain unto a temporal pain; and appointeth seven years in purgatory for every deadly sin. But the pope for money forgiveth both, and hath more power than God, and is more merciful than God. 'This do I,' saith the pope, 'of my full power, and of the treasure of the church; of deservings of martyrs, confessors, and merits of Christ[1].'

A pœna et culpa is a proper dream. W. T.

The pope is more mighty and more merciful, for money, than God is for the death of his only Son. W. T.

First, the merits of the saints did not save themselves, but were saved by Christ's merits only[2].

The merits of saints. W. T.

Secondarily, God hath promised Christ's merits unto all that repent; so that whosoever repenteth, is immediately heir of all Christ's merits, and beloved of God as Christ is. How then came this foul monster to be lord over Christ's merits, so that he hath power to sell that which God giveth freely?

The merits of Christ. W. T.

The pope selleth that which God giveth freely. W. T.

[1 See p. 74, n. 1.]

[2 Art. XIV. of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale is, 'Saints be saved, not by their merits, but only by the merits of Christ.' Foxe's reply is, 'What can be more manifest and plain, by the scriptures, than this? Isaiah saith, All we have erred, every man in his own ways, and God hath laid upon him all our iniquities.']

O dreamers! yea, O devils, and O venomous scorpions, what poison have ye in your tails! O pestilent leaven, that so turneth the sweet bread of Christ's doctrine into the bitterness of gall!

Friars. W.T.

The friars run in the same spirit, and teach, saying, 'Do good deeds, and redeem the pains that abide you in purgatory; yea, give us somewhat to do good works for you.' And thus is sin become the profitablest merchandise in the world. O the cruel wrath of God upon us, because we love not the truth!

Sin is the best merchandise that is. W. T.

John v.

For this is the damnation and judgment of God, to send a false prophet unto him that will not hear the truth. "I know you," saith Christ, John v. "that ye have not the love of God in you. I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not; if another shall come in his own name, him shall ye receive." Thus doth God avenge himself on the malicious hearts which have no love to his truth.

Christ prophesied of antichrist, and told why he should come. W.T.

The promises are either put out, or leavened, and why. W.T.

All is in Latin. W. T.

All the promises of God have they either wiped clean out, or thus leavened them with open lies, to stablish their confession withal. And, to keep us from knowledge of the truth, they do all thing in Latin. They pray in Latin, they christen in Latin, they bless in Latin, they give absolution in Latin; only curse they in the English tongue[1]. Wherein they take upon them greater authority than ever God gave them. For in their curses (as they call them) with book, bell, and candle, they command God and Christ, and the angels, and all saints, to curse them: 'Curse them God (say they), Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; curse them Virgin Mary,' &c. O ye abominable! who gave you authority to command God to curse? God commandeth you to bless, and ye command him to curse!

The pope commandeth God to curse. W. T.

Rom. xii.

"Bless them that persecute you: bless, but curse not," saith St Paul, Rom. xii. What tyranny will these not use over men, which presume and take upon them to be lords over God, and to command him? If God shall curse any man, who shall bless and make him better? No man can amend himself, except God pour his Spirit unto him. Have we not a commandment to love our neighbour as ourselves? How can I love him, and curse him also? James saith, "It is not possible that blessing and cursing should come both out of one

[1 See n. 3 to p. 233 for an extract from the curse, which was both written and printed in English.]

mouth." Christ commandeth, Matt. v. saying, "Love your enemies. Bless them that curse you. Do good to them that hate you. Pray for them that do you wrong and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your heavenly Father." Matt. v.

In the marches of Wales it is the manner, if any man have an ox or a cow stolen, he cometh to the curate, and desireth him to curse the stealer; and he commandeth the parish to give him, every man, God's curse and his: 'God's curse and mine have he,' saith every man in the parish. O merciful God! what is blasphemy, if this be not blasphemy, and shaming of the doctrine of Christ? A custom that is used in the marches of Wales. W. T.

Understand therefore, the power of excommunication is this: if any man sin openly, and amendeth not when he is warned, then ought he to be rebuked openly before all the parish. And the priest ought to prove by the scripture, that all such have no part with Christ. For Christ serveth not, but for them that love the law of God, and consent that it is good, holy, and righteous; and repent, sorrowing and mourning for power and strength to fulfil it. And all the parish ought to be warned to avoid the company of all such, and to take them as heathen people. This is not done that he should perish; but to save him, to make him ashamed, and to kill the lusts of the flesh, that the spirit might come unto the knowledge of truth. And we ought to pity him, and to have compassion on him, and with all diligence to pray unto God for him, to give him grace to repent and to come to the right way again; and not to use such tyranny over God and man, commanding God to curse. And if he repent, we ought with all mercy to receive him in again. This mayest thou see Matt. xviii. and 1 Cor. v. and 2 Cor. ii.

Matt. xviii. 1 Cor. v. 2 Cor. ii.

Confirmation.

If Confirmation have a promise, then it justifieth as far as the promise extendeth. If it have no promise, then is it not of God, as the bishops be not. The apostles and ministers of God preach God's word; and God's signs or sacraments signify God's word also, and put us in remembrance of the promises which God hath made unto us in Christ. Contrariwise, antichrist's bishops preach not; and their sacraments

God's sacraments preach God's promises. W. T.

The pope's sacraments are dumb. W. T.

speak not; but as the disguised bishop's mum, so are their superstitious sacraments dumb. After that the bishops had left preaching, then feigned they this dumb ceremony of confirmation, to have somewhat at the leastway, whereby they might reign over their dioceses. They reserved unto themselves also the christening of bells, and conjuring or hallowing of churches and church-yards, and of altars and super-altars, and hallowing of chalices, and so forth; whatsoever is of honour or profit. Which confirmation, and the other conjurations also, they have now committed to their suffragans; because they themselves have no leisure to minister such things, for their lusts and pleasures, and abundance of all things, and for the cumbrance that they have in the king's matters and business of the realm. One keepeth the privy seal; another the great seal; the third is confessor, (that is to say, a privy traitor and a secret Judas;) he is president of the prince's council; he is an ambassador; another sort, of the king's secret council. Woe is unto the realms where they are of the council. As profitable are they, verily, unto the realms with their counsel, as the wolves unto the sheep, or the foxes unto the geese.

Christening of bells. W. T.

Why suffragans are ordained. W. T.

The bishops divide all among them. W. T.

They will say that the Holy Ghost is given through such ceremonies. If God had so promised, so should it be; but Paul saith, (Gal. iii.) that the Spirit is received through preaching of the faith. And (Acts x.) while Peter preached the faith, the Holy Ghost fell on Cornelius and on his household. How shall we say then to that which they will lay against us, in the eighth chapter of the Acts of the apostles, where Peter and John put their hands on the Samaritans, and the Holy Ghost came? I say, that by putting, or with putting, or as they put their hands on them, the Holy Ghost came. Nevertheless, the putting on of the hands did neither help nor hinder: for the text saith, "They prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost."

Ceremonies bring not the Holy Ghost. W. T.

Gal. iii.

Acts x.

Acts viii.

Putting on of hands. W. T.

God had made the apostles a promise, that he would with such miracles confirm their preaching, and move other to the faith. (Mark, the last.) The apostles, therefore, believed and prayed God to fulfil his promise; and God, for his truth's sake, even so did. So was it the prayer of faith that brought the Holy Ghost; as thou mayest see also in the last of James. "If any man be sick," saith James, "call the elders of the

Mark xvi.

Prayer of faith doth the miracles. W. T.

James v.

congregation, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall heal the sick." Where a promise is, there is faith bold to pray, and God true to give her her petition. Putting on of the hands is an indifferent thing. For the Holy Ghost came by preaching of the faith, and miracles were done at the prayer of faith, as well without putting on of the hands as with, as thou seest in many places. Putting on of the hands was the manner of that nation, as it was to rend their clothes, and to put on sackcloth, and to sprinkle themselves with ashes and earth, when they heard of or saw any sorrowful thing, as it was Paul's manner to stretch out his hand when he preached; and as it is our manner to hold up our hands when we pray, and as some kiss their thumb-nail, and put it to their eyes, and as we put our hands on children's heads when we bless them, saying, 'Christ bless thee, my son, and God make thee a good man:' which gestures neither help nor hinder. This mayest thou well see by the xiiith of the Acts, where the Holy Ghost commanded to separate Paul and Barnabas to go and preach. Then the other fasted and prayed, and put their hands on their heads, and sent them forth. They received not the Holy Ghost then by putting on of hands; but the other, as they put their hands on their heads, prayed for them, that God would go with them, and strength them; and couraged them also, bidding them to be strong in God, and warned them to be faithful and diligent in the work of God, and so forth.

The putting on of hands doth neither help nor hinder. Ant. ed.

Acts xiii.

Anoiling.

Last of all cometh the anoiling[1], without promise, and therefore without the Spirit, and without profit; but altogether unfruitful and superstitious[2]. The sacraments, which

[1 Anoiling, i. e. anointing with oil. He means to speak of extreme unction.]

[2 Sir Thomas More in his 'Confutacyon of Tyndale's Answer,' 1532, in p. 44 quotes this first sentence, and comments upon it as follows: 'Here is a short sentence and a false erroneous judgment given by Tyndale upon all Christian people that have been anoyled since christendom first began. And he is led thereto by two special motives, the tone folly, the tother falshood. For of his folly he

they have imagined, are all without promise, and therefore help not. For "whatsoever is not of faith is sin." Rom. xiv. Now without a promise can there be no faith. The sacraments which Christ himself ordained, which have also promises, and would save us if we knew them and believed them, them minister they in the Latin tongue. So are they also become as unfruitful as the other. Yea, they make us believe that the work itself, without the promise, saveth us; which doctrine they learned of Aristotle. And thus are we become an hundred times worse than the wicked Jews; which believed that the very work of their sacrifice justified them: against which Paul fighteth in every epistle, proving that nothing helpeth save the promises which God hath sworn in Christ. Ask the people what they understand by their baptism or washing? And thou shalt see, that they believe how that the very plunging into the water saveth them: of the promises they know not, nor what is signified thereby. Baptism is called *volowing* in many places of England; because the priest saith, '*Volo*[1], say ye.' 'The child was well *volowed*' (say they); 'yea, and our vicar is as fair a *volower* as ever a priest within this twenty miles[2].'

Rom. xiv. Whatsoever is not of faith is sin. Ant. ed.

The Latin tongue destroyeth the faith. W. T.

That the work without the promise saveth, is improved. W. T.

The people believe in the work without the promise. W. T.

Volowing. W. T.

reckoneth himself sure every thing to be false that is not evidently written in holy scripture; which one thing is the tone half of all the false foundation whereupon Luther and Tyndale have builded all their heresies. For upon this Tyndale saith there is not any promise of this sacrament written in scripture; ergo, there was no promise made by God: which argument is so good, that every boy in schools laugheth it to scorn; and well they may, for all the world can never make it good. His other motive is falsehood, which is the antecedent of the same argument; that is to wit, that this sacrament hath no promise in scripture. For it hath an express promise in the epistle of St James, where he biddeth that if any be sick, he shall induce the priests to come and pray for him and anoint him with oil, and the prayer of faith shall heal the sick man, and if he be in sins they shall be forgiven him. Nay, saith Tyndale, here we may see that the anoyling doth nothing, for St James saith that the prayer of faith shall heal the man. This is a sure argument. Lo, because St James giveth the great effect to the faithful prayer, therefore the oil doth nothing at all. If it do nothing at all toward the remission of sins, why would St James have it there, that might, saving for the sacrament, as well be thence as there?—except that Tyndale wene that St James were so wise in natural things, that he thought oil a meet medicine for every sore.']

[1 I wish it.]

[2 In pp. 48—50 of his Confutation, More has quoted nearly all

Behold how narrowly the people look on the ceremony. If aught be left out, or if the child be not altogether dipt in the water, or if, because the child is sick, the priest dare not plunge him into the water, but pour water on his head, how tremble they! how quake they! 'How say ye, sir John[3], (say they,) is this child christened enough? Hath it his full christendom?' They believe verily that the child is not christened; yea, I have known priests, that have gone unto the orders again, supposing that they were not priests, because that the bishop left one of his ceremonies undone. That they call confirmation, the people call bishoping. They think that if the bishop butter the child in the forehead, that it is safe[4]. They think that the work maketh safe, and likewise suppose they of anoiling. Now is this false doctrine, verily. For James saith, in the first chapter of his epistle: "Of his good will begat he us with the word of life;" that is, with the word of promise: in which we are made God's sons, and heirs of the goodness of God, before any good works. For we cannot work God's will, till we be his sons, and know his will, and have his Spirit to teach us. And St Paul saith, in the fifth chapter of his epistle to the Ephesians: "Christ cleansed the congregation in the fountain of water through the word." And Peter saith, in the first of his first epistle: "Ye are born anew, not of mortal seed, but of immortal seed, by the word of God, which liveth and lasteth ever." Paul in every epistle warneth us, that we put no trust in works, and to beware of persuasions or arguments of man's wisdom,

The work saveth not, but the word; that is to say, the promise. W. T.

James i.

Eph. v.

1 Pet. i.

this paragraph, and combats its doctrine and assertions through sixteen folio pages.]

[3 Having assumed the Latin style of Dominus, the priests were usually styled Sir; and John being one of the commonest of names, Sir John was equivalent to saying 'a priest like his fellows.' When Walter Miller was brought before the archbishop of St Andrews, in 1558, to be condemned to the fire as an heretic, and a priest said to him, 'Sir Walter Miller, arise, and answer to the articles; he replied, Call me Walter, and not Sir Walter: I have been overlong one of the pope's knights.' Foxe, A. & M. Scottish History, Vol. v. p. 645.]

[4 More has also seized on the last two sentences to take occasion to give Tyndale a severe rebuke, in p. 41 of the Confutation. He says, that 'at the first hearing of such shameful words spoken by the mouth of such a shameless heretic, the whole Christian company present should not be able to contain themselves from calling him knave, all with one voice at once.']

of superstitiousness, of ceremonies, of pope-holiness, and of all manner disguising; and exhorteth us to cleave fast unto the naked and pure word of God. The promise of God is the anchor that saveth us in all temptations. If all the world be against us, God's word is stronger than the world. If the world kill us, that shall make us alive again. If it be possible for the world to cast us into hell, from thence yet shall God's word bring us again. Hereby seest thou that it is not the work, but the promise that justifieth us through faith. Now where no promise is, there can no faith be, and therefore no justifying, though there be never so glorious works. The sacrament of Christ's body after thiswise preach they. Thou must believe that it is no more bread, but the very body of Christ, flesh, blood and bone, even as he went here on earth, save his coat: for that is here yet; I wot not in how many places. I pray thee, what helpeth all this? Here is no promise. The devils know that Christ died on a Friday, and the Jews also. What are they holp thereby? We have a promise that Christ, and his body, and his blood, and all that he did, and suffered, is a sacrifice, a ransom, and a full satisfaction for our sins; that God for his sake will think no more on them, if we have power to repent and believe.

Works, be they never so glorious, justify not. Ant. ed.

In all thing they leave out the promises. W. T.

Holy-work men think that God rejoiceth in the deed self, without any farther respect. They think also that God, as a cruel tyrant, rejoiceth and hath delectation in our pain-taking, without any farther respect. And therefore many of them martyr themselves without cause, after the ensample of Baal's priests, which (3 Reg. xviii.) cut themselves to please their god withal, and as the old heathen pagans sacrificed their children in the fire unto their gods. The monks of the Charterhouse think that the very eating of fish in itself pleaseth God, and refer not the eating to the chastening of the body: for when they have slain their bodies with cold phlegm, of fish-eating, yet then will they eat no flesh, and slay themselves before their days. We also, when we offer our sons or daughters, and compel or persuade them to vow and profess chastity, think that the very pain, and that rage and burning which they suffer in abstaining from a make[1], pleaseth God; and so refer not our chastity to our neighbour's profit. For when we see thousands fall to innumerable diseases thereby,

1 Kings xviii.

[1 Make: a match, partner.]

and to die before their days; yea, though we see them break the commandments of God daily, and also of very impatiency work abominations against nature, too shameful to be spoken of; yet will we not let them marry, but compel them to continue still with violence. And thus teach our divines, as it appeareth by their arguments. He that taketh most pain, say they, is greatest; and so forth.

The people are throughly brought in belief, that the deed in itself, without any farther respect, saveth them; if they be so long at church; or say so many paternosters; and read so much in a tongue which they understand not; or go so much a pilgrimage; and take so much pain; or fast such a superstitious fast; or observe such a superstitious observance, neither profitable to himself nor to his neighbour, but done of a good intent only, say they, to please God withal. Yea, to kiss the pax[2], they think it a meritorious deed; when to love their neighbour, and to forgive him, (which thing is signified thereby,) they study not to do, nor have power to do, nor think that they are bound to do it, if they be offended by him. So sore have our false prophets brought the people out of their wits, and have wrapped them in darkness, and have rocked them asleep in blindness and ignorance. Now is all such doctrine false doctrine, and all such faith false faith. For the deed pleaseth not, but as far forth as it is applied to our neighbour's profit, or the taming of our bodies to keep the commandment.

How far forth the deed is acceptable to God. Ant. ed.

Now must the body be tamed only, and that with the remedies that God hath ordained, and not killed. Thou must not forswear the natural remedy which God hath ordained, and bring thyself into such case that thou shouldest either break God's commandment, or kill thyself, or burn night and day without rest, so that thou canst not once think a godly thought. Neither is it lawful to forsake thy neighbour, and to withdraw thyself from serving him, and to get thee into a den, and live idly, profitable to no man, but robbing all men, first of faith, and then of goods and land, and of all he hath, with making him believe in the hypocrisy of thy superstitious prayers and pope-holy deeds. The prayer of faith, and the deeds thereof that spring of love, are accepted before God.

Our prayers acceptable according to our faith, our

[2 A small crucifix, handed round to be kissed, at appointed times, in the mass.]

deeds according to the measure of love. Ant. ed.

The prayer is good, according to the proportion of faith; and the deed, according to the measure of love. Now he that bideth in the world, as monks call it, hath more faith than the cloisterer; for he hangeth on God in all things. He must trust God to send him good speed, good luck, favour, help, a good master, a good neighbour, a good servant, a good wife, a good chapman-merchant, to send his merchandise safe to land, and a thousand like. He loveth also more; which appeareth in that he doth service always unto his neighbour. To pray one for another are we equally bound, and to pray is a thing that we may always do, whatsoever we have in hand; and that to do may no man hire another. Christ's blood hath hired us already[1]. Thus in the deed delighteth God, as far forth as we do it, either to serve our neighbour withal (as I have said), or to tame the flesh, that we may fulfil the commandment from the bottom of the heart.

And as for our pain-taking, God rejoiceth not therein as a tyrant; but pitieth us, and as it were mourneth with us, and is alway ready and at hand to help us, if we call, as a merciful father and a kind mother. Neverthelater he sufferеth us to fall into many temptations and much adversity: yea, himself layeth the cross of tribulation on our backs, not that he rejoiceth in our sorrow, but to drive sin out of the flesh, which can none otherwise be cured: as the physician and surgeon do many things, which are painful to the sick, not that they rejoice in the pains of the poor wretches, but to persecute and to drive out the diseases which can no otherwise be healed[2].

When the people believe therefore, if they do so much work, or suffer so much pain, or go so much a pilgrimage, that they are safe, [it] is a false faith. For a Christian man

[1 Art. XV. of charges against Tyndale: 'He saith, No man may be hired to pray.' To this Foxe replies, 'The words in the Obedience be true, which are these;' and then he gives the above passages.]

[2 This paragraph is quoted by Sir Thomas More, but not without omissions. He concludes his objections to it as follows: 'It is questionless that God can otherwise drive the sin out of the flesh, and by other means cure it, if it so pleased him; and so would he, saving for his godly delight in justice, which he loveth to see man follow by fasting and other penance, and which delight of following God's pleasure therein Tyndale in man, by withdrawing of penance, clean goeth about to destroy.' Confutation, p. xxx.]

is not saved by works, but by faith in the promises before all good works; though that the works (when we work God's commandment with a good will, and not works of our own imagination) declare that we are safe, and that the Spirit of him that hath made us safe is in us: yea, and as God, through preaching of faith, doth purge and justify the heart, even so through working of deeds doth he purge and justify the members, making us perfect both in body and soul, after the likeness of Christ.

A Christian man needeth not to go a pilgrimage to be saved thereby. W. T.

Neither needeth a Christian man to run hither or thither, to Rome, to Jerusalem, or St James[3], or any other pilgrimage far or near, to be saved thereby, or to purchase forgiveness of his sins. For a Christian man's health and salvation is within him, even in his mouth. Rom. x. "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thine heart; that is, the word of faith which we preach," saith Paul. If we believe the promises with our hearts, and confess them with our mouths, we are safe. This is our health within us. "But how shall they believe that they hear not? And how shall they hear without a preacher?" saith Paul, Rom. x. For look on the promises of God, and so are all our preachers dumb: or if they preach them, they so sauce them and leaven them, that no stomach can brook them, nor find any savour in them. For they paint us such an ear-confession, as is impossible to be kept, and more impossible that it should stand with the promises and testament of God. And they join[4] them penance, as they call it, to fast, to go pilgrimages, and give so much to make satisfaction withal. They preach their masses, their merits, their pardons, their ceremonies, and put the promise clean out of possession. The word of health and salvation "is nigh thee, in thy mouth and thine heart," saith Paul. Nay, say they, thy salvation is in our faithful ear. This is their hold; thereby know they all secrets; thereby mock they all men, and all men's wives; and beguile knight and squire, lord and king, and betray all realms. The bishops, with the pope, have a certain conspiration and secret treason against the whole world: and by confession know they what kings and emperors think. If aught be against them, do they never so

Salvation is within us. W. T. Rom. x.

Rom. x.

Confession. W. T.

Bishops work their treason through confession. W. T.

[3 A pilgrimage to Compostella, in Spain, to a noted image of St James there, was held to be especially profitable.]

[4 Join: enjoin.]

evil, then move they their captives to war and to fight, and give them pardons to slay whom they will have taken out of the way. They have with falsehood taken from all kings and emperors their right and duties, which now they call their freedoms, liberties, and privileges; and have perverted the ordinances that God left in the world; and have made every king swear to defend their falsehood against their ownselves: so that now, if any man preach God's word truly, and shew the freedom and liberty of the soul which we have in Christ, or intend to restore the kings again unto their duties and right, and to the room and authority which they have of God, and of shadows to make them kings in deed, and to put the world in his order again; then the kings deliver their swords and authority unto the hypocrites, to slay him. So drunken are they with the wine of the whore.

Kings be sworn to the bishops, and not the bishops unto the kings. W. T.

The text that followeth in Paul will they happily lay to my charge and others. "How shall they preach, except they be sent?" saith Paul in the said xth to the Romans. 'We,' will they say, 'are the pope, cardinals and bishops: all authority is ours. The scripture pertaineth unto us, and is our possession. And we have a law, that whosoever presume to preach without the authority of the bishops, is excommunicate in the deed-doing. Whence, therefore, hast thou thine authority?' will they say. The old Pharisees had the scripture in captivity likewise, and asked Christ, "By what authority doest thou these things?" As who should say, We are Pharisees, and thou art none of our order, nor hast authority of us. Christ asked them another question, and so will I do our hypocrites. 'Who sent you? God? Nay, he that is sent of God speaketh God's word. Now speak ye not God's word, nor any thing save your own laws, made clean contrary unto God's word. Christ's apostles preached Christ, and not themselves. He that is of the truth preacheth the truth. Now ye preach nothing but lies, and therefore are of the devil, the father of all lies, and of him are ye sent. And as for mine authority, or who sent me, I report me unto my works, as Christ, John v. and x. If God's word bear record that I say truth, why should any man doubt, but that God, the Father of truth and of light, hath sent me; as the father of lies and of darkness hath sent you; and that the Spirit of truth and of light is with me, as the spirit of lies and of darkness is with you?'

How shall they preach except they be sent, is expounded. W. T. Rom. x.

How to know who is sent of God, and who is not. W. T. John iii.

John v. & x.

'By this means thou wilt that every man be a preacher,' will they say. Nay, verily. For God will that not, and therefore will I it not; no more than I would that every man of London were mayor of London, or every man of the realm king thereof. God is not the author of dissension and strife, but of unity and peace, and of good order. I will therefore, that where a congregation is gathered together in Christ, one be chosen after the rule of Paul, and that he only preach, and else no man openly; but that every man teach his household after the same doctrine. But if the preacher preach false; then whosoever's heart God moveth, to the same it shall be lawful to rebuke and improve the false teacher with the clear and manifest scripture; and that same is no doubt a true prophet, sent of God. For the scripture is God's, and theirs that believe, and not the false prophet's.

No man may preach, but he that is called and sent of God. W. T.

Sacrament is then as much to say as an holy sign. And the sacraments which Christ ordained preach God's word unto us, and therefore justify, and minister the Spirit to them that believe; as Paul through preaching the gospel was a minister of righteousness, and of the Spirit, unto all that believed his preaching. Dumb ceremonies are no sacraments, but superstitiousness. Christ's sacraments preach the faith of Christ, as his apostles did, and thereby justify. Antichrist's dumb ceremonies preach not the faith that is in Christ; as his apostles, our bishops and cardinals, do not. But as antichrist's bishops are ordained to kill whosoever preach the true faith of Christ; so are his ceremonies ordained to quench the faith, which Christ's sacraments preach. And hereby mayest thou know the difference between Christ's signs or sacraments, and antichrist's signs or ceremonies; that Christ's signs speak, and antichrist's be dumb.

The difference between true sacraments and false. W. T.

Hereby seest thou what is to be thought of all other ceremonies; as hallowed water, bread, salt, boughs, bells, wax, ashes, and so forth; and all other disguisings and apes'-play; and of all manner conjurations, as the conjuring of church and church-yards, and of altar-stones, and such like. Where no promise of God is, there can be no faith, nor justifying, nor forgiveness of sins: for it is more than madness to look for any thing of God, save that he hath promised. How far he hath promised, so far is he bound to them that

A faith without God's promise is idolatry. W. T.

believe; and further not. To have a faith, therefore, or a trust in any thing, where God hath not promised, is plain idolatry, and a worshipping of thine own imagination instead of God. Let us see the pith of a ceremony or two, to judge the rest by. In conjuring of holy water, they pray that whosoever be sprinkled therewith may receive health as well of body as of soul: and likewise in making holy bread, and so forth in the conjurations of other ceremonies. Now we see by daily experience, that half their prayer is unheard. For no man receiveth health of body thereby. No more, of likelihood, do they of soul. Yea, we see also by experience, that no man receiveth health of soul thereby. For no man by sprinkling himself with holy water, and with eating holy bread, is more merciful than before, or forgiveth wrong, or becometh at one with his enemy, or is more patient, and less covetous, and so forth; which are the sure tokens of the soul-health.

The bishop's blessing. W. T.

They preach also, that the wagging of the bishop's hand over us blesseth us, and putteth away our sins. Are these works not against Christ? How can they do more shame unto Christ's blood? For if the wagging of the bishop's hand over me be so precious a thing in the sight of God that I am thereby blessed, how then am I full "blessed with all spiritual blessing in Christ?" as Paul saith, Eph. i. Or if my sins be full done away in Christ, how remaineth there any to be done away by such fantasies? The apostles knew no ways to put away sin, or to bless us, but by preaching Christ. Paul saith, Gal. ii. "If righteousness come by the law, then Christ died in vain." So dispute I here: If blessing come by the wagging of the bishop's hand, then died Christ in vain, and his death blesseth us not. And a little afore saith Paul, "If while we seek to be justified by Christ, we be yet found sinners," (so that we must be justified by the law or ceremonies,) "is not Christ then a minister of sin?" So dispute I here: If while we seek to be blessed in Christ we are yet unblessed, and must be blessed by the wagging of the bishop's hand, what have we then of Christ but curse? Thou wilt say: When we come first to the faith, then Christ forgiveth us and blesseth us; but the sins, which we afterward commit, are forgiven us through such things. I answer, if any man repent truly, and come to the faith, and put his

Eph. i.

How the apostles blessed us. W. T.

Gal. ii.

Gal. ii.

Repentance, and sure faith in Christ.

trust in Christ, then as oft as he sinneth of frailty, at the sigh of the heart is his sin put away in Christ's blood. For Christ's blood purgeth ever and blesseth ever. For John saith in the second of his first epistle, "This I write unto you that ye sin not. And though any man sin" (meaning of frailty, and so repent) "yet have we an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ which is righteous, and he it is that obtaineth grace for our sins." And, Heb. vii. it is written, "But this man" (meaning Christ), "because he lasteth or abideth ever, hath an everlasting priesthood. Therefore is he able also ever to save them that come to God through him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for us." The bishops therefore ought to bless us in preaching Christ, and not to deceive us and to bring the curse of God upon us with wagging their hands over us. To preach is their duty only, and not to offer their feet to be kissed[1]. We feel also by experience that after the pope's, bishop's, or cardinal's blessing, we are no otherwise disposed in our souls than before.

purgeth our sins. Ant. ed.

1 John ii.

Heb. vii.

Let this be sufficient as concerning the sacraments and ceremonies, with this protestation: that if any can say better, or improve this with God's word, no man shall be better content therewith than I. For I seek nothing but the truth, and to walk in the light. I submit therefore this work and all other that I have made or shall make (if God will that I shall more make) unto the judgments, not of them that furiously burn all truth, but of them which are ready with God's word to correct, if any thing be said amiss, and to further God's word.

The protestation of the author. W. T.

I will talk a word or two after the worldly wisdom with them, and make an end of this matter. If the sacraments justify, as they say, (I understand by justifying, forgiveness of sins,) then do they wrong unto the sacraments, inasmuch as they rob the most part of them, through confession, of their effect, and of the cause wherefore they were ordained. For no man may receive the body of Christ, no man may marry, no man may be oiled or anoiled as they call it, no man may receive orders, except he be first shriven. Now when the sins be forgiven by shrift aforehand, there is nought left for the sacraments to do. They will answer that at the

Confession robbeth the sacraments, and maketh them fruitless. W. T.

[1 A coarse expression, originating with the once popularly credited story of pope Joan, is here omitted.]

leastway they increase grace; and not the sacraments only, but also hearing of mass, matins, and even-song, and receiving of holy water, holy bread, and of the bishop's blessing, and so forth by all ceremonies. By grace I understand the favour of God, and also the gifts and working of his Spirit in us; as love, kindness, patience, obedience, mercifulness, despising of worldly things, peace, concord, and such like. If after thou hast heard so many masses, matins, and even-songs, and after thou hast received holy bread, holy water, and the bishop's blessing, or a cardinal's or the pope's, if thou wilt be more kind to thy neighbour, and love him better than before; if thou be more obedient unto thy superiors; more merciful, more ready to forgive wrong done unto thee, more despisest the world, and more athirst after spiritual things; if after that a priest hath taken orders he be less covetous than before; if a wife, after so many and oft pilgrimages, be more chaste, more obedient unto her husband, more kind to her maids and other servants; if gentlemen, knights, lords, and kings and emperors, after they have said so often daily service with their chaplains, know more of Christ than before, and can better skill to rule their tenants, subjects, and realms christianly than before, and be content with their duties; then do such things increase grace. If not, it is a lie. Whether it be so or no, I report me to experience. If they have any other interpretations of justifying or grace, I pray them to teach it me; for I would gladly learn it. Now let us go to our purpose again.

What grace is. W. T.

How to know what justifieth, and what not; or what bringeth grace, and what not. W. T.

With their chaplains, quoth he, God give grace. Their chaplains at the last make them not so mad to say service alone while they[1]. W. T.

Of Miracles and Worshipping of Saints.

True miracles draw to Christ. W. T.

ANTICHRIST shall not only come with lying signs, and disguised with falsehood, but also with lying miracles and

[1 The words *quoth he* seem to indicate either that this marginal note is a quotation from Sir T. More's dialogue, or an allusion to it; for in that dialogue *quoth he* recurs with an absurd frequency, elsewhere noticed by Tyndale. The final words *while they* are found in all the editions collated, and seem to imply some continued typographical error. If it may be supposed that *whyle* is a misprint for *whyst* or *know*, we might read the margin as follows: Their chaplains at the last make them not so mad. To say service alone whist they.]

wonders, saith Paul in the said place, 2 Thes. ii. All the true miracles which are of God, are shewed (as I above rehearsed) to move us to hear God's word, and to stablish our faith therein, and to confirm the truth of God's promises, that we might without all doubting believe them. For God's word through faith bringeth the Spirit into our hearts and also life, as Christ saith, John vi. "The words which I speak are spirit and life." The word also purgeth us and cleanseth us, as Christ saith, John xv. "Ye are clean by the means of the word." Paul saith, 1 Tim. ii. "One God, one Mediator" (that is to say, advocate, intercessor, or an atone-maker) "between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, which gave himself a ransom for all men." Peter saith of Christ, Acts iv. "Neither is there health in any other: neither yet also any other name given unto men wherein we must be saved." So now Christ is our peace, our redemption or ransom for our sins, our righteousness, satisfaction, and "all the promises of God are yea and Amen in him," 2 Cor i. And we, for the great and infinite love which God hath to us in Christ, love him again, love also his laws, and love one another. And the deeds which we henceforth do, do we not to make satisfaction, or to obtain heaven; but to succour our neighbour, to tame the flesh, that we may wax perfect and strong men in Christ, and to be thankful to God again for his mercy, and to glorify his name.

2 Thess. ii.

John vi.

John xv.

1 Tim. ii.

Acts iv.

2 Cor. i.

The effect and force of our good deeds.

Contrariwise the miracles of antichrist are done to pull thee from the word of God, and from believing his promises, and from Christ, and to put thy trust in a man, or a ceremony wherein God's word is not. As soon as God's word is believed, the faith spread abroad, then cease the miracles of God. But the miracles of antichrist, because they are wrought by the devil, to quench the faith, grow daily more and more; neither shall cease, until the world's end, among them that believe not God's word and promises. Seest thou not how God loosed and sent forth all the devils in the old world among the heathen or gentiles? and how the devils wrought miracles, and spake to them in every image? Even so shall the devil work falsehood by one craft or another, until the world's end, among them that believe not God's word. For the judgment and damnation of him

False miracles drive from Christ. W. T.

that hath no lust to hear the truth, is to hear lies, and to be stablished and grounded therein through false miracles; and he that will not see is worthy to be blind; and he that biddeth the Spirit of God go from him, is worthy to be without him.

Paul, Peter, and all true apostles preached Christ only. And the miracles did but confirm and stablish their preaching, and those everlasting promises and eternal testament that God had made between man and him in Christ's blood: and the miracles did testify also that they were true servants of Christ. Paul preached not himself; he taught not any man to trust in him or his holiness, or in Peter or in any ceremony, but in the promises which God hath sworn only: yea, he mightily resisteth all such false doctrine, both to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, and every where. If this be true (as it is true and nothing more true), that if Paul had preached himself, or taught any man to believe in his holiness or prayer, or in any thing save in the promises that God hath made and sworn to give us for Christ's sake, he had been a false prophet; why am not I also a false prophet, if I teach thee to trust in Paul, or in his holiness or prayer, or in any thing save in God's word, as Paul did?

He that teacheth to trust in a saint is a false prophet. W. T.

If Paul were here and loved me, (as he loved them of his time to whom he was sent, and to whom he was a servant to preach Christ,) what good could he do for me or wish me, but preach Christ and pray to God for me, to open mine heart, to give me his Spirit, and to bring me unto the full knowledge of Christ? unto which port or haven when I am once come, I am as safe as Paul, fellow with Paul, joint heir with Paul of all the promises of God, and God's truth heareth my prayer as well as Paul's[1]. I also now could not but love Paul, and wish him good, and pray for him, that God would strengthen him in all his temptations and give him victory, as he would do for me. Nevertheless there are many weak and young consciences always in the congregation, which they

What he should pray, that prayeth for his neighbour. W. T.

The weak should be taught, and not deceived. W. T.

[1 Art. XVI. Of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale: 'He saith, *Why should I trust in Paul's prayer or holiness?* If St Paul were alive, he would compare himself to St Paul, and be as good as he.' In reply to this charge Foxe quotes Tyndale's words, from 'Why am not I' to 'the promises of God;' and observes in his margin, that 'The words of Tyndale import no such meaning as in the article.']

that have the office to preach ought to teach, and not to deceive them.

What prayers pray our clergy for us, which stop us and exclude us from Christ, and seek all the means possible to keep us from knowledge of Christ? They compel us to hire friars, monks, nuns, canons, and priests, and to buy their abominable merits, and to hire the saints that are dead to pray for us; for the very saints have they made hirelings also, because that their offerings come to their profit. What pray all those? That we might come to the knowledge of Christ, as the apostles did? Nay, verily. For it is a plain case, that all they which enforce to keep us from Christ, pray not that we might come to the knowledge of Christ. And as for the saints, (whose prayer was, when they were alive, that we might be grounded, established and strengthened in Christ only,) if it were of God that we should this wise worship them, contrary unto their own doctrine, I dare be bold to affirm, that by the means of their prayers we should have been brought long ago unto the knowledge of God and Christ again, though that these beasts had done their worst to let it. Let us therefore set our hearts at rest in Christ and in God's promises, for so I think it best; and let us take the saints for an ensample only, and let us do as they both taught and did.

The spirituality pray not that we might come to the knowledge of Christ. W. T.

The saints are but an example. W. T.

Let us set God's promises before our eyes, and desire him for his mercy and for Christ's sake to fulfil them. And he is as true as ever he was, and will do it as well as ever he did; for to us are the promises made as well as to them.

Moreover, the end of God's miracles is good; the end to these miracles are evil. For the offerings, which are the cause of the miracles, do but minister and maintain vice, sin, and all abomination, and are given to them that have too much; so that for very abundance they foam out their own shame, and corrupt the whole world with the stench of their filthiness.

Offerings cause the miracles. W. T.

Thereto "whatsoever is not of faith is sin." "Faith cometh by hearing God's word." When now thou fastest or doest any thing in the worship of any saint, believing to come to the favour of God or to be saved thereby; if thou have God's word, then is it true faith and shall save

Rom. xiv. Rom. x.

thee. If thou have not God's word, then it is a false faith, superstitiousness, and idolatry, and damnable sin.

Also in the collects of the saints, with which we pray God to save us through the merits or deservings of the saints, (which saints yet were not saved by their own deservings themselves) we say, *per Christum Dominum nostrum;* that is, for Christ our Lord's sake. We say, 'Save us, good Lord, through the saints' merits for Christ's sake.' How can he save us through the saints' merits for Christ's sake, and for his deserving merits and love? Take an example. A gentleman saith unto me, 'I will do the uttermost of my power for thee, for the love which I owe unto thy father. Though thou hast never done me pleasure, yet I love thy father well: thy father is my friend, and hath deserved that I do all that I can for thee, &c.' Here is a testament and a promise made unto me in the love of my father only. If I come to the said gentleman in the name of one of his servants which I never saw, never spake with, neither have any acquaintance at all with, and say, 'Sir, I pray you be good master unto me in such a cause: I have not deserved that thou shouldest so do; nevertheless I pray you do it for such a servant's sake: yea, I pray you for the love that you owe to my father, do that for me for such a servant's sake:' if I this wise made my petition, would not men think that I came late out of St Patrick's purgatory[1], and had left my wits behind me? This do we. For the testament and promises are all made unto us in Christ: and we desire

[1 Cum Patricius per Hiberniam prædicaret, et fructum ibi modicum faceret, rogavit Deum ut ibi aliquod signum ostenderet, per quod territi pœniterent. Jussu igitur Domini in quodam loco circulum magnum cum baculo designavit, intra quod se terra statim aperuit, et puteus profundissimus ibidem apparuit. Revelatum quoque fuit sancto, quod ibi quidem purgatorii locus esset, in quem quisquis vellet descendere, alia sibi pœnitentia non restaret, nec aliud pro peccatis purgatorium sustineret: plerique autem non redirent; et qui rediret, die naturali integro ibidem moram faceret. Multi igitur ingrediebantur, qui de cetero non revertebantur.—Petrus de Natalibus; Catalog. Sanctorum, Lib. III. cap. cciv. Argentinæ, 1513.—This legendary tale goes on to relate how such horrible things as might well make a man leave his wits behind him, were seen by a nobleman named Nicholas, who descended and came up again the next morning. This Patrick's purgatory is still a popular resort with the superstitious. See Inglis' Tour in Ireland, 4th edition, p. 300.]

God to fulfil his promises for the saints' sake; yea, that he will for Christ's sake do it for the saints' sake.

God the Father fulfilleth his promises to us for Christ's sake, and not for the merits of saints, as the papists taught. Ant. ed.

They have also martyrs, which never preached God's word, neither died therefore; but for privileges and liberties, which they falsely purchased, contrary unto God's ordinances. Yea, and such saints, though they be dead, yet rob now as fast as ever they did, neither are less covetous now than when they were alive. I doubt not but that they will make a saint of my lord cardinal after the death of us that be alive, and know his juggling and crafty conveyance; and will shrine him gloriously for his mightily defending of the right of the holy church, except we be diligent to leave a commemoration of that Nimrod behind us.

All such martyrs are the pope's martyrs, and not God's. For martyr signifieth a witness-bearer: now is he not God's witness that testifieth not his word. W. T.

The reasons wherewith they prove their doctrine are but fleshly, and, as Paul calleth them, "enticing words of man's wisdom;" that is to wit, sophistry, and brawling arguments of men with corrupt minds and destitute of the truth, whose God is their belly, unto which idol whosoever offereth not, the same is an heretic, and worthy to be burnt.

The reasons which they make for the worshipping of saints are solved. W. T.

'The saint was great with God when he was alive, as it appeareth by the miracles which God shewed for him; he must therefore be great now,' say they. This reason appeareth wisdom; but it is very foolishness with God. For the miracle was not shewed that thou should put thy trust in the saint, but in the word which the saint preached; which word, if thou believest, would save thee, as God hath promised and sworn, and would make thee also great with God, as it did the saint.

'If a man have a matter with a great man, or a king, he must go first unto one of his mean servants, and then higher and higher till he come at the king.' This enticing argument is but a blind reason of man's wit. It is not like in the kingdom of the world, and in the kingdom of God and Christ. With kings, for the most part, we have none acquaintance, neither promise. They be also most commonly merciless. Moreover, if they promise, they are yet men, as unconstant as are other people, and as untrue. But with God, if we have belief, we are accounted, and have an open way in unto him by the door Christ, which is never shut, but through unbelief; neither is there any porter to keep any man out. "By him," saith Paul, Eph. ii. that is to say, by Christ, "we

It is not like with kings and God. W. T.

Eph. ii.

have an open way in unto the Father. So are ye now no more strangers and foreigners (saith he), but citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." God hath also made us promises, and hath sworn; yea, hath made a testament or a covenant, and hath bound himself, and hath sealed his obligation with Christ's blood, and confirmed it with miracles. He is also merciful and kind; and complaineth that we will not come unto him. He is mighty and able to perform that he promiseth. He is true, and cannot be but true, as he cannot be but God. Therefore is it not like with the king and God.

'We be sinners,' say they, 'God will not hear us.' Behold how they flee from God, as from a tyrant merciless. Whom a man counteth most merciful, unto him he soonest fleeth. But these teachers dare not come at God. Why? For they are the children of Cain. If the saints love whom God hateth, then God and his saints are divided. When thou prayest to the saints, how do they know, except that God, whom thou countest merciless, tell them? If God be so cruel, and so hateth thee, it is not likely that he will tell the saints that thou prayest unto them.

Christ is no sinner. W. T.

When they say, 'We be sinners:' I answer, that Christ is no sinner, save a satisfaction and an offering for sin. Take Christ from the saints, and what are they? What is Paul without Christ? Is he any thing save a blasphemer, a persecutor, a murderer, and a shedder of christian blood? But as soon as he came to Christ, he was no more a sinner, but a minister of righteousness: he went not to Rome to take penance upon him, but went and preached unto his brethren the same mercy, which he had received free, without doing penance, or hiring of saints, or of monks or friars. Moreover, if it be God's word that thou should put thy trust in the saints' merits or prayers, then be bold; for God's word shall defend thee, and save thee. If it be but thine own reason, then fear: for God commandeth by Moses, Deut. xii. saying,

Deut. xii.

"What I command you, that observe and do, and put nothing to, nor take ought therefrom;" yea, and Moses warneth straitly in an hundred places, that we do that only which God commandeth, and which seemeth good and righteous in his sight, and not in our own sight. For nothing bringeth the wrath of God so soon and so sore on a man, as the idolatry of his own imagination.

Nothing bringeth a man sooner to confusion than the idolatry of his own imagination. Ant. ed.

Last of all, these arguments are contrary to the arguments of Christ and of his apostles. Christ disputeth, Luke xi. saying: "If the son ask the father bread, will he give him a stone? or if he ask him fish, will he give him a serpent?" and so forth. "If ye then," saith he, "which are evil can give good gifts to your children, how much rather shall your heavenly Father give a good Spirit unto them that ask him!" And a little before, in the same chapter, he saith: "If a man came never so out of season to his neighbour to borrow bread, even when he is in his chamber, and the door shut, and all his servants with him; nevertheless yet, if he continue knocking and praying, he will rise and give him as much as he needeth, though not for love, yet to be rid of him, that he may have rest." As who should say, What will God do, if a man pray him; seeing that prayer overcometh an evil man? "Ask," therefore, saith he, "and it shall be given Luke xi. you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." And Luke xviii. he putteth forth the parable, or similitude, of the wicked judge, which was overcome with the importunate prayer of the widow; and concludeth, saying: "Hear what the wicked judge did. And shall not Luke xviii. God avenge his elect, which cry unto him night and day?" Whether, therefore, we complain of the intolerable oppression and persecution that we suffer, or of the flesh that cumbereth and resisteth the Spirit, God is merciful to hear us and to help us. Seest thou not also, how Christ cureth many, and casteth out devils out of many, unspoken to? how shall he not help, if he be desired and spoken to?

When the old Pharisees (whose nature is to drive sinners from Christ) asked Christ why he did eat with publicans and sinners? Christ answered, "That the whole needed not the physician, but the sick;" that is, he came to have conversation with sinners to heal them. He was a gift given Christ is a gift given to sinners. W. T. unto sinners, and a treasure to pay their debts. And Christ sent the complaining and disdaining Pharisees to the prophet Oseas, saying: "Go and learn what this meaneth, I desire God loveth mercy. W. T. (or require) mercy, and not sacrifice." As who should say, Ye Pharisees love sacrifice and offering for to feed that god Hypocrites love offerings. W. T. your bellies withal; but God commandeth to be merciful. Sinners are ever captives, and a prey to the Pharisees and hypocrites, for to offer unto their bellies, and to buy merits,

pardons, and forgiveness of sins of them. And therefore fear they them away from Christ with arguments of their belly-wisdom. For he that receiveth forgiveness free of Christ, will buy no forgiveness of them. "I came," saith Christ, "to call, not the righteous, but the sinners unto repentance." The Pharisees are righteous, and therefore have no part with Christ, neither need they; for they are gods themselves, and saviours. But sinners, that repent, pertain to Christ. If we repent, Christ hath made satisfaction for us already.

John iii. "God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that none that believe on him should perish, but should have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved. He that believeth on him shall not be damned; but he that believeth not is damned already." John iii.

Rom. v. Paul, Rom. v. saith, "Because we are justified through faith, we are at peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ:" that is, because that God, which cannot lie, hath promised and sworn to be merciful unto us, and to forgive us for Christ's sake, we believe, and are at peace in our consciences; we run not hither and thither for pardon; we trust not in this friar nor that monk, neither in any thing, save in the word of God only: as a child, when his father threateneth him for his fault, hath never rest till he hear the word of mercy and forgiveness of his father's mouth again; but as soon as he heareth his father say, Go thy way, do me no more so, I forgive thee this fault, then is his heart at rest; then is he at peace; then runneth he to no man to make intercession for him; neither, though there come any false merchant[1], saying, 'What wilt thou give me, and I will obtain pardon of thy father for thee?' will he suffer himself to be beguiled. No, he will not buy of a wily fox that which his father hath given him freely.

We are at peace in our consciences, when we believe constantly our sins are remitted through Jesus Christ. Ant. ed.

Rom. v. It followeth, "God setteth out his love, that he hath to us;" (that is, he maketh it appear, that men may perceive love if they be not more than stock blind:) "inasmuch (saith Paul) as, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more now, (saith he,) seeing we are justified by his blood, shall we be preserved from wrath through him: for if when we were

[1 Dealer in lies.]

enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more, seeing we are reconciled, we shall be preserved by his life." As who should say, If God loved us, when we knew him not, much more loveth he us now we know him. If he were merciful to us while we hated his law, how much more merciful will he be now, seeing we love it, and desire strength to fulfil it! And in the viiith he argueth: "If God spared not his own Son, but gave him for us all, how shall he not with him give us all things also?" Rom. viii.

Christ prayed, John xvii. not for the apostles only, but also for as many as should believe through their preaching, and was heard. Whatsoever we ask in his name, the Father giveth us. Christ is also as merciful as the saints. Why go we not straightway unto him? Verily, because we feel not the mercy of God, neither believe his truth. 'God will, at the leastway (say they), hear us the sooner for the saints' sake.' Then loveth he the saints better than Christ and his own truth. Heareth he us for the saints' sake? So heareth he us not for his mercy: for merits and mercy cannot stand together. John xvii. John xvi. Why we come not to Christ. W. T.

Finally: If thou put any trust in thine own deeds, or in the deeds of any other man, of any saint, then minishest thou the truth, mercy, and goodness of God. For if God look unto thy works, or unto the works of any other man, or goodness of the saint; then doth he not all things of pure mercy and of his goodness, and for the truth's sake, which he hath sworn in Christ. Now saith Paul, Tit. iii. "Not of the righteous deeds which we did, but of his mercy saved he us." Tit. iii.

Our blind disputers will say, 'If our good deeds justify us not; if God look not on our good deeds, neither regard them, nor love us the better for them, what need we to do good deeds?' I answer, God looketh on our good deeds, and loveth them; yet loveth us not for their sakes. God loveth us first in Christ, of his goodness and mercy, and poureth his Spirit into us, and giveth us power to do good deeds. And because he loveth us, he forgiveth us our evil deeds, which we do of frailty, and not of purpose, or for the nonce. Our good deeds do but testify only that we are justified and beloved. For except we were beloved, and had God's Spirit, we could neither do, nor yet consent unto any good deed. Antichrist turneth the roots of the trees upward. He maketh the goodness of God looketh on our good deeds. W. T. Antichrist turneth the roots of the trees upward. W. T.

God the branches, and our goodness the roots. We must be first good, after antichrist's doctrine, and move God, and compel him to be good again for our goodness' sake: so must God's goodness spring out of our goodness. Nay, verily; God's goodness is the root of all goodness; and our goodness, if we have any, springeth out of his goodness.

Of Prayer.

Of prayer and good deeds, and of the order of love, or charity, I have abundantly written in my book of the Justifying of Faith[1]. Neverthelater, that thou mayest see what the prayers and good works of our monks and friars, and of other ghostly people, are worth, I will speak a word or two, and make an end. Paul saith, Gal. iii. "All ye are the sons of God through faith in Jesus Christ; for all ye that are baptized have put Christ on you;" that is, ye are become Christ himself. "There is no Jew," (saith he,) "neither Greek, neither bond nor free, neither man nor woman, but ye are all one thing in Christ Jesus." In Christ there is neither French nor English; but the Frenchman is the Englishman's own self, and the English the Frenchman's own self. In Christ there is neither father nor son, neither master nor servant, neither husband nor wife, neither king nor subject: but the father is the son's self, and the son the father's own self; and the king is the subject's own self, and the subject is the king's own self; and so forth. I am thou thyself, and thou art I myself, and can be no nearer of kin. We are all the sons of God, all Christ's servants bought with his blood; and every man to other Christ his own self. And Col. iii. "Ye have put on the new man, which is renewed in the knowledge of God, after the image of him that made him (that is to say, Christ;) "where is" (saith he) "neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarous or Scythian, bond or free; but Christ is all in all things." I love thee not now because thou art my father, and hast done so much for me; or my mother, and hast borne me, and given me suck of thy breasts, (for so do Jews and Saracens,) but because of the great love that Christ hath shewed me. I serve thee, not because thou art

Gal. iii. In Christ we are one as good as another, equally beloved, and indifferently heard. W. T.

Col. iii.

Christ is all to a christian man. W. T.

[1 So he calls his treatise on the parable of the Wicked Mammon.]

my master, or my king, for hope of reward, or fear of pain, but for the love of Christ; for the children of faith are under no law (as thou seest in the epistles to the Romans, to the Galatians, in the first to Timothy), but are free. The Spirit of Christ hath written the lively law of love in their hearts; which driveth them to work of their own accord freely and willingly, for the great love's sake only which they see in Christ, and therefore need they no law to compel them[2]. Christ is all in all things to them that believe, and the cause of all love. Paul saith, Eph. vi. "Servants, obey unto your carnal or fleshly masters with fear and trembling, in singleness of your hearts, as unto Christ: not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, even as though ye served the Lord, and not men. And remember, that whatsoever good thing any man doth, that shall he receive again of the Lord, whether he be bond or free." Christ thus is all in all things, and cause of all, to a christian man. And Christ saith, Matt. xxv. "Inasmuch as ye have done it to any the least of these my brethren, ye have done it to me. And inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, ye have not done it to me." Here seest thou that we are Christ's brethren, and even Christ himself; and whatsoever we do one to another, that do we to Christ[3]. If we be in Christ, we work for no worldly purpose, but of love: as Paul saith, 2 Cor. v. "The love of Christ compelleth us:" (as who should say, We work not of a fleshly purpose:) "for" (saith he) "we know henceforth no man fleshly; no, though we once knew Christ fleshly, we do so now no more." We are otherwise minded than when Peter drew his sword to fight for Christ. We are now ready to suffer with Christ, and to lose life and all for our very enemies, to bring them unto Christ. If we be in Christ, we are minded like unto Christ; which knew nothing fleshly, or after the will of the flesh, as thou seest Matt. xii. when one said to him, "Lo, thy mother

The children of faith work of love, and need no law to compel them. W. T.

Eph. vi. We are all Christ's servants, and serve Christ. W. T.

Matt. xxv.

The contempt or love we shew one to another, the same shew we to Christ. Ant. ed.

2 Cor. v.

Christ knoweth nothing worldly, no, not his very mother. W. T. Matt. xii.

[2 Art. XVII. of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale: 'He saith that the children of faith be under no law.' Foxe replies, 'The article is true, being truly taken.']

[3 Art. XVIII. 'He saith, that all that be baptized become Christ.' Foxe's reply is, 'With this article confer the words of the Obedience.']

and thy brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee. He answered, Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? And stretched his hand over his disciples, saying, See, my mother and my brethren: for whosoever doth the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, my sister, and my mother." He knew not his mother in that she bare him, but in that she did the will of his Father in heaven. So now, as God the Father's will and commandment is all to Christ, even so Christ is all to a christian man.

Christ is the cause why I love thee, why I am ready to do the uttermost of my power for thee, and why I pray for thee. And as long as the cause abideth, so long lasteth the effect: even as it is always day so long as the sun shineth. Do therefore the worst thou canst unto me, take away my goods, take away my good name; yet as long as Christ remaineth in my heart, so long I love thee not a whit the less, and so long art thou as dear unto me as mine own soul, and so long am I ready to do thee good for thine evil, and so long I pray for thee with all my heart: for Christ desireth it of me, and hath deserved it of me. Thine unkindness compared unto his kindness is nothing at all; yea, it is swallowed up as a little smoke of a mighty wind, and is no more seen or thought upon. Moreover that evil which thou didst to me, I receive not of thy hand, but of the hand of God, and as God's scourge to teach me patience, and to nurture me: and therefore have no cause to be angry with thee, more than the child hath to be angry with his father's rod; or a sick man with a sour or bitter medicine that healeth him, or a prisoner with his fetters, or he that is punished lawfully with the officer that punisheth him. Thus is Christ all, and the whole cause why I love thee. And to all can nought be added. Therefore cannot a little money make me love thee better, or more bound to pray for thee, nor make God's commandment greater. Last of all, if I be in Christ, then "the love of Christ compelleth me." And therefore I am ready to give thee mine, and not to take thine from thee. If I be able, I will do thee service freely: if not, then if thou minister to me again, that receive I of the hand of God, which ministereth it to me by thee. For God careth for his, and ministereth all things unto them, and moveth Turks, and Saracens, and all manner infidels to do them good: as thou seest in

As long as Christ abideth, so long a christian man loveth. W. T.

Money bindeth not Christians to pray. W. T.

God careth for his. W. T.

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and how God went with Joseph into Egypt, and gat him favour in the prison, and in every place; which favour Joseph received of the hand of God, and to God gave the thanks. Thus is God and Christ all in all; good and bad receive I of God. Them that are good I love, because they are in Christ; and the evil, to bring them to Christ. When any man doth well, I rejoice that God is honoured; and when any man doth evil, I sorrow because that God is dishonoured. Finally, inasmuch as God hath created all, and Christ bought all with his blood, therefore ought all to seek God and Christ in all, and else nothing.

The belly is a god, and cause of all unto our spiritualty. W. T.

But contrariwise unto monks, friars, and to the other of our holy spiritualty, the belly is all in all, and cause of all love. Offer thereto; so art thou father, mother, sister, and brother unto them. Offerest thou not? so know they thee not; thou art neither father, mother, sister, brother, nor any kin at all to them. 'She is a sister of ours, he is a brother of ours,' say they; 'he is verily a good man, for he doth much for our religion: she is a mother to our convent; we be greatly bound to pray for them. And as for such and such, (say they,) we know not whether they be good or bad, or whether they be fish or flesh, for they do nought for us: we be more bound to pray for our benefactors (say they) and for them that give us, than for them that give us not.' For them that give little are they little bound, and them they love little: and for them that give much they are much bound, and them they love much: and for them that give nought are they nought bound, and them they love not at all. And as they love thee when thou givest, so hate they thee when thou takest away from them, and run all under a stool, and curse thee as black as pitch. So is cloister-love belly-love; cloister-prayer, belly-prayer; and cloister-brotherhood, belly-brotherhood. Moreover, love that springeth of Christ seeketh not her own self, 1 Cor. xiii., but forgetteth herself, and bestoweth her upon her neighbour's profit, as Christ sought our profit, and not his own. He sought not the favour of God for himself, but for us; yea, he took the wrath and vengeance of God from us unto himself, and bare it on his own back, to bring us unto favour. Likewise doth a christian man give to his brethren, and robbeth them not, as friars and monks do; but, as Paul commandeth, Eph. iv. laboureth with his hands

All is of the belly, and nothing of Christ. W. T.

1 Cor. xiii. Christ's love forgetteth herself: but monks' love thinketh on the belly. W. T.

Eph. iv.

some good work to have wherewith to help the needy. They give not, but receive only. They labour not, but live idly of the sweat of the poor. There is none so poor a widow, though she have not to find herself and her children, nor any money to give, yet shall the friar snatch a cheese, or somewhat. They preach, sayest thou, and labour in the word. First, I say, they are not called, and therefore ought not: for it is the curate's[1] office. The curate cannot, sayest thou. What doth the thief there then? Secondarily, a true preacher preacheth Christ's testament only; and maketh Christ the cause and reward of all our deeds; and teacheth every man to bear his cross willingly for Christ's sake. But these are enemies unto the cross of Christ, and preach their belly, which is their god, Eph. [Phil.] iii. and they think that lucre is the serving of God, 1 Tim. vi.: that is, they think them christian only, which offer unto their bellies, which when thou hast filled, then spue they out prayers for thee, to be thy reward, and yet wot not what prayer meaneth. Prayer is the longing for God's promises; which promises, as they preach them not, so long they not for them, nor wish them unto any man. Their longing is to fill their paunch, whom they serve, and not Christ; and through sweet preaching, and flattering words, deceive the hearts of the simple and unlearned.

Friars and monks ought not to preach. W. T.

Phil. iii.

1 Tim. vi.

Rom. xvi.

Finally, as Christ is the whole cause why we do all thing for our neighbour, even so is he the cause why God doth all thing for us, why he receiveth us into his holy testament, and maketh us heirs of all his promises, and poureth his Spirit into us, and maketh us his sons, and fashioneth us like unto Christ, and maketh us such as he would have us to be. The assurance that we are sons, beloved, and heirs with Christ, and have God's Spirit in us, is the consent of our hearts unto the law of God. Which law is all perfection, and the mark whereat all we ought to shoot. And he that hitteth that mark, so that he fulfilleth the law with all his heart, soul, and might, and with full love and lust, without all let or resistance, is pure gold, and needeth not to be put any more in the fire: he is straight and right, and needeth to be no more shaven: he is full fashioned like Christ, and can have no more added unto him.

Christ is the whole cause why God loveth us. W. T.

How to know that we are God's sons. W. T.

The law is the mark; yea, and the touchstone wherewith we ought to try ourselves, and see how far forth we are purged. W. T.

[1] That is, the parochial minister.]

Nevertheless there is none so perfect in this life, that findeth not let and resistance by the reason of original sin, or birth-poison, that remaineth in him, as thou mayest see in the lives of all the saints throughout all the scripture, and in Paul, Rom. vii. "The will is present (saith he), but I find no means to perform that which is good. I do not that good thing which I would: but that evil do I, which I would not. I find by the law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. I delight in the law, as concerning the inner man; but I find another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and subduing me unto the law of sin." Which law of sin is nothing but a corrupt and a poisoned nature, which breaketh into evil lusts, and from evil lusts into wicked deeds, and must be purged with the true purgatory of the cross of Christ: that is, thou must hate it with all thine heart, and desire God to take it from thee. And then, whatsoever cross God putteth on thy back, bear it patiently, whether it be poverty, sickness, or persecution, or whatsoever it be, and take it for the right purgatory, and think that God hath nailed thee fast to it, to purge thee thereby. For he that loveth not the law and hateth his sin, and hath not professed in his heart to fight against it, and mourneth not to God to take it away and to purge him of it, the same hath no part with Christ. If thou love the law, and findest that thou hast yet sin hanging on thee, whereof thou sorrowest to be delivered and purged; as for an ensample, thou hast a covetous mind, and mistrustest God, and therefore art moved to beguile thy neighbour, and art unto him merciless, not caring whether he sink or swim, so thou mayest win by him, or get from him that he hath; then get thee to the Observant[2], which is so purged from that sin,

Our birth-poison that remaineth in us resisteth the Spirit. Ant. ed. Rom. vii.

The right cross of Christ. W. T.

He that loveth not the law, and hateth sin, hath no part with Christ. W. T.

How to try the doctrine of our spirituality. W. T.

[2 About the beginning of the fifteenth century it was confessed that the Franciscans or Grey friars had widely departed from the rules laid down by their founder. Hence the more zealous of them separated from the rest, and assumed the name of Observants, as resolved to adhere rigidly to his rules. The others, who could say that the pope had sanctioned their laxer system, were called Conventuals, when it was wished to distinguish them from their Observant brethren. As followers of the stricter rules, the Observants were to be without property, and beg their bread, and when begging they were to accept necessaries only, and not money. Fosbroke's Brit. Mon. p. 79, ed. of 1843. See also note 1 to p. 287 of Latimer's Sermons, P. S. ed.]

that he will not once handle a penny, and with that wile doth the subtle fox make the goose come flying into his hole, ready prepared for his mouth, without his labour or sweat: and buy of his merits, which he hath in store; and give thy money, not into his holy hands, but to offer him that he hath hired, either with part of his prayers or part of his prey, to take the sin upon him and to handle his money for him. In like manner, if any person that is under obedience unto God's ordinance (whether it be son, or daughter, servant, wife or subject) consent unto the ordinance, and yet find contrary motions, let him go also to them that have professed an obedience of their own making, and buy part of their merits. If thy wife give thee nine words for three, go to the Charterhouse, and buy of their silence [1]: and so, if the abstaining of the Observant from handling money heal thine heart from desiring money, and the obedience of them that will obey nothing but their own ordinance heal thy disobedience to God's ordinance, and the silence of the Charterhouse monk tame thy wife's tongue; then believe that their prayers shall deliver thy soul from the pains of that terrible and fearful purgatory, which they have feigned to purge thy purse withal.

If the prayers and merits of our religious men purge our lusts, then are they of value, and else not. W. T.

The spiritualty increaseth daily. More prelates, more priests, more monks, friars, canons, nuns, and more heretics, (I would say heremites,) with like draff. Set before thee the increase of St Francis's disciples in so few years. Reckon how many thousands, yea, how many twenty thousands, not disciples only, but whole cloisters, are sprung out of hell of them in so little space. Pattering of prayers increaseth daily. Their service, as they call it, waxeth longer and longer, and the labour of their lips greater; new saints, new service, new feasts, and new holidays. What take all these away? Sin? Nay; for we see the contrary by experience, and that sin groweth as they grow. But they take away first God's word, with faith, hope, peace, unity, love and concord; then house and land, rent and fee, tower and town, goods and cat-

What the spiritualty taketh away with their prayers. W. T.

[1] The Carthusians were a branch of the Benedictines. In France they were called Chartreux, and their most famous monastery Chartreuse, a word which in England was changed into Charterhouse. They were forbidden all speech in the fratry, cloister, and church; and were to ask for what they wanted after nones, on a talking day. Id. p. 71.]

tle, and the very meat out of men's mouths. All these live by purgatory. When other weep for their friends, they sing merrily; when other lose their friends, they get friends. The pope, with all his pardons, is grounded on purgatory. Priests, monks, canons, friars, with all other swarms of hypocrites, do but empty purgatory, and fill hell. Every mass, say they, delivereth one soul out of purgatory. If that were true, yea, if ten masses were enough for one soul, yet were the parish priests and curates of every parish sufficient to scour purgatory: all the other costly workmen might be well spared.

When other weep, they sing, and when other lose, they win. W. T.

All is of purgatory. These physicians give none other medicines save purgations only. W. T.

The Four Senses of the Scripture.

They divide the scripture into four senses, the literal, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical. The literal sense is become nothing at all: for the pope hath taken it clean away, and hath made it his possession[2]. He hath partly locked it up with the false and counterfeited keys of his traditions, ceremonies, and feigned lies; and partly driveth men from it with violence of sword: for no man dare abide by the literal sense of the text, but under a protestation, 'If it shall please the pope.' The tropological sense pertaineth to good manners (say they), and teacheth what we ought to do. The allegory is appropriate to faith; and the anagogical to hope, and things above. Tropological and anagogical are terms of their own feigning, and altogether unnecessary. For they are but allegories, both two of them; and this word allegory comprehendeth them both, and is enough. For tro-

[2 In one of the glosses on the papal law the margin says, Scriptura divina quadrupliciter exponi potest. Joh. xvi. (25); and the gloss proceeds to say, Est enim quidam intellectus historicus; allegoricus; moralis sive tropologicus; anagogicus. Sic hæc vox *Hierusalem* historice signat civitatem illam terrestrem; allegorice, ecclesiam; moraliter, animam fidelem; anagogice, celestem Hierusalem. Moralis intellectus attendit quæ juxta nos sunt; allegoricus, quæ intra nos; anagogicus, quæ supra nos.—Gloss on the word 'anagogen,' Dist. LXXVI. cap. 7, (or Jejunium) in the Decret. Gratian. It will be seen that, as Tyndale had observed, the gloss entirely passes over the literal, or, as it speaks, historical sense, when describing how this fourfold method of expounding the scriptures should be made profitable to us.]

pological[1] is but an allegory of manners; and anagogical, an allegory of hope. And allegory is as much to say as strange speaking, or borrowed speech: as when we say of a wanton child, 'This sheep hath magots in his tail, he must be anointed with birchen salve;' which speech I borrow of the shepherds.

Allegory, what it signifieth. W. T.

The scripture hath but one sense. W. T.

Thou shalt understand, therefore, that the scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth, whereunto if thou cleave, thou canst never err or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way. Neverthelater, the scripture useth proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories, as all other speeches do; but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle, or allegory signifieth, is ever the literal sense, which thou must seek out diligently: as in the English we borrow words and sentences of one thing, and apply them unto another, and give them new significations. We say, 'Let the sea swell and rise as high as he will, yet hath God appointed how far he shall go:' meaning that the tyrants shall not do what they would, but that only which God hath appointed them to do. 'Look ere thou leap:' whose literal sense is, 'Do nothing suddenly, or without advisement.' 'Cut not the bough that thou standest upon:' whose literal sense is, 'Oppress not the commons;' and is borrowed of hewers.

Borrowed speech. W. T.

When a thing speedeth not well, we borrow speech, and say, 'The bishop hath blessed it;' because that nothing speedeth well that they meddle withal. If the porridge be burned too, or the meat over roasted, we say, 'The bishop hath put his foot in the pot,' or, 'The bishop hath played the cook;' because the bishops burn whom they lust, and whosoever displeaseth them. 'He is a pontifical fellow;' that is, proud and stately. 'He is popish;' that is, superstitious and faithless. 'It is a pastime for a prelate.' 'It is a pleasure for a pope.' 'He would be free, and yet will not have his head shaven.' 'He would that no man should smite him, and yet hath not the pope's mark.' And of him that is betrayed, and wotteth not how, we say, 'He hath been at

[1 For tropological the folio edition has here chopological; and Coplande's edition has chopological for tropological, a few lines above, as though Tyndale had meant to jest at the pedantic terms used by the schoolmen.]

shrift.' 'She is master parson's sister's daughter;' 'He is the bishop's sister's son;' 'He hath a cardinal to his uncle;' 'She is a spiritual whore;' 'It is the gentlewoman of the parsonage;' 'He gave me a *Kyrie eleyson*[2].' And of her that answereth her husband six words for one, we say, 'She is a sister of the Charterhouse:' as who should say, 'She thinketh that she is not bound to keep silence; their silence shall be a satisfaction for her.' And of him that will not be saved by Christ's merits, but by the works of his own imagination, we say, 'It is a holy-work-man.' Thus borrow we, and feign new speech in every tongue. All fables, prophecies, and riddles, are allegories; as Æsop's fables, and Merlin's prophecies; and the interpretation of them are the literal sense.

So in like manner the scripture borroweth words and sentences of all manner things, and maketh proverbs and similitudes, or allegories. As Christ saith, Luke iv. "Physician, heal thyself:" whose interpretation is, 'Do that at home, which thou dost in strange places;' and that is the literal sense. So when I say, 'Christ is a lamb;' I mean not a lamb that beareth wool, but a meek and a patient lamb, which is beaten for other men's faults. 'Christ is a vine;' not that beareth grapes; but out of whose root the branches that believe suck the Spirit of life, and mercy, and grace, and power to be the sons of God, and to do his will. The similitudes of the gospel are allegories, borrowed of worldly matters, to express spiritual things. The apocalypse, or revelations of John, are allegories whose literal sense is hard to find in many places.

Luke iv.

The right use of allegories. W. T.

Beyond all this, when we have found out the literal sense of the scripture by the process of the text, or by a like text of another place, then go we, and as the scripture borroweth similitudes of worldly things, even so we again borrow similitudes or allegories of the scripture, and apply them to our purposes; which allegories are no sense of the scripture, but free things besides the scripture, and altogether in the liberty of the Spirit. Which allegories I may not make at all the wild adventures; but must keep me within the compass of the faith, and ever apply mine allegory to Christ, and unto the faith. Take an ensample: thou hast the story of Peter, how

Allegories are no sense of scripture. W. T.

[2 'Lord, have mercy.' The proverb seems to mean he gave nothing but good words. James ii. 16.]

he smote off Malchus's ear, and how Christ healed it again. There hast thou in the plain text great learning, great fruit, and great edifying, which I pass over because of tediousness. Then come I, when I preach of the law and the gospel, and borrow this ensample, to express the nature of the law and of the gospel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eyes. And of Peter and his sword make I the law, and of Christ the gospel; saying, 'As Peter's sword cutteth off the ear, so doth the law: the law damneth, the law killeth, and mangleth the conscience: there is no ear so righteous that can abide the hearing of the law: there is no deed so good but that the law damneth it[1]. But Christ, that is to say, the gospel, the promises and testament that God hath made in Christ, healeth the ear and conscience, which the law hath hurt. The gospel is life, mercy, and forgiveness freely, and altogether an healing plaister. And as Peter doth but hurt and make a wound, where was none before, even so doth the law: for when we think that we are holy and righteous, and full of good deeds; if the law be preached aright, our righteousness and good deeds vanish away, as smoke in the wind, and we are left damnable sinners only. And as thou seest how that Christ healeth not, till Peter had wounded; and as an healing plaister helpeth not, till the corrosive hath troubled the wound; even so the gospel helpeth not, but when the law hath wounded the conscience, and brought the sinner into the knowledge of his sin.' This allegory proveth nothing, neither can do. For it is not the scripture, but an ensample or a similitude borrowed of the scripture, to declare a text or a conclusion of the scripture more expressly, and to root it and grave it in the heart. For a similitude, or an ensample, doth print a thing much deeper in the wits of a man than doth a plain speaking, and leaveth behind him as it were a sting to prick him forward, and to awake him withal. Moreover, if I could not prove with an open text that which the allegory doth express, then were the allegory a thing to be jested at, and of no greater value than a tale of Robin Hood. This allegory, as touching his first part, is proved by Paul in the ivth chapter of his epistle to the Ro-

Allegories prove nothing. W. T.

If thou cannot prove the allegory with an open text, then is it false doctrine. W. T.

Rom. iv. vii.

[1] This sentence forms Art. XIX. of the heresies and errors charged against Tyndale. Foxe in reply quotes more of the context, and then asks, 'What heresy is this?']

mans, where he saith, "The law causeth wrath;" and in the viith chapter to the Romans, "When the law or commandment came, sin revived, and I became dead:" and in the iind epistle to the Corinthians, in the third chapter, the law is called "the minister of death and damnation," &c. And as concerning the second part, Paul saith to the Romans in the vth chapter, "In that we are justified by faith we are at peace with God." And in the iind epistle to the Corinthians, in the third [chapter], the gospel is called "the ministration of justifying and of the Spirit." And, Gal. iii. "The Spirit cometh by preaching of the faith," &c. Thus doth the literal sense prove the allegory, and bear it, as the foundation beareth the house. And because that allegories prove nothing, therefore are they to be used soberly and seldom, and only where the text offereth thee an allegory.

2 Cor. iii. Rom. v. 2 Cor. iii. Gal. iii. The literal sense proveth the allegory. W. T.

And of this manner (as I above have done) doth Paul borrow a similitude, a figure or allegory, of Genesis, to express the nature of the law and of the gospel; and by Agar and her son declareth the property of the law, and of her bond-children which will be justified by deeds; and by Sarah and her son declareth the property of the gospel, and of her free children which are justified by faith; and how the children of the law, which believe in their works, persecute the children of the gospel, which believe in the mercy and truth of God and in the testament of his Son Jesus our Lord.

They that justify themselves by their works are the bond-children of the law. Ant. ed.

And likewise do we borrow likenesses or allegories of the scripture, as of Pharaoh and Herod, and of the scribes and Pharisees, to express our miserable captivity and persecution under antichrist the pope. The greatest cause of which captivity and the decay of the faith, and this blindness wherein we now are, sprang first of allegories. For Origen and the doctors of his time drew all the scripture unto allegories: whose ensample they that came after followed so long, till they at last forgot the order and process of the text, supposing that the scripture served but to feign allegories upon; insomuch that twenty doctors expound one text twenty ways, as children make descant upon plain song. Then came our sophisters with their anagogical and chopological sense, and with an antitheme of half an inch, out of which some of them draw a thread of nine days long. Yea, thou shalt find enough that will preach Christ, and prove whatsoever point

The faith was lost through allegories. W. T.

Chopological sophisters. W. T.

Poetry is as good divinity as the scripture to our schoolmen. W. T.

of the faith that thou wilt, as well out of a fable of Ovid or any other poet, as out of St John's gospel or Paul's epistles. Yea, they are come unto such blindness, that they not only say the literal sense profiteth not, but also that it is hurtful, and noisome, and killeth the soul. Which damnable doctrine they prove by a text of Paul, 2 Cor. iii. where he saith, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." Lo, say they, the literal sense killeth, and the spiritual sense giveth life. We must therefore, say they, seek out some chopological sense.

2 Cor. iii.

The literal sense killeth, say sophisters. W. T.

Here learn what sophistry is, and how blind they are, that thou mayest abhor them and spue them out of thy stomach for ever. Paul by the letter meaneth Moses's law; which the process of the text following declareth more bright than the sun. But it is not their guise to look on the order of any text; but as they find it in their doctors, so allege they it, and so understand it. Paul maketh a comparison between the law and the gospel; and calleth the law the letter, because it was but letters graven in two tables of cold stone: for the law doth but kill, and damn the consciences, as long as there is no lust in the heart to do that which the law commandeth. Contrariwise, he calleth the gospel the administration of the Spirit and of righteousness or justifying. For when Christ is preached, and the promises which God hath made in Christ are believed, the Spirit entereth the heart, and looseth the heart, and giveth lust to do the law, and maketh the law a lively thing in the heart. Now as soon as the heart lusteth to do the law, then are we righteous before God, and our sins forgiven. Nevertheless the law of the letter graved in stone, and not in their hearts, was so glorious, and Moses's face shone so bright, that the children of Israel could not behold his face for brightness. It was also given in thunder and lightning and terrible signs; so that they for fear came to Moses, and desired him that he would speak to them, and let God speak no more; "Lest we die (said they) if we hear him any more:" as thou mayest see Exod. xx. Whereupon Paul maketh his comparison, saying: "If the ministration of death through the letters figured in stones was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance; why shall not the administration of the Spirit be glorious?"

'The letter killeth,' is expounded. W. T.

To love the law is righteousness. W. T.

Exod. xx.

2 Cor. iii.

And again: "If the administration of damnation be glorious, much more shall the administration of righteousness exceed in glory:" that is, if the law that killeth sinners, and helpeth them not, be glorious; then the gospel, which pardoneth sinners, and giveth them power to be the sons of God and to overcome sin, is much more glorious.

And the text that goeth before is as clear. For the holy apostle Paul saith: "Ye Corinthians are our epistle, which is understand and read of all men, in that ye are known how that ye are the epistle of Christ ministered by us, and written, not with ink," (as Moses's law,) "but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone," (as the ten commandments,) "but in the fleshy tables of the heart:" as who should say, 'We write not a dead law with ink and in parchment, nor grave that which damned you in tables of stone; but preach you that which bringeth the Spirit of life unto your breasts, which Spirit writeth and graveth the law of love in your hearts, and giveth you lust to do the will of God.' And furthermore, saith he, "Our ableness cometh of God, which hath made us able to minister the new Testament, not of the letter," (that is to say, not of the law,) "but of the Spirit: for the letter" (that is to say, the law) "killeth; but the Spirit giveth life;" that is to say, the Spirit of God, which entereth your hearts when ye believe the glad tidings that are preached you in Christ, quickeneth your hearts, and giveth you life and lust, and maketh you to do of love and of your own accord, without compulsion, that which the law compelled you to do, and damned you because ye could not do with love and lust, and naturally. Thus seest thou that the letter signifieth not the literal sense, and the spirit the spiritual sense. And, Rom. ii. Paul useth this term *Litera* for the law; and Rom. vii. where he setteth it so plain, that if the great wrath of God had not blinded them, they could never have stumbled at it. Rom. ii. vii.

God is a Spirit, and all his words are spiritual. His literal sense is spiritual, and all his words are spiritual. When thou readest (Matt. i.), "She shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins:" this literal sense is spiritual, and everlasting life unto as many as believe it. And the literal sense of these words, (Matt. v.) "Blessed are the merciful, for they The literal sense is spiritual. W. T. Matt. i. Matt. v.

shall have mercy," are spiritual and life; whereby they that are merciful may of right, by the truth and promise of God, challenge mercy. And like is it of these words, Matt. vi. "If you forgive other men their sins, your heavenly Father shall forgive you yours." And so is it of all the promises of God. Finally, all God's words are spiritual, if thou have eyes of God to see the right meaning of the text, and whereunto the scripture pertaineth, and the final end and cause thereof.

Matt. vi.

What is to be sought in the scripture and in the literal sense. W. T.

All the scripture is either the promises and testament of God in Christ, and stories pertaining thereunto, to strength thy faith; either the law, and stories pertaining thereto, to fear thee from evil doing. There is no story nor gest, seem it never so simple or so vile unto the world, but that thou shalt find therein spirit and life and edifying in the literal sense: for it is God's scripture, written for thy learning and comfort. There is no clout or rag there, that hath not precious relics wrapt therein of faith, hope, patience and long suffering, and of the truth of God, and also of his righteousness. Set before thee the story of Reuben, which defiled his father's bed. Mark what a cross God suffered to fall on the neck of his elect Jacob. Consider first the shame among the heathen, when as yet there was no more of the whole world within the testament of God, but he and his household. I report me to our prelates, which swear by their honour, whether it were a cross or no. Seest thou not how our wicked builders rage, because they see their buildings burn, now they are tried by the fire of God's word; and how they stir up the whole world, to quench the word of God, for fear of losing their honour? Then what business[1] had he to pacify his children! Look what ado he had at the defiling of his daughter Dinah. And be thou sure that the brethren there were no more furious for the defiling of their sister, than the sons here for defiling of their mother. Mark what followed Reuben, to fear other, that they shame not their fathers and mothers. He was cursed, and lost the kingdom, and also the priestdom; and his tribe or generation was ever few in number, as it appeareth in the stories of the bible.

The story of Reuben. W. T.

Swear they by their honour? Then are they not ready to suffer shame for Christ's sake. W. T.

The adultery of David. W. T.

The adultery of David with Bathsheba is an ensample, not to move us to evil; but, if (while we follow the way of

[1 That is, toil, trouble.]

righteousness) any chance drive us aside, that we despair not. For if we saw not such infirmities in God's elect, we, which are so weak and fall so oft, should utterly despair, and think that God had clean forsaken us. It is therefore a sure and an undoubted conclusion, whether we be holy or unholy, we are all sinners. But the difference is, that God's sinners consent not to their sin. They consent unto the law that is both holy and righteous, and mourn to have their sin taken away. But the devil's sinners consent unto their sin, and would have the law and hell taken away, and are enemies unto the righteousness of God.

The difference between God's sinners and the devil's. W.T.

Likewise in the homely gest[2] of Noe, when he was drunk, and lay in his tent with his privy members open, hast thou great edifying in the literal sense. Thou seest what became of the cursed children of wicked Ham, which saw his father's privy members, and jested thereof unto his brethren. Thou seest also what blessing fell on Shem and Japhet, which went backward and covered their father's members, and saw them not. And thirdly, thou seest what infirmity accompanieth God's elect, be they never so holy, which yet is not imputed unto them: for the faith and trust they have in God swalloweth up all their sins.

Noah. W.T.

Notwithstanding, this text offers us an apt and an handsome allegory or similitude to describe our wicked Ham, antichrist the pope, which many hundred years hath done all the shame that heart can think unto the word of promise, or the word of faith, as Paul calleth it, Rom. x.; and the gospel and testament of Christ, wherewith we are begotten; as thou seest, 1 Pet. i. and James i. And as the cursed children of Ham grew into giants, so mighty and great that the children of Israel seemed but grasshoppers in respect of them; so the cursed sons of our Ham, the pope, his cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and friars, are become mighty giants above all power and authority; so that the children of faith, in respect of them, are much less than grasshoppers. They heap mountain upon mountain, and will to heaven by their own strength, by a way of their own making, and not by the way Christ. Nevertheless, those giants, for the wickedness and abominations which they had wrought, did God utterly destroy, part of them by the children of Lot, and

The pope is likened to Ham. W.T.

Rom. x.

1 Pet. i. James i.

They will to heaven by a way of their own making. W.T.

[2 Deed.]

part by the children of Esau, and seven nations of them by the children of Israel. So no doubt shall he destroy these for like abominations, and that shortly. For their kingdom is but the kingdom of lies and falsehood; which must needs perish at the coming of the truth of God's word, as the night vanisheth away at the presence of day. The children of Israel slew not those giants, but the power of God; God's truth and promises, as thou mayest see in Deuteronomy. So it is not we that shall destroy those giants, as thou mayest see by Paul, (2 Thess. ii.) speaking of our Ham, antichrist: "Whom the Lord shall destroy" (saith he) "with the spirit of his mouth," that is, by the words of truth, "and by the brightness of his coming," that is, by the preaching of his gospel.

2 Thess. ii.

The use of similitudes. W. T.

And as I have said of allegories, even so it is of worldly similitudes, which we make either when we preach, either when we expound the scripture. The similitudes prove nothing, but are made to express more plainly that which is contained in the scripture, and to lead thee into the spiritual understanding of the text: as the similitude of matrimony is taken to express the marriage that is between Christ and our souls, and what exceeding mercy we have there, whereof all the scriptures make mention; and the similitude of the members, how every one of them careth for other, is taken to make thee feel what it is to love thy neighbour as thyself. That preacher therefore, that bringeth a naked similitude to prove that which is contained in no text of scripture, nor followeth of a text, count a deceiver, a leader out of the way, and a false prophet, and beware of his philosophy and persuasions of man's wisdom, as Paul saith: "My words and my preaching were not with enticing words and persuasions of man's wisdom, but in shewing of the Spirit and power:" (that is, he preached not dreams, confirming them with similitudes; but God's word, confirming it with miracles and with working of the Spirit, the which made them feel every thing in their hearts:) "that your faith," said he, "should not stand in the wisdom of man; but in the power of God." For the reasons and similitudes of man's wisdom make no faith, but wavering and uncertain opinions only: one draweth me this way with his argument, another that way, and of

A similitude without scripture is a sure token of a false prophet. W. T.

1 Cor. ii. Paul preached not worldly wisdom. W. T.

Similitudes and reasons, of man's wisdom, make no

what principle thou provest black, another proveth white: and so am I ever uncertain; as, if thou tell me of a thing done in a far land, and another tell me the contrary, I wot not what to believe. But faith is wrought by the power of God; that is, when God's word is preached, the Spirit entereth thine heart, and maketh thy soul feel it, and maketh thee so sure of it, that neither adversity, nor persecution, nor death, neither hell, nor the powers of hell, neither yet all the pains of hell could once prevail against thee, or move thee from the sure rock of God's word, that thou shouldst not believe that which God hath sworn.

faith, but wavering opinions only. W. T.

God's word maketh sure faith; for God cannot lie. W. T.

And Peter saith, "We followed not deceivable fables, when we opened unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; but with our eyes we saw his majesty." And again, "We have" (saith he) "a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto if ye take heed, as unto a light shining in a dark place, ye do well." The word of prophecy was the old Testament, which beareth record unto Christ in every place; without which record the apostles made neither similitudes nor arguments of worldly wit. Hereof seest thou, that all the allegories, similitudes, persuasions and arguments, which they bring without scripture, to prove praying to saints, purgatory, ear-confession; and that God will hear thy prayer more in one place than in another; and that it is more meritorious to eat fish than flesh; and that to disguise thyself, and put on this or that manner coat, is more acceptable than to go as God hath made thee; and that widowhood is better than matrimony, and virginity than widowhood; and to prove the assumption of our lady, and that she was born without original sin, yea, and with a kiss (say some), are but false doctrine.

Peter preached not fables and false similitudes, but the plain scripture. W. T. 2 Pet. i.

Take an ensample, how they prove that widowhood and virginity exceed matrimony. They bring this worldly similitude: he that taketh most pain for a man deserveth most, and to him a man is most bound; so likewise must it be with God, and so forth. Now the widow and virgin take more pain in resisting their lusts than the married wife; therefore is their state holier. First, I say, that in their own sophistry a similitude is the worst and feeblest argument that can be, and proveth least, and soonest deceiveth. Though that one son do more service for his father than another, yet is the

School doctrine. W. T.

Similitudes are no good arguments among the sophisters own selves. W. T.

father free, and may with right reward them all alike. For though I had a thousand brethren, and did more than they all, yet do I not my duty. The fathers and mothers also care most for the least and weakest, and them that can do least: yea, for the worst care they most, and would spend, not their goods only, but also their blood, to bring them to the right way. And even so is it of the kingdom of Christ, as thou mayest well see in the similitude of the riotous son. Moreover Paul saith, (1 Cor. vii.) "It is better to marry than to burn." For the person that burneth cannot quietly serve God, inasmuch as his mind is drawn away, and the thoughts of his heart occupied with wonderful and monstrous imaginations. He can neither see, nor hear, nor read, but that his wits are rapt, and he clean from himself. And again, saith he, "circumcision is nothing, uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments" is all together. Look wherein thou canst best keep the commandments; thither get thyself and therein abide; whether thou be widow, wife, or maid; and then hast thou all with God. If we have infirmities that draw us from the laws of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burn, marry: for God hath promised thee no chastity, as long as thou mayest use the remedy that he hath ordained; no more than he hath promised to slake thine hunger without meat. Now, to ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false faith, and is plain idolatry[1]: and to desire a miracle, where there is natural remedy, is tempting of God. And of pains-taking, this-wise understand. He that taketh pains to keep the commandments of God, is sure thereby that he loveth God, and that he hath God's Spirit in him. And the more pain a man taketh (I mean patiently and without grudging), the more he loveth God, and the perfecter he is, and nearer unto that health which the souls of all christian men long for, and the more purged from the infirmity and sin that remaineth in the flesh. But to look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, or in the life to come, than that which God hath promised for Christ's sake, and which Christ hath deserved

Luke xv.

1 Cor. vii.

We must cure our infirmities with the remedies that God hath ordained, and not tempt God. W. T.

What tempting of God is. W. T.

[1 This clause is quoted to form Art. XX. against Tyndale. To this charge Foxe only replies by giving his readers the three preceding sentences along with it; and then asking, 'What heresy is this?']

for us with his pain-taking, is abominable in the sight of God[2]. For Christ only hath purchased the reward; and our pain-taking to keep the commandments doth but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and certify us that we are chosen and sealed with God's Spirit unto the reward that Christ hath purchased for us.

I was once at the creating of doctors of divinity, where the opponent brought the same reason to prove that the widow had more merit than the virgin; because she had greater pain, forasmuch as she had once proved the pleasures of matrimony. *Ego nego, domine doctor*, said the respondent: 'for though the virgin have not proved, yet she imagineth that the pleasure is greater than it is indeed, and therefore is more moved, and hath greater temptation and greater pain.' Are not these disputers they that Paul speaketh of in the sixth chapter of the first epistle to Timothy? that "they are not content with the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and doctrine of godliness; and therefore know nothing, but waste their brains about questions and strife of words, whereof spring envy, strife and railing of men with corrupt minds, destitute of the truth."

As pertaining to our lady's body, where it is, or where the body of Elias, of John the evangelist, and of many other be, pertaineth not to us to know. One thing are we sure of, that they are where God hath laid them. If they be in heaven, we have never the more in Christ: if they be not there, we have never the less. Our duty is to prepare ourselves unto the commandments, and to be thankful for that which is opened unto us; and not to search the unsearchable secrets of God. Of God's secrets can we know no more than he openeth unto us. If God shut, who shall open? How then can natural reason come by the knowledge of that which God hath hid unto himself?

Yet let us see one of their reasons wherewith they prove it. The chief reason is this: Every man doth more for his mother, say they, than for other; in like manner must Christ

[2 Art. XXI. is, 'He saith, Our pains-taking in keeping the commandments doth nothing but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh; but to look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, than God hath promised for Christ's sake, is abominable in the sight of God.' Foxe replies, 'Consider the place.']

do for his mother; therefore hath she this pre-eminence, that
Matt. xii. her body is in heaven[1]. And yet Christ, in the xiith chap. of Matthew knoweth her not for his mother, but as far forth as
2 Cor. v. she kept his Father's commandments. And Paul, in the iind epistle to the Corinthians, chap. v. knoweth not Christ himself fleshly, or after a worldly purpose. Last of all, God is free, and no further bound than he bindeth himself: if he have made her any promise, he is bound; if not, then is he not. Finally, if thou set this above rehearsed chapter of Matthew before thee, where Christ would not know his mo-
John ii. ther, and the iind of John where he rebuked her, and the
Luke ii. iind of Luke where she lost him, and how negligent she was to leave him behind her at Jerusalem unawares, and to go a day's journey ere she sought for him; thou mightest resolve many of their reasons which they make of this matter, and that she was without original sin. Read also Erasmus's Annotations in the said places[2]. And as for me, I commit all such matters unto those idle bellies, which have nought else to do than to move such questions; and give them free liberty to hold what they list, as long as it hurteth not the faith, whether it be so or no: exhorting yet, with Paul, all that will please God, and obtain that salvation that is in Christ, that

[1 See n. 4 to p. 159.]

[2 Erasmus' note on Luke ii. 50, 'And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them,' contains the following observations: Quid facient huic loco quidam, qui sedulo magis quam circumspecte beatæ virgini fere tantum tribuunt felicitatis jam inde ab initio quantum nunc possidet? Certe non obscure locutus est Christus; et tamen subjicit Evangelista, ab illis non fuisse intellectum, quod dixerat Jesus. Tum inter docendum a matre et fratribus interpellatus parum blande respondet, Quæ est mater mea? Similiter et in nuptiis, compellatus de vino deficiente. Hoc quod arguit interpellantis est; quod non intellectus obtemperat, obsequii est, quæ res et illi conveniebat ætati et parentum infirmitati obsecundabat.—And on the words, 'He was subject unto them,' Erasmus says: Durum est quod asseverant quidam, Christum etiam in evangelico negotio debuisse matri obedientiam, cum qui rempublicam administrat non teneatur auctoritate patris. Sed multo durius est quod iidem docent, beatam virginem etiam nunc ut homini posse imperare Christo, et hoc esse quod canit ecclesia, Monstra te esse matrem, Sumat per te preces, etc. id est, Præcipe filio tuo ut nos exaudiat. Hoc si verum est, mater imploranda est potius quam filius, nec omnis potestas tradita est Christo, etiam juxta naturam humanam, si teneatur matris imperio.]

they give no heed unto unnecessary and brawling disputations, and that they labour for the knowledge of those things without which they cannot be saved. And remember that the sun was given us to guide us in our way and works bodily. Now if thou leave the natural use of the sun, and will look directly on him to see how bright he is, and such-like curiosity, then will the sun blind thee. So was the scripture given us to guide us in our way and works ghostly. The way is Christ; and the promises in him are our salvation, if we long for them. Now if we shall leave that right use and turn ourselves unto vain questions, and to search the unsearchable secrets of God; then no doubt shall the scripture blind us, as it hath done our schoolmen and our subtle disputers.

And as they are false prophets, which prove with allegories, similitudes, and worldly reasons, that which is no where made mention of in the scripture; even so count them for false prophets which expound the scriptures, drawing them unto a worldly purpose, clean contrary unto the ensample, living, and practising of Christ and of his apostles, and of all the holy prophets. For, saith Peter, (2 Pet. i.) "No prophecy in the scripture hath any private interpretation. For the scripture came not by the will of man; but the holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." No place of the scripture may have a private exposition; that is, it may not be expounded after the will of man, or after the will of the flesh, or drawn unto a worldly purpose contrary unto the open texts, and the general articles of the faith, and the whole course of the scripture, and contrary to the living and practising of Christ and the apostles and holy prophets. For as they came not by the will of man, so may they not be drawn or expounded after the will of man: but as they came by the Holy Ghost, so must they be expounded and understood by the Holy Ghost. The scripture is that wherewith God draweth us unto him, and not wherewith we should be led from him. The scriptures spring out of God, and flow unto Christ, and were given to lead us to Christ. Thou must therefore go along by the scripture as by a line, until thou come at Christ, which is the way's end and resting-place. If any man, therefore, use the scripture

2 Pet. i. In expounding of the scripture, we must have a respect unto the living and practising of Christ, and of his apostles and prophets. W. T.

The scripture was given to lead us unto Christ. W. T.

to draw thee from Christ, and to nosel[1] thee in any thing save in Christ, the same is a false prophet. And that thou mayest perceive what Peter meaneth, it followeth in the text,

2 Pet. ii. "There were false prophets among the people" (whose prophecies were belly-wisdom), "as there shall be false teachers among you, which shall privily bring in damnable sects," (as thou seest how we are divided into monstrous sects or orders of religion,) "even denying the Lord that hath bought them." For every one of them taketh on him to sell thee for money that which God in Christ promiseth thee freely. "And many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of:" as thou seest how the way of truth is become heresy, seditious, or cause of insurrection, and breaking of the king's peace, and treason unto his highness. "And through covetousness with feigned words shall they make merchandise of you." Covetousness is the conclusion: for covetousness and ambition, that is to say, lucre and desire of honour, is the final end of all false prophets and of all false teachers. Look upon the pope's false doctrine: what is the end thereof, and what seek they thereby? Wherefore serveth purgatory, but to purge thy purse, and to poll thee, and rob both thee and thy heirs of house and lands, and of all thou hast, that they may be in honour? Serve not pardons for the same purpose? Whereto pertaineth praying to saints, but to offer unto their bellies? Wherefore serveth confession, but to sit in thy conscience and to make thee fear and tremble at whatsoever they dream, and that thou worship them as gods? And so forth, in all their traditions, ceremonies, and conjurations, they serve not the Lord, but their bellies.

Sects, or orders. W. T.

Covetousness and desire of honour is the end of all false doctrine, and that which false prophets seek. W. T.

Purgatory. W. T.

Pardons. W. T.

Praying to saints. W. T.

Confession. W. T.

And of their false expounding the scripture, and drawing it contrary unto the ensample of Christ and the apostles and holy prophets, unto their damnable covetousness and filthy ambition, take an ensample: When Peter saith to Christ, (Matt. xvi.) "Thou art the Son of the living God;" and Christ answered, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my congregation;" by the rock interpret they Peter. And then cometh the pope, and will be Peter's successor, whether Peter will or will not; yea, whether God will or will not; and though all the scripture say, 'Nay,' to any such succession; and saith, 'Lo, I am the rock, the foundation, and head of

An example of false expounding the scriptures. W. T. Matt. xvi.

[1] Written also *nowsle*: to nursle, to nurse up.]

Christ's church.' Now saith all the scripture, that the rock is Christ, the faith, and God's word. As Christ saith, (Matt. vii.) "He that heareth my words, and doth thereafter, is like a man that buildeth on a rock." For the house that is built on God's word will stand, though heaven should fall. And, John xv. "Christ is the vine, and we the branches:" so is Christ the rock, the stock, and foundation whereon we be built. And Paul (1 Cor. iii.) calleth Christ our foundation; and all other, whether it be Peter or Paul, he calleth them our[2] servants, to preach Christ, and to build us on him. If therefore the pope be Peter's successor, his duty is to preach Christ only; and other authority hath he none[3]. And (2 Cor. xi.) Paul marrieth us unto Christ, and driveth us from all trust and confidence in man. And, (Eph. ii.) saith Paul, "Ye are built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets;" that is, on the word which they preached; "Christ being, saith he, the head corner-stone, in whom every building coupled together groweth up into an holy temple in the Lord; in whom also ye are built together and made an habitation for God in the Spirit." And Peter, in the iind of his first epistle, buildeth us on Christ; contrary to the pope, which buildeth us on himself. Hell gates shall not prevail against it; that is to say, against the congregation that is built upon Christ's faith, and upon God's word. Now were the pope the rock, hell gates could not prevail against him: for the house could not stand, if the rock and foundation whereon it is built did perish: but the contrary see we in our popes. For hell gates have prevailed against them many hundred years, and have swallowed them up, if God's word be true; and the stories that are written of them; yea, or if it be true that we see with our eyes. "I will give thee the keys of heaven," saith Christ, and not, "I give;" and, John xx. after the resurrection paid it, and gave the keys to them all indifferently.

Christ, the faith, and God's word is the rock, and not the pope. Matt. vii.

John xv.

1 Cor. iii.

The authority of Peter's successor is but to preach. 2 Cor. xi.

Eph. ii.

1 Pet. ii.

[2 Day omits *our*.]

[3 Art. XXII. of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale is: 'He saith, The pope hath no other authority, but to preach only.' To this Foxe replies: 'Christ saith to Peter, Feed my sheep; and, Thou being converted confirm thy brethren. And to his apostles he said, Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel. Again St Paul saith, that Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach. To what other office or function he sent the pope, let them judge who consider the scriptures. This heresy is only to the pope; but none at all to God.']

John xx. "Whatsoever thou bindest on earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou loosest on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven." Of this text maketh the pope what he will; and expoundeth it contrary to all the scripture, contrary to Christ's practising, and the apostles', and all the prophets'. Now the scripture giveth record to himself, and ever expoundeth itself by another open text. If the pope then cannot bring for his exposition the practising of Christ, or of the apostles and prophets, or an open text, then is his exposition false doctrine. Christ expoundeth himself, (Matt. xviii.) saying: "If thy brother sin against thee, rebuke him betwixt him and thee alone. If he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother: but if he hear thee not, then take with thee one or two," and so forth, as it standeth in the text. He concludeth, saying to them all: "Whatsoever ye bind in earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye loose on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven." Where binding is but to rebuke them that sin; and loosing to forgive them that repent. And, "Whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins ye hold, they are holden." And Paul (1 Cor. v.) bindeth; and (2 Cor. ii.) looseth, after the same manner.

That exposition is false which is against the open scripture, or against the practising of Christ and of his apostles. W. T.

Matt. xviii.

John xx.

1 Cor. v.

2 Cor. ii.

Also this binding and loosing is one power: and as he bindeth, so looseth he; yea, and bindeth first ere he can loose. For who can loose that is not bound? Now whatsoever Peter bindeth, or his successor, (as he will be called and is not, but indeed the very successor of Satan,) is not so to be understood, that Peter, or the pope, hath power to command a man to be in deadly sin, or to be damned, or to go into hell, saying, Be thou in deadly sin; be thou damned; go thou to hell; go thou to purgatory: for that exposition is contrary to the everlasting testament that God hath made unto us in Christ. He sent his Son Christ to loose us from sin, and damnation, and hell; and that to testify unto the world, sent he his disciples. (Acts i.) Paul also hath no power to destroy, but to edify. 2 Cor. x. xiii. How can Christ give his disciples power against himself, and against his everlasting testament? Can he send them to preach salvation, and give them power to damn whom they lust? What mercy and profit have we in Christ's death, and in his gospel, if the pope, which passeth all men in wickedness, hath power to send whom he will to hell, and to damn whom he lusteth? We had then no cause,

Binding and loosing is one power. W. T.

Acts i.

2 Cor. x. xiii.

to call him Jesus, that is to say, Saviour; but might of right call him destroyer. Wherefore, then, this binding is to be understood as Christ interpreteth it in the places above rehearsed, and as the apostles practised it, and is nothing but to rebuke men of their sins by preaching the law. A man must first sin against God's law, ere the pope can bind him: yea, and a man must first sin against God's law, ere he need to fear the pope's curse. For cursing and binding are both one; and nothing, saving to rebuke a man of his sins by God's law. It followeth also, then, that the loosing is of like manner; and is nothing but forgiving of sin to them that repent, through preaching of the promises which God hath made in Christ; in whom only we have all forgiveness of sins, as Christ interpreteth it, and as the apostles and prophets practised it. So is it a false power that the pope taketh on him, to loose God's laws; as to give a man licence to put away his wife to whom God hath bound him, and to bind them to chastity, which God commandeth to marry; that is to wit, them that burn and cannot live chaste. It is also a false power to bind that which God's word maketh free, making sin in the creatures which God hath made for man's use.

What *Jesus* signifieth. W. T.

What binding meaneth. W. T.

What cursing meaneth.

What loosing meaneth. W. T.

The pope, which so fast looseth and purgeth in purgatory, cannot, with all the loosings and purgations that he hath, either loose or purge our appetites, and lust, and rebellion that is in us against the law of God. And yet the purging of them is the right purgatory. If he cannot purge them that are alive, wherewith purgeth he them that are dead? The apostles knew no other ways to purge, but through preaching God's word, which word only is that that purgeth the heart, as thou mayest see, John xv. "Ye are pure," saith Christ, "through the word." Now the pope preacheth not to them whom they feign to lie in purgatory, no more than he doth to us that are alive. How then purgeth he them? The pope is kin to Robin Goodfellow; which sweepeth the house, washeth the dishes, and purgeth all, by night; but when day cometh, there is nothing found clean[1].

John xv.

The pope is Robin Goodfellow. W. T.

[1 Robin Goodfellow was the name given by popular superstition to an imaginary elfin sprite, concerning whom more may be seen, by those who wish it, in Todd's notes on verses 103 and 105 of Milton's L'Allegro.]

Some man will say, the pope bindeth them not, they bind themselves. I answer, he that bindeth himself to the pope, and had lever have his life and soul ruled by the pope's will than by the will of God, and by the pope's word than by the word of God, is a fool. And he that had lever be bond than free, is not wise. And he that will not abide in the freedom wherein Christ hath set us, is also mad. And he that maketh deadly sin where none is, and seeketh causes of hatred between him and God, is not in his right wits. Furthermore, no man can bind himself, further than he hath power over himself. He that is under the power of another man, cannot bind himself without licence, as son, daughter, wife, servant, and subject. Neither canst thou give God that which is not in thy power. Chastity canst thou not give, further than God lendeth it thee: if thou cannot live chaste, thou art bound to marry or to be damned. Last of all, for what purpose thou bindest thyself must be seen. If thou do it to obtain thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee freely, so art thou an infidel, and hast no part with Christ, and so forth[1]. If thou wilt see more of this matter, look in Deuteronomy, and there shalt thou find it more largely entreated.

Of ourselves we can perform nothing further than God will give us power. Ant. ed.

Take another ensample of their false expounding the scripture. Christ saith, "The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat: whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but after their works do not." Lo, say our sophisters or hypocrites, live we never so abominably, yet is our authority never the less. Do as we teach therefore, (say they,) and not as we do. And yet Christ saith, they sit on Moses' seat; that is, as long they teach Moses, do as they teach. For the law of Moses is the law of God. But for their own traditions and false doctrine Christ rebuked them, and disobeyed them, and taught other to beware of their leaven. So if our Pharisees sit on Christ's seat and preach him, we ought to hear them; but when they sit on their own seat, then ought we to beware as well of their pestilent doctrine as of their abominable living.

Another example. W. T. Matt. xxiii.

To sit on Christ's seat is to preach and confess Christ. Ant. ed.

Likewise where they find mention made of a sword, they

[1 Art. XXIII. of heresies and errors, charged against Tyndale: 'He saith, If thou bind thyself to chastity, to obtain that which Christ purchased for thee, so surely art thou an infidel.' Foxe replies, 'Read and confer the place of Tyndale.']

turn it unto the pope's power. The disciples said unto Christ, Luke xxii. "Lo, here be two swords." And Christ answered, Luke xxii. "Two is enough." Lo, say they, the pope hath two swords, the spiritual sword and the temporal sword. And therefore is it lawful for him to fight and make war.

Christ, a little before he went to his passion, asked his disciples, saying, "When I sent you out without all provision, lacked ye any thing? and they said, Nay. And he answered, But now let him that hath a wallet take it with him, and he that hath a scrip likewise; and let him that hath never a sword, sell his coat and buy one:" as who should say, 'It shall go otherwise now than then. Then ye went forth in faith of my word, and my Father's promises; and it fed you and made provision for you, and was your sword, and shield, and defender; but now it shall go as thou readest Zechariah xiii. "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of Zech. xiii. the flock shall be scattered." Now shall my Father leave me in the hands of the wicked; and ye also shall be forsaken and destitute of faith, and shall trust in yourselves, and in your own provision, and in your own defence.' Christ gave no commandment; but prophesied what should happen: and they, because they understood him not, answered, "Here are two swords." And Christ (to make an end of such babbling) answered, "Two is enough." For if he had commanded every man to buy a sword, how had two been enough? Also, if two were enough, and pertained to the pope only, why are they all commanded to buy every man a sword? By the sword, therefore, Christ prophesied, that they should be left unto their own defence. And two swords were enough; yea, never-a-one had been enough: for if every one of them had had ten swords, they would have fled ere midnight.

In the same chapter of Luke, not twelve lines from the Luke xxii. foresaid text, the disciples, even at the last supper, asked who should be the greatest. And Christ rebuked them, and said it was an heathenish thing, and there should be no such thing among them, but that the greatest should be as the smallest, and that to be great was to do service as Christ did. But this text because it is brighter than the sun, that they can make no sophistry of it, therefore will they not hear it, nor let other know it.

Christ rebuketh desire of pre-eminence in his disciples, but the pope challengeth it above all men as his own inheritance. Ant. ed.

Forasmuch now as thou partly seest the falsehood of our prelates, how all their study is to deceive us and to keep us in darkness, to sit as gods in our consciences, and handle us at their pleasure, and to lead us whither they lust; therefore I read[1] thee, get thee to God's word, and thereby try all doctrine, and against that receive nothing; neither any exposition contrary unto the open texts, neither contrary to the general articles of the faith, neither contrary to the living and practising of Christ and his apostles. And when they cry, 'Fathers, fathers,' remember that it were the fathers that blinded and robbed the whole world, and brought us into this captivity, wherein these enforce to keep us still. Furthermore, as they of the old time are fathers to us, so shall these foul monsters be fathers to them that come after us; and the hypocrites that follow us will cry of these and of their doings, 'Fathers, fathers,' as these cry 'Fathers, fathers,' of them that are past. And as we feel our fathers, so did they that are past feel their fathers: neither were there in the world any other fathers than such as we both see and feel this many hundred years; as their decrees bear record, and the stories and chronicles well testify. If God's word appeared any where, they agreed all against it. When they had brought that asleep, then strove they one with another about their own traditions, and one pope condemned another's decrees[2], and were sometime two, yea, three popes at once[3]. And

Fathers, fathers. W. T

[1 Read: advise.]

[2 The popish historian, Platina, after narrating how Stephen VI., who became pope in 897, ordered the body of his predecessor, Formosus, to be torn from its grave and otherwise treated with strange indecency, says: Magna fuit hæc controversia et pessimi exempli; cum postea fere semper servata hæc consuetudo sit, ut acta priorum pontificum sequentes aut infringerent aut omnino tollerent.—His history of the next pope commences as follows: Romanus, patria Romanus, ubi pontificatum iniit, Stephani pontificis decreta et acta statim improbat abrogatque.—In the same year, 900, John IX. succeeded to the popedom; and of him Platina says: Pontifex creatus, Formosi causam in integrum restituit, adversante magna populi Romani parte. Ravennam profectus, iv. et lxx. episcoporum habito conventu, et Stephani res gestas improbavit, et Formosi acta restituit; dijudicans perperam a Stephano factum, qui censuit eos iterum ordinandos esse, quos Formosus ad sacros ordines asciverat. Plat. liber de Vita Christi ac Pontificum omnium. 1485.]

[3 Besides other instances of this, both earlier and later, the papacy

one bishop went to law with another, and one cursed another for their own fantasies, and such things as they had falsely gotten. And the greatest saints are they that most defended the liberties of the church (as they call it), which they falsely got with blinding kings; neither had the world any rest this many hundred years, for reforming of friars and monks, and ceasing of schisms that were among our clergy. And as for the holy doctors, as Augustine, Hierome, Cyprian, Chrysostomus, and Bede, will they not hear. If they wrote any thing negligently, (as they were men,) that draw they clean contrary to their meaning, and thereof triumph they. Those doctors knew of none authority that one bishop should have above another, neither thought or once dreamed that ever any such should be, or of any such whispering, or of pardons, or scouring of purgatory, as they have feigned.

And when they cry, 'Miracles, miracles,' remember that God hath made an everlasting testament with us in Christ's blood, against which we may receive no miracles[4]; no, neither the preaching of Paul himself, if he came again, by his own teaching to the Galatians, neither yet the preaching of the angels of heaven. Wherefore either they are no miracles

Miracles, miracles. W. T.

The woman of Lemster was a solemn miracle[5]. W. T.

had been divided, throughout Europe, by a continual succession of rival popes, from Sept. 21, 1378, to July 26, 1429. The emperor Sigismund, and other temporal princes, being scandalized by the irreconcileable claims of three co-existing popes, John XXIII., Gregory XII., and Benedict XIII., had induced John to sanction the convoking of a council, which met at Constance in 1414, for the avowed purpose of putting an end to this schism. By its decrees, supported by the imperial authority, John himself was deposed for notorious criminality of a very gross description, and Benedict was declared a schismatic; whilst Gregory abdicated, to avoid a similar sentence. The papal chair being thus pronounced vacant, Martin V. was elected to fill it. But Benedict was still acknowledged as pope in Aragon, Sicily, and Scotland; and, on his death, two cardinals gave him a successor who styled himself Clement VIII.; but eventually closed this long schism by submitting to Martin, eleven years after the dissolution of the council.]

[4 Art. XXIV. of alleged heresies: 'He denieth, rebuketh, and damneth miracles.' Foxe replies, 'The words in Tyndale's Obedience be these;' and then he gives the above sentence.]

[5 In B. I. ch. XIV. of More's Dialogue 'treating of the veneration and worship of images and reliques, praying to saints, and going on pilgrimage; with many other things touching the pestilent sect of Luther

but they have feigned them, (as is the miracle that St Peter hallowed Westminster[1];) or else if there be miracles that confirm doctrine contrary to God's word, then are they done

and Tyndale,' he has himself told the tale of the woman of Lemster: of whom he makes one of the speakers say, 'that the prior brought privily a strange wench into the church, and said that she was sent thither by God.—And after she was grated within iron grates above in the rood loft, where it was believed she lived without any meat or drink, only by angels' food. And divers times she was houseled in sight of the people with an host unconsecrate, and all the people looking upon, there was a device with a small hair that conveyed the host from the paten of the chalice out of the prior's hands into her mouth, as though it came alone; so that all the people, not of the town only, but also of the country about, took her for a very quick saint, and daily sought so thick to see her, that many, that could not come near to her, cried out aloud, Holy maiden Elizabeth, help me, and were fain to throw their offering over their fellows' heads for press.' The narrator proceeds to say that the steps prudently taken by the mother of Henry VI. led to the detection of this device, and of other wickedness confessed by her two miserable partners in guilt. 'An faith, quod I,' (says More, as the other speaker,) 'it had been great almes the prior and she had been burned together at one stake. What came of the prior? Quod he, that can I not tell, but I wene he was put to such punishment as the poor nun was, that had given her in penance to say this verse, Miserere mei Deus, quoniam conculcavit me homo, with a great threat, that an she did so any more, she should say the whole psalm.' Sir Th. More's Works, as republished in Q. Mary's reign, fol. 134-5.]

[1 In Sir Thomas More's unfinished history of the reign Richard of III., he gives an account of Richard's proposing to a council of nobles and prelates, that means should be taken to remove the second son of Edward IV. from the sanctuary in Westminster. 'Then,' says More, 'thought he,' that is, the archbishop of York, 'and such other as were of the spiritualty present, that it were not in any wise to be attempted to take him out against her' (the queen's) 'will. For it would be a thing that should turn to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the privilege of that holy place should now be broken; which had so many years been kept, which both kings and popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was, more than five hundred years ago, by St Peter his own person, in spirit, accompanied with great multitude of angels, by night, so specially hallowed and dedicate to God (for the proof whereof they have yet in the abbey St Peter's cope to shew), that from that time hitherward was there never so undevout a king that durst that sacred place violate, or so holy a bishop that durst it presume to consecrate.' Ibid. fol. 49.]

of the devil, (as the maid of Ipswich[2] and of Kent[3],) to prove us whether we will cleave fast to God's word, and to deceive them that have no love to the truth of God's word, nor lust to walk in his laws.

And forasmuch as they to deceive withal arm themselves against them with arguments and persuasions of fleshly wisdom, with worldly similitudes, with shadows, with false allegories, with false expositions of the scripture, contrary unto

The armour of the spiritualty. W. T.

[2 Ch. 16 of the same first book of the same dialogue is headed, 'The author sheweth that whoso would inquire, should find that at pilgrimages been daily many great and undoubted miracles wrought and well known. And specially he speaketh of the great and open miracle shewed at our lady of Ipswich of late, upon the daughter of Sir Roger Wentworth, knight.' The dialogue accordingly proceeds to give an account of this 'fair young gentlewoman of xii. years of age, in marvellous manner vexed and tormented by our ghostly enemy the devil, &c. &c.; who, being brought and laid before the image of our blessed lady, was there in the sight of many worshipful people so grievously tormented, and in face, eyes, look and countenance so grisly changed, with her mouth drawn aside, and her eyes laid out upon her cheeks, that it was a terrible sight to behold. And after many marvellous things, at the same time shewed upon divers persons by the devil through God's sufferance, as well all the remnant as the maiden herself in the presence of all the company restored to their good state, perfectly cured.']

[3 The holy maid of Kent, as she was popularly styled when Tyndale wrote this treatise, was a nun named Elizabeth Barton, whom Richard Master, rector of Aldington, and a monk of Christ's-church Canterbury, had taught to feign epileptic convulsions and trances; after which she would relate pretended revelations and messages from heaven, as just delivered to her. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More for awhile, were amongst the numbers who gave credit to her inspiration. But when she had continued these impostures for about eight years, and books had been written of her pretended revelations and miracles, and More himself had said 'she was a foolish woman,' Cranmer and Cromwell having then the management of all ecclesiastical matters, the monks, whose tool she had been, were brought before them, and subjected to a strict examination. Her iniquity and that of her suborners were then confessed by herself and others, as stated in the preamble to the act for her attainder (Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12); and she and her partners in guilt were hanged at Tyburn, April 20, 1534.—See Cranmer's Works, Park. Soc. ed. Vol. II. Lett. LXXXI.—III.; Strype's Mem. Eccles. vol. I. ch. XXV. pp. 176—82. Burnet, Hist. Reform. B. II. date 1534, and appendix.]

the living and practising of Christ and the apostles, with lies and false miracles, with false names, dumb ceremonies, with disguising of hypocrisy, with the authorities of the fathers, and last of all with the violence of the temporal sword; therefore do thou contrariwise arm thyself to defend thee withal, as Paul teacheth in the last chapter of the Ephesians: "Gird on thee the sword of the Spirit, which is God's word, and take to thee the shield of faith:" which is, not to believe a tale of Robin Hood, or Gesta Romanorum[1], or of the Chronicles, but to believe God's word that lasteth ever.

The armour of a christian man is God's word and faith. W. T. Eph. vi.

And when the pope with his falsehead challengeth temporal authority above king and emperor, set before thee the xxvith chapter of St Matthew, where Christ commandeth Peter to put up his sword. And set before thee Paul, 2 Cor. xth, where he saith, "The weapons of our war are not carnal things, but mighty in God to bring all understanding in captivity under the obedience of Christ;" that is, the weapons are God's word and doctrine, and not swords of iron and steel. And set before thee the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles, and their practice.

Matt. xxvi.

2 Cor. x.

And when the pope challengeth authority over his fellow bishops and over all the congregation of Christ by succession of Peter, set before thee the first of the Acts; where Peter, for all his authority, put no man in the room of Judas; but all the apostles chose two indifferently, and cast lots, desiring God to temper[2] them, that the lot might fall on the most ablest. And (Acts viii.) the apostles sent Peter; and in the xith call him to reckoning, and to give accounts of that he hath done.

Acts viii. xi.

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And when the pope's law commandeth, saying, though that the pope live never so wickedly and draw with him through his evil ensample innumerable thousands into hell, yet see that no man presume to rebuke him, for he is head over all, and no man over him[3]; set before thee Galatians iind,

Gal. ii.

[1 The tale of Robin Hood and the Gesta Romanorum were well known books then in popular use.]

[2 He uses the word in its Latin sense, for *govern;* as Spenser has done in Mother Hubbard's tale, l. 1294.]

[3 The canon law incorporated the following apophthegm, extracted, as the gloss says, 'ex dictis Bonifacii martyris:' Si papa suæ et fraternæ salutis negligens, deprehenditur inutilis, et remissus in operi-

where Paul rebuketh Peter openly: and see how both to the Corinthians, and also to the Galatians, he will have no superior but God's word, and he that could teach better by God's word. And because, when he rehearsed his preaching and his doings unto the high apostles, they could improve[4] nothing, therefore will he be equal with the best.

God's word above all men's judgments. Ant. ed.

And when the friars say, they do more than their duty when they preach, and more than they are bound to: ('To say our service are we bound, say they, and that is our duty; and to preach is more than we are bound to:') set thou before thee how that Christ's blood-shedding hath bound us to love one another with all our might, and to do the uttermost of our power one to another. And Paul saith, 1 Cor. ix. "Woe be unto me, if I preach not:" yea, woe is unto him that hath wherewith to help his neighbour, and to make him better, and do it not. If they think it more than their duty to preach Christ unto you, then they think it more than their duty to pray that ye should come to the knowledge of Christ. And therefore it is no marvel though they take so great labour, yea, and so great wages also, to keep you still in darkness.

Friars be not bound to preach. W.T.

1 Cor. ix.

And when they cry furiously, 'Hold the heretics unto the wall, and if they will not revoke, burn them without any more ado; reason not with them, it is an article condemned by the fathers;' set thou before thee the saying of Peter, 1 Pet. iii. "To all that ask you be ready to give an answer of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness." The fathers of the Jews and the bishops, which had as great authority over them as ours have over us, condemned Christ and his doctrine. If it be enough to say the fathers have condemned it, then are the Jews to be holden excused; yea, they are yet in the right way, and we in the false. But and if the Jews be bound to look in the scripture, and to see whether their

1 Pet. iii.

bus suis, et insuper a bono taciturnus, quod magis officit sibi et omnibus, nihilominus innumerabiles populos catervatim secum ducit, primo mancipio gehennæ, cum ipso plagis multis in æternum vapulaturus; hujus culpas istic redarguere præsumit mortalium nullus: quia cunctos ipse judicaturus a nemine est judicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide devius.—Corpus Juris Canon. Decreti pars 1^ma^, Distinct. xl. ca. vi. or Si Papa. Ed. Lugduni, MDCXXII.]

[4 That is, *find fault with.*]

fathers have done right or wrong; then are we likewise bound to look in the scripture, whether our fathers have done right or wrong, and ought to believe nothing without a reason of the scripture and authority of God's word.

And of this manner defend thyself against all manner wickedness of our sprites[1], armed always with God's word, and with a strong and a stedfast faith thereunto. Without God's word do nothing. And to his word add nothing; neither pull any thing therefrom, as Moses everywhere teacheth thee. Serve God in the spirit, and thy neighbour with all outward service. Serve God as he hath appointed thee; and not with thy good intent and good zeal. Remember Saul was cast away of God for ever for his good intent. God requireth obedience unto his word; and abhorreth all good intents and good zeals which are without God's word: for they are nothing else than plain idolatry, and worshipping of false gods[2].

How God ought to be served. W. T.

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. And remember that Christ is the end of all things. He only is our resting-place, and he is our peace. For as there is no salvation in any other name, so is there no peace in any other name. Thou shalt never have rest in thy soul, neither shall the worm of conscience ever cease to gnaw thine heart, till thou come at Christ; till thou hear the glad tidings, how that God for his sake hath forgiven thee all freely. If thou trust in thy works, there is no rest. Thou shalt think, I have not done enough. Have I done it with so great love as I should do? Was I so glad in doing, as I would be to receive help at my need? I have left this or that undone; and such like. If thou trust in confession, then shalt thou think, Have I told all? Have I told all the circumstances? Did I repent enough? Had I as great sorrow in my repentance for my sins, as I had pleasure in doing them? Likewise in our holy pardons and pilgrimages gettest thou no rest. For thou seest that the very gods themselves, which

In Christ is rest of conscience only. W. T. Eph. ii.

Note.

[1 Sprites C: spirites D. He seems to mean to designate the spirituality, or popish clergy: a few pages further on he says, 'I have uttered the wickedness of the spirituality.']

[2 Art. XXV. of heresies and errors charged against Tyndale: 'He saith, that no man should serve God with good intent or zeal; for it is plain idolatry.' To this Foxe does but reply, 'The place is this,' and therewith gives Tyndale's words.]

sell their pardon so good cheap, or some whiles give them freely for glory sake, trust not therein themselves. They build colleges, and make perpetuities, to be prayed for for ever; and lade the lips of their beadmen[3], or chaplains, with so many masses, and diriges, and so long service, that I have known of[4] some that have bid the devil take their founders' souls, for very impatiency and weariness of so painful labour.

As pertaining to good deeds therefore, do the best thou canst, and desire God to give strength to do better daily; but in Christ put thy trust, and in the pardon and promises that God hath made thee for his sake; and on that rock build thine house, and there dwell. For there only shalt thou be sure from all storms and tempests, and from all wily assaults of our wicked spirits, which study with all falsehead to undermine us. And the God of all mercy give thee grace so to do, unto whom be glory for ever! Amen.

Do good deeds, and trust in Christ. W. T.

A Compendious Rehearsal of that which goeth before.

I HAVE described unto you the obedience of children, servants, wives, and subjects. These four orders are of God's making, and the rules thereof are God's word. He that keepeth them shall be blessed, yea, is blessed already; and he that breaketh them shall be cursed. If any person of impatiency, or of a stubborn and rebellious mind, withdraw himself from any of these, and get him to any other order, let him not think thereby to avoid the vengeance of God in obeying rules and traditions of man's imagination. If thou pollest thine head in the worship of thy father, and breakest his commandments, shouldest thou so escape? Or if thou paintest thy master's image on a wall, and stickest up a candle before it, shouldest thou therewith make satisfaction for the breaking of his commandments? Or if thou wearest a blue coat in the worship of the king, and breakest his laws, shouldest thou so go quit? Let a man's wife make herself a sister of the Charterhouse, and answer her husband,

God's word is the rule of children, servants, wives, and subjects. Ant. ed.

[3] Prayer-men. In Tyndale's day letters from ecclesiastics usually had this designation prefixed to their signature; as, Your most humble beideman, Thomas Cantuar.; Your humble bedeman, Cutb. Duresme.]

[4] Day omits *of*.]

when he biddeth her hold her peace, 'My brethren keep silence for me;' and see whether she shall so escape. And be thou sure God is more jealous over his commandments than man is over his, or than any man is over his wife.

To please God is to believe his promises, and to love his commandments. Ant. ed.

Because we be blind, God hath appointed in the scripture how we should serve him and please him. As pertaining unto his own person, he is abundantly pleased when we believe his promises and holy testament, which he hath made unto us in Christ; and, for the mercy which he there shewed us, love his commandments. All bodily service must be done to man in God's stead. We must give obedience, honour, toll, tribute, custom, and rent unto whom they belong. Then if thou have ought more to bestow, give unto the poor, which are left here in Christ's stead, that we shew mercy on them. If we keep the commandments of love, then are we sure that we fulfil the law in the sight of God, and that our blessing shall be everlasting life. Now when we obey patiently, and without grudging, evil princes that oppress us and persecute us, and be kind and merciful to them that are merciless to us and do the worst they can to us, and so take all fortune patiently, and kiss whatsoever cross God layeth on our backs; then are we sure that we keep the commandments of love.

He that will avenge robbeth God of his honour. Ant. ed.

I declared that God hath taken all vengeance into his own hands, and will avenge all unright himself; either by the powers or officers which are appointed thereto, or else, if they be negligent, he will send his curses upon the transgressors, and destroy them with his secret judgments. I shewed also, that whosoever avengeth himself is damned in the deed-doing, and falleth into the hands of the temporal sword, because he taketh the office of God upon him, and robbeth God of his most high honour, in that he will not patiently abide his judgment. I shewed you of the authority of princes, how they are in God's stead, and how they may not be resisted: do they never so evil, they must be reserved unto the wrath of God. Neverthelater, if they command to do evil, we must then disobey, and say, 'We are otherwise commanded of God;' but not to rise against them. 'They will kill us then,' sayest thou. Therefore, I say, is a Christian called to suffer even the bitter death for his hope's sake, and because he will do no evil. I shewed also that the kings and

rulers (be they never so evil) are yet a great gift of the goodness of God, and defend us from a thousand things that we see not.

How evil soever the king is, yet is he unto thee a great gift of God. Ant. ed.

I proved also that all men without exception are under the temporal sword, whatsoever names they give themselves. Because the priest is chosen out of the laymen to teach this obedience, is that a lawful cause for him to disobey? Because he preacheth that the layman should not steal, is it therefore lawful for him to steal unpunished? Because thou teachest me that I may not kill, or if I do, the king must kill me again, is it therefore lawful for thee to kill, and go free? Either whether is it rather meet that thou, which art my guide to teach me the right way, shouldest walk therein before me? The priests of the old law with their high bishop Aaron, and all his successors, though they were anointed by God's commandment, and appointed to serve God in his temple, and exempt from all offices and ministering of worldly matters, were yet nevertheless under the temporal sword, if they brake the laws. Christ saith to Peter, "All that take the sword shall perish by the sword." Here is none exception. Paul saith, "All souls must obey." Here is none exception. Paul himself is here not exempt. God saith, "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed again." Here is none exception.

Gen. ix.

Moreover, Christ became poor to make other men rich, and bound to make other free. He left also with his disciples the law of love. Now love seeketh not her own profit, but her neighbour's: love seeketh not her own freedom, but becometh surety and bond to make her neighbour free. Damned, therefore, are the spiritualty by all the laws of God; which through falsehead and disguised hypocrisy have sought so great profit, so great riches, so great authority, and so great liberties, and have so beggared the lay, and so brought them in subjection and bondage, and so despised them, that they have set up franchises in all towns and villages for whosoever robbeth, murdereth or slayeth them, and even for traitors unto the king's person also.

The pope hath a law that none of his sprites may be surety. W. T.

I proved also that no king hath power to grant them such liberty; but are as well damned for their giving, as they for their false purchasing. For as God giveth the father power over his children, even so giveth he him a command-

ment to execute it, and not to suffer them to do wickedly unpunished, but unto his damnation, as thou mayest see by Eli, the high priest, &c. And as the master hath authority over his servants, even so hath he a commandment to govern them. And as the husband is head over his wife, even so hath he commandment to rule her appetites; and is damned, if he suffer her to be an whore and a mis-liver, or submit himself to her, and make her his head. And even in like manner as God maketh the king head over his realm, even so giveth he him commandment to execute the laws upon all men indifferently. For the law is God's, and not the king's. The king is but a servant, to execute the law of God, and not to rule after his own imagination.

The king is but a servant to execute the laws of God. Ant. ed.

I shewed also that the law and the king are to be feared, as things that were given in fire, and in thunder, and lightning, and terrible signs. I shewed the cause why rulers are evil, and by what means we might obtain better. I shewed also how wholesome those bitter medicines, evil princes, are to right christian men.

I declared how they, which God hath made governors in the world, ought to rule, if they be Christians. They ought to remember that they are heads and arms, to defend the body, to minister peace, health, and wealth, and even to save the body; and that they have received their offices of God, to minister and to do service unto their brethren. King, subject, master, servant, are names in the world, but not in Christ. In Christ we are all one, and even brethren. No man is his own; but we are all Christ's servants, bought with Christ's blood. Therefore ought no man to seek himself, or his own profit, but Christ and his will. In Christ no man ruleth as a king his subjects, or a master his servants; but serveth, as one hand doth to another, and as the hands do unto the feet, and the feet to the hands, as thou seest 1 Cor. xii. We also serve, not as servants unto masters; but as they which are bought with Christ's blood serve Christ himself. We be here all servants unto Christ. For whatsoever we do one to another in Christ's name, that do we unto Christ, and the reward of that shall we receive of Christ. The king counteth his commons Christ himself; and therefore doth them service willingly, seeking no more of them than is sufficient to maintain peace and unity, and to defend the

1 Cor. xii.

How far a king ought to seek at his commons' hands. Ant. ed.

realm. And they obey again willingly and lovingly, as unto Christ. And of Christ every man seeketh his reward.

I warned the judges that they take not an ensample, how to minister their offices, of our spiritualty, which are bought and sold to do the will of Satan; but of the scripture, whence they have their authority. Let that which is secret abide secret till God open it, which is the judge of secrets. For it is more than a cruel thing to break up into a man's heart, and to compel him to put either soul or body in jeopardy, or to shame himself. If Peter, that great pillar, for fear of death forsook his master, ought we not to spare weak consciences? Note. Ant. ed.

I declared how the king ought to rid his realm from the wily tyranny of the hypocrites, and to bring the hypocrites under his laws: yea, and how he ought to be learned, and to hear, and to look upon the causes himself, which he will punish; and not to believe the hypocrites, and to give them his sword to kill whom they will.

The king ought to count what he hath spent in the pope's quarrel, since he was king. The first voyage cost upon fourteen hundred thousand pounds. Reckon since what hath been spent by sea and land between us and Frenchmen and Scots, and then in triumphs, and in embassies[1], and what hath been sent out of the realm secretly, and all to maintain our holy father; and I doubt not but that will surmount the sum of forty or fifty hundred thousand pounds: for we had no cause to spend one penny, but for our holy father. The king therefore ought to make them pay this money every farthing, and fet[2] it out of their mitres, crosses, shrines, and all manner treasure of the church, and pay it to his commons again: not that only which the cardinal and his bishops compelled the commons to lend, and made them swear, with such an ensample of tyranny as was never before thought on; but also all that he hath gathered of them: or else by the consent of the commons to keep it in store for the defence of the realm. Yea, the king ought to look in the chronicles, what the popes have done to kings in time past, and make them restore it also; and ought to take away from them their lands which they have gotten with their false prayers, and restore it unto the right heirs again; or

[1 Both C. and D. print the word *ambastasies.*] [2 Fet: fetch.]

with consent and advisement turn them unto the maintaining of the poor, and bringing up of youth virtuously, and to maintain necessary officers and ministers for to defend the commonwealth.

If he will not do it, then ought the commons to take patience, and to take it for God's scourge; and to think that God hath blinded the king for their sins' sake, and commit their cause to God: and then shall God make a scourge for them, and drive them out of his temple, after his wonderful judgment.

On the other side, I have also uttered the wickedness of the spiritualty, the falsehead of the bishops, and juggling of the pope, and how they have disguised themselves, borrowing some of their pomp of the Jews, and some of the gentiles, and have with subtle wiles turned the obedience, that should be given to God's ordinance, unto themselves; and how they have put out God's testament and God's truth, and set up their own traditions and lies, in which they have taught the people to believe, and thereby sit in their consciences as God; and have by that means robbed the world of lands and goods, of peace and unity, and of all temporal authority, and have brought the people into the ignorance of God, and have heaped the wrath of God upon all realms, and namely upon the kings: whom they have robbed (I speak not of worldly things only, but) even of their very natural wits. They make them believe that they are most christian, when they live most abominably, and will suffer no man in their realms that believeth on Christ; and that they are "defenders of the faith," when they burn the gospel and promises of God, out of which all faith springeth.

I shewed how they have ministered Christ, king and emperor out of their rooms; and how they have made them a several kingdom, which they got at the first in deceiving of princes, and now pervert the whole scripture, to prove that they have such authority of God. And lest the laymen should see how falsely they allege the places of the scripture, is the greatest cause of this persecution.

Confession. W. T. They have feigned confession for the same purpose, to stablish their kingdom withal. All secrets know they thereby.

The bishop knoweth the confession of whom he lusteth throughout all his diocese: yea, and his chancellor commandeth the ghostly father to deliver it written. The pope, his cardinals and bishops, know the confession of the emperor, kings, and of all lords: and by confession they know all their captives. If any believe in Christ, by confession they know him. Shrive thyself where thou wilt, whether at Sion, Charterhouse, or at the Observants, thy confession is known well enough. And thou, if thou believe in Christ, art waited upon. Wonderful are the things that thereby are wrought. The wife is feared, and compelled to utter not her own only, but also the secrets of her husband; and the servant the secrets of his master. Besides that through confession they quench the faith of all the promises of God, and take away the effect and virtue of all the sacraments of Christ.

The manifold enormities which their auricular confession did breed. Ant. ed.

They have also corrupted the saints' lives with lies and feigned miracles, and have put many things out of the sentence or great curse, as raising of rent and fines, and hiring men out of their houses, and whatsoever wickedness they themselves do; and have put a great part of the stories and chronicles out of the way, lest their falsehead should be seen. For there is no mischief or disorder, whether it be in the temporal regiment, or else in the spiritual, whereof they are not the chief causes, and even the very fountain and springs, and, as we say, the well-head: so that it is impossible to preach against any[1] mischief, except thou begin at them; or to set any reformation in the world, except thou reform them first. Now are they indurate and tough as Pharao, and will not bow unto any right way or order. And therefore persecute they God's word and the preachers thereof; and on the other side lie await unto all princes, and stir up all mischief in the world, and send them to war, and occupy their minds therewith, or with other voluptuousness, lest they should have leisure to hear the word of God, and to set an order in their realms.

The pope and his chaplains were the fountains of all evils in spiritual regiment or temporal. Ant. ed.

By them is all thing ministered, and by them are all kings ruled. Yea, in every king's conscience sit they, ere he be king, and persuade every king what they lust; and make them both to believe what they will, and to do what

[1 Day omits *any*.]

they will. Neither can any king or any realm have rest for their businesses. Behold king Henry the Vth, whom they sent out for such a purpose as they sent out our king that now is. See how the realm is inhabited. Ask where the goodly towns and their walls, and the people that was wont to be in them, are become; and where the blood royal of the realm is become also? Turn thine eyes whither thou wilt, and thou shalt see nothing prosperous but their subtle polling. With that it is flowing water: yea, and I trust it will be shortly a full sea.

Under an outward pretence of God's honour, the pope's clergy procured their own dignity. Ant. ed.

In all their doings, though they pretend outwardly the honour of God or a commonwealth, their intent and secret counsel is only to bring all under their power, and to take out of the way whosoever letteth them, or is too mighty for them. As when they send the princes to Jerusalem, to conquer the holy land, and to fight against the Turks, whatsoever they pretend outwardly, their secret intent is, while the princes there conquer them more bishopricks, to conquer their lands in the mean season with their false hypocrisy, and to bring all under them; which thou mayest easily perceive by that they will not let us know the faith of Christ. And when they are once on high, then are they tyrants above all tyrants, whether they be Turks or Saracens. How minister they proving of testaments? how causes of wedlock? or if any man die intestate? If a poor man die, and leave his wife and half a dozen young children, and but one cow to find them, that will they have for a mortuary mercilessly; let come of wife and children what will. Yea, let any thing be done against their pleasure, and they will interdict the whole realm, sparing no person.

Read the chronicles of England, (out of which yet they have put a great part of their wickedness,) and thou shalt find them always both rebellious and disobedient to the kings, and also churlish and unthankful; so that when all the realm gave the king somewhat to maintain him in his right, they would not give a mite. Consider the story of king John, where I doubt not but they have put the best and fairest for themselves, and the worst of king John: for I suppose they make the chronicles themselves. Compare the doings of their holy church (as they ever call it) unto the learning of Christ and of his apostles. Did not the legate of Rome assoil

all the lords of the realm of their due obedience, which they ought[1] to the king by the ordinance of God?[2] Would he not have cursed the king with his solemn pomp, because he would have done that office which God commandeth every king to do, and wherefore God hath put the sword in every king's hand? that is to wit, because king John would have punished a wicked clerk that had coined false money[3]. The laymen that had not done half so great faults must die, but the clerk must go escape free! Sent not the pope also unto the king of France remission of his sins, to go and conquer king John's realm?[4] So now remission of sins cometh not by faith in the testament that God hath made in Christ's blood, but by fighting and murdering for the pope's pleasure. Last of all, was not king John fain to deliver his crown unto the legate, and to yield up his realm unto the pope, wherefore we pay Peter-pence? They might be called the polling-pence of false prophets well enough. They care not by what mischief they come by their purpose. War and conquering of lands is their harvest. The wickeder the people are, the more they have the hypocrites in reverence, the more they fear them, and the more they believe in them. And they that conquer other men's lands, when they die, make them their heirs, to be prayed for for ever. Let there come one conquest more in the realm, and thou shalt see them get yet as much more as they have, (if they can keep down God's word, that their juggling come not to light;) yea, thou shalt see them take the realm whole into their hands, and crown one of themselves king thereof. And verily, I see no other likelihood, but that the land shall be shortly conquered. The stars of the scripture promise us none other

The keeping down of God's word promoted the pope's spirituality's honour. Ant. ed.

[1 Ought: owed.]

[2 Eodem anno (1211) Innocentius Papa reges et alios omnes, tam pauperes quam potentes, ad coronam Angliæ spectantes, a regis fidelitate et subjectione absolvit. Matt. Paris. Hist. Angliæ. Lond. 1686, p. 194.]

[3 See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. II. p. 329, under date of 1211.]

[4 Papa sententialiter definivit ut rex Anglorum Johannes a solio regni deponeretur.—Ad hujus quoque sententiæ executionem, scripsit dominus Papa potentissimo regi Francorum Philippo, quatenus remissionem omnium suorum peccaminum, hunc laborem assumeret. Matt. Paris. under date 1212, p. 195.]

fortune, inasmuch as we deny Christ with the wicked Jews, and will not have him reign over us; but will be still children of darkness under antichrist, and antichrist's possession, burning the gospel of Christ, and defending a faith that may not stand with his holy testament.

If any man shed blood in the church, it shall be interdicted, till he have paid for the hallowing. If he be not able, the parish must pay, or else shall it stand always interdicted. They will be avenged on them that never offended. Full
2 Tim. iii. well prophesied of them Paul, in the 2nd epistle to Timothy, chap. iii. Some man will say, 'Wouldest thou that men should fight in the church unpunished?' Nay, but let the king ordain a punishment for them, as he doth for them that fight in his palace; and let not all the parish be troubled for one's fault. And as for their hallowing, it is the juggling of antichrist. A christian man is the temple of God and of the Holy Ghost, and hallowed in Christ's blood. A christian man is holy in himself, by reason of the Spirit that dwelleth in him; and the place, wherein he is, is holy by reason of him, whether he be in the field or town. A christian husband sanctifieth an unchristian wife, and a christian wife an unchristian husband, (as concerning the use of matrimony,)
1 Cor. vii. saith Paul to the Corinthians. If now, while we seek to be hallowed in Christ, we are found unholy, and must be hallowed by the ground, or place, or walls, then died Christ in vain. Howbeit, antichrist must have wherewith to sit in men's consciences, and to make them fear where is no fear, and to rob them of their faith, and to make them trust in that cannot help them, and to seek holiness of that which is not holy in itself.

After that the old king of France was brought down out of Italy, mark what pageants have been played, and what are yet a playing, to separate us from the emperor, lest by the help or aid of us he should be able to recover his right of the pope, and to couple us to the Frenchmen, whose might the pope ever abuseth to keep the emperor from Italy. What prevaileth it for any king to marry his daughter or his son, or to make any peace or good ordinance for the wealth of his realm? For it shall no longer last than it is profitable to them. Their treason is so secret that the world cannot perceive it. They dissimule those things which they

are only cause of, and simule discord among themselves when they are most agreed[1]. One shall hold this, and another shall dispute the contrary: but the conclusion shall be that most maintaineth their falsehead, though God's word be never so contrary. What have they wrought in our days, yea, and what work they yet, to the perpetual dishonour of the king, and rebuke of the realm, and shame of all the nation, in whatsoever realms they go!

I uttered unto you partly the malicious blindness of the bishop of Rochester, his juggling, his conveying, his foxy wiliness, his bo-peep, his wresting, renting, and shameful abusing of the scripture; his oratory and alleging of heretics, and how he would make the apostles authors of blind ceremonies without signification, contrary to their own doctrine; and have set him for an ensample to judge all other by. Whatsoever thou art that readest this, I exhort thee in Christ to compare his sermon and that which I have written, and the scripture together, and judge. There shalt thou find of our holy father's authority, and what it is to be great, and how to know the greatest.

The bishop of Rochester is a fit pattern to judge all the rest of affinity by. Ant. ed.

Then followeth the cause why laymen cannot rule temporal offices, which is the falsehead of the bishops. There shalt thou find of miracles and ceremonies without signification; of false anointing, and lying signs, and false names; and how the spiritualty are disguised in falsehead; and how they roll the people in darkness, and do all thing in the Latin tongue; and of their petty pillage. Their polling is like a soking consumption, wherein a man complaineth of feebleness and of faintness, and wotteth not whence his disease cometh: it is like a pock that fretteth inward, and consumeth the very marrow of the bones.

There seest thou the cause why it is impossible for kings to come to the knowledge of the truth. For the sprites lay await for them, and serve their appetites at all points; and through confession buy and sell and betray both them and all their true friends, and lay baits for them, and never leave them, till they have blinded them with their sophistry, and

The cause why kings could not come to the knowledge of the truth. Ant. ed.

[1 These words, *dissimule* and *simule*, are imitated from the corresponding Latin verbs. The first means concealing what is; the second, feigning what is not.]

have brought them into their nets. And then, when the king is captive, they compel all the rest with violence of his sword. For if any man will not obey them, be it right or wrong, they cite him, suspend him, and curse or excommunicate him. If he then obey not, they deliver him to Pilate, that is to say, unto the temporal officers, to destroy them. Last of all, there findest thou the very cause of all persecution, which is the preaching against hypocrisy.

Then come we to the sacraments, where thou seest that the work of the sacrament saveth not; but the faith in the promise, which the sacrament signifieth, justificth us only. There hast thou that a priest is but a servant, to teach only; and whatsoever he taketh upon him more than to preach and to minister the sacraments of Christ (which is also preaching) is falsehead.

Then cometh how they juggle through dumb ceremonies, and how they make merchandise with feigned words; penance, *a pœna et a culpa*, satisfaction, attrition, character, purgatory-pick-purse; and how through confession they make the sacraments and all the promise of none effect or value[1]. There seest thou that absolving is but preaching the promises; and cursing or excommunicating, preaching the law; and of their power, and of their keys, of false miracles, and praying to saints. There seest thou that ceremonies did not the mira-

Miracles are done by faith, and not by ceremonies. Ant. ed.

[1 *Q.* What is penance?

A. A sacrament by which the sins which we fall into after baptism are forgiven us. Abstract of the Douay Catechism. With permission. London, printed by Keating and Brown, printers to the R. Rev. the Vicars apostolic, 1824, p. 58.

Q. What is confession?

A. A full and sincere declaring of all our sins to our ghostly father.

Q. What is satisfaction?

A. A faithful performance of the prayers or good works enjoined us by the priest to whom we confess. Id. p. 60. Penance expounded.

Q. What is a character?

A. It is a kind of spiritual mark or seal in the soul, which always remains in it; of which St Paul seems to speak 2 Cor. i. 22, where he says that God has sealed us. Id. p. 47. Of Characters in general.

For *pœna et culpa*, and attrition, see pp. 271 and 265.]

cles, but faith: even as it was not Moses' rod that did the miracles, but Moses' faith in the promises of God. Thou seest also that to have a faith, where God hath not a promise, is idolatry. And there also seest thou how the pope exalteth himself above God, and commandeth him to obey his tyranny. Last of all, thou hast there that no man ought to preach but he that is called.

Then followeth the belly-brotherhead of monks and friars. For Christ hath deserved nought with them: for his sake gettest thou no favour. Thou must offer unto their bellies, and then they pray bitterly for thee. There seest thou that Christ is the only cause, yea, and all the cause, why God doth aught for us, and heareth our complaint. And there hast thou doctrine how to know, and to be sure, that thou art elect and hast God's Spirit in thee. And hast there learning to try the doctrine of our spirits.

Then follow the four senses of the scripture, of which three are no senses; and the fourth, that is to wit the literal sense, which is the very sense, hath the pope taken to himself[2]. It may have no other meaning than as it pleaseth his fatherhood. We must abide his interpretation. And as his bellies think, so must we think; though it be impossible to gather any such meaning of the scripture. Then hast thou the very use of allegories, and how they are nothing but ensamples borrowed of the scripture, to express a text or an open conclusion of the scripture, and as it were to paint it before thine eyes, that thou mayest feel the meaning and the power of the scripture in thine heart. Then cometh the use of worldly similitudes, and how they are false prophets, which bring a worldly similitude for any other purpose, save to express more plainly that which is contained in an open text. And so are they also which draw the scripture con-

The use of allegories. Ant. ed.

The use of similitudes. Ant. ed.

[2 Tyndale's learned contemporary Erasmus has noticed these four senses as follows, in his panegyric on Jerome: Operæ pretium est audire censuram istorum qui cuncta ad certum numerum redegerunt. Doctores ecclesiæ quatuor esse libuit, et quatuor item scripturæ divinæ sensus, nimirum ut respondeant quatuor evangelistis. Gregorio tribuunt tropologiam, Ambrosio allegoriam, Augustino anagogen, Hieronymo, ne nihil habeat, relinquunt literam et sensum grammaticum.—Hieron. Stridonensis Vita, ad finem.]

trary to the open places, and contrary to the ensample, living, and practising of Christ, the apostles, and of the holy prophets. And then, finally, hast thou of our holy father's power, and of his keys, and of his binding and excommunicating, and of his cursing and blessing, with ensamples of every thing.

THE END OF THE OBEDIENCE OF A CHRISTIAN MAN.

A BRIEF DECLARATION

OF THE

SACRAMENTS;

EXPRESSING THE FIRST ORIGINAL, HOW THEY CAME UP AND WERE INSTITUTE, WITH THE TRUE AND MOST SINCERE MEANING AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE SAME.

VERY NECESSARY FOR ALL MEN, THAT WILL NOT ERR IN THE TRUE USE AND MEANING THEREOF.

COMPILED BY THE GODLY LEARNED MAN,

WILLIAM TYNDALE.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE copies of this treatise collated for the present reprint have been that in Day's folio edition of Barnes, Tyndale, and Frith, dated 1573; and a 12mo edition of this treatise only, entitled as on the preceding page, and said to be "Imprinted at London by Robert Stoughton, dwellyng within Ludgate, at the sygne of the bishoppes miter." This edition has no date, but R. Stoughton began printing in 1548; and as it has no marginal notes, all the responsibility which may attach to them belongs to Day's editor.

No date appears to have been assigned to the composition of this treatise; but it is placed, in Day, as the last of those there said to be "imprinted according to his [Tyndale's] first copies, which he himself set forth." On the other hand we find Tyndale, in a letter which he wrote to Frith soon after Christmas 1532, requesting him to "meddle as little as he could with the question of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament," that the difference between them and the Lutherans might not give offence; and adding, that he had stopped Joye from publishing a treatise on that topic. And though Frith's imprisonment induced Tyndale to publish 'a short and pithy treatise,' defending his friend's views on this very subject, in April 1533, he chose to do it anonymously. The present treatise, therefore, could not have been published till a later date than the one just mentioned. But, besides this, if Stoughton has reprinted an earlier edition, and has not done it with extraordinary carelessness, the incorrectness of some of the imitations of Hebrew words in English letters is so glaring, (that of *Mahond Dane* for example,) that it can only be accounted for by supposing that Tyndale had no opportunity of revising the printer's work; who, where Tyndale's letters were not distinct, could only conjecture what they were intended for. When this is considered, and also the great obscurity in the composition of some of its paragraphs, the reader will perhaps think that Stoughton has described it more correctly as *compiled*, than Day as *set forth*, by Tyndale; whose MS. may have been in the hands of some friend, at the time of his imprisonment or martyrdom, and may thus have been printed without his revising care.

A

FRUITFUL AND GODLY TREATISE,

EXPRESSING THE

RIGHT INSTITUTION AND USAGE OF THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM,

AND THE

SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF OUR SAVIOUR JESU CHRIST.

To understand the pith of the sacraments, how they came up, and the very meaning of them, we must consider diligently the manners and fashions of the Hebrews, which were a people of great gravity and sadness, and earnest in all their doings, if any notable thing chanced among them; so that they not only wrote, but also set up pillars, and marks, and divers signs to testify the same unto their posterity, and named the places where the things were done with such names as could not but keep the deeds in memory. As Jacob called the place where he saw God face to face *Pheniel,* that is, God's face[1]. And the place where the Egyptians mourned for Jacob seven days, the people of the country called *Abel Miram*[2], that is, the lamentation of the Egyptians; to the intent that such names should keep the gests and stories in mind.

Writings and monuments preserve the memory of notable doings.

Gen. xxxii.

Gen. l.

And likewise in all their covenants they not only promised one to another and sware thereon, but also set up signs and tokens thereof, and gave the places names to keep the thing in mind. And they used thereto such circumstances, protestations, solemn fashions, and ceremonies, to confirm the covenants, and to testify that they were made with great earnest advice and deliberation, to the intent that it should

A sure band of all covenants amongst the Jews.

[1 פְּנִיאֵל.]

[2 אָבֵל מִצְרַיִם, Abel Mitsraim, misprinted, both by Day and Stoughton, Abell Miram.]

be too much shame and too much abomination, both before God and man, to break them ever after.

Gen. xxi. As Abraham, when he made a covenant of peace with Abimelech king of the Philistines, after they had eaten and drunk together, and sworn, he put seven lambs by themselves, and Abimelech received them of his hand, to testify that he there had digged a certain well, and that the right thereof pertained to him. And he called the well Beersheba, the well of swearing, or the well of seven, because of the oath, and of the seven lambs; and by that title did Abraham his children challenge it many hundred years after. And when Jacob and Laban made a covenant together, Genes. xxxi. they cast up an heap of stones in witness, and called it Galeed, the heap of witness; and they bound each other, for them and their posterity, that neither part should pass the heap to the other's countryward, to hurt or conquer their land: and Laban bound Jacob also, that he should take no other wives besides his daughters, to vex them. And of all that covenant they made that heap a witness, calling it the witness-heap; that their children should inquire the cause of the name, and their father should declare unto them the history.

The well of swearing or the well of seven.

Gen. xxxi.

A heap of stones was a sufficient band for all covenants.

And such fashions as they used among themselves, did God also use to themward, in all his notable deeds, whether of mercy in delivering them, or of wrath in punishing their disobedience and transgression, in all his promises to them, and covenants made between them and him.

Gen. ix. As when after the general flood God made a covenant with Noah and all mankind, and also with all living creatures, that he would no more drown the world, he gave them the rainbow to be a sign of the promise, for to make it the better believed, and to keep it in mind for ever; and he said: "When I bring clouds upon the earth, I will put my bow in the clouds, and will look on it, and remember the everlasting covenant made between God and all living creatures."

The rainbow a pledge of God's promise.

Gen. xvii. And Abram (which signifieth an excellent father) he named Abraham, the father of a great multitude of people; because he had promised to make him even so, and that his seed should be as the stars and as the sand of the sea innumerable. And that name gave he him as a seal of the promise to confirm it, and to strengthen the faith of Abraham and his posterity, and to keep the promise in mind, that they might have where-

The blessing of God to Abraham.

with to bind God and to conjure him, as Moses and the holy prophets ever do, holding him fast to his own promise, and binding him with his own words, and bringing forth the obligation and seal thereof, in all times of necessity and temptation.

After that he made a covenant with Abraham, to be his God, and the God of his posterity, and their shield and defender; and Abraham promised for him and his seed to be his people, and to believe and trust in him, and to keep his commandments; which covenant God caused to be written in the flesh of Abraham, and in the males of all his posterity, commanding the males to be circumcised the eighth day, or to be slain: which circumcision was the seal and obligation of the said covenant, to keep it in mind, and to testify that it was an earnest thing, whereby God challenged them to be his people, and required the keeping of his laws of them, and faith to trust in him only, and in no other thing, for help and succour, and all that can be needful and necessary for man; and whereby he condemned the disobedient and rebellious, and punished them; and whereby also the godly challenged him to be their God and Father, and to help and succour them at need, and to minister all things unto them according to all his promises. Gen. xvii. Circumcision, the seal of God's covenant with us.

And though the seal of this covenant were not written in the flesh of the females, yet it served the womankind, and bound them to God, to trust in him, and to keep his laws, as well as it did the men children; and the womankind, not circumcised in the flesh, yet through the help of the sign written in the males loving God's law, and trusting wholly in him, were truly circumcised in the heart and soul before God. And as the maid-children, believing and loving God, whereunto the outward circumcision bound them, were truly circumcised before God; even so the males, having the flesh circumcised, yet not believing nor loving God, whereunto the outward circumcision bound them, were uncircumcised before God, and God not bound to them, but had good right thereby to punish them: so that neither circumcision, or to be uncircumcised, is aught worth (as St Paul saith, Rom. ii.) save for the keeping of the law; for if circumcision help not to keep the law, so serveth it for nought, but for to condemn. And as the womankind uncircumcised were in as good case as the males that were Rom. ii.

circumcised; even so the infants of the maids, which died uncircumcised, were in as good case as the infants of males which died circumcised. And in as good case by the same rule were the men-children that died before the eighth day: or else let them tell why[1]. The covenant, made between God and Abraham, saved the man-child as soon as it was born, yea, as soon as it had life in the mother's womb: for the covenant, that God would be God of Abraham's seed, went over the fruit as soon as it had life; and then there is no reason but that the covenant must needs pertain to the males as soon as to the females. Wherefore the covenant must needs save the males unto the eighth day; and then the covenant was, that the rulers should slay the males only, if their friends did not circumcise them; not that the circumcision saved them, but to testify the covenant only. And then it followeth, that the infants that die unbaptized, of us Christians, that would baptize them at due time and teach them to believe in Christ, are in as good case as these that die baptized: for as the covenant made to the faith of Abraham went over his seed as soon as it had life, and before the sign was put on them; even so must needs the covenant, made to all that believe in Christ's blood, go over that seed as soon as it hath life in the mother's womb, before the sign be put on it. For it is the covenant only, and not the sign, that saveth us; though the sign be commanded to be put on at due time, to stir up faith of the covenant that saveth us. And instead of circumcision came our baptism; whereby we be received into the religion of Christ, and made partakers of his passion, and members of his church; and whereby we are bound to believe in Christ, and in the Father through him, for the remission of sins; and to keep the law of Christ, and to love each other, as he loved us; and whereby (if we thus believe and love) we calling God to be our Father, and to do his will, shall receive remission of our sins through the merits of Jesus Christ his Son, as he hath promised. So now by baptism we be bound to God, and God to us, and the bond and seal of the covenant is written in our flesh; by which seal or writing God challengeth faith and love, under pain of just damnation: and we (if we believe and love) challenge (as it is above rehearsed) all mercy, and whatsoever we need; or else God must be an untrue God. And God hath

Gen. xvii.

God's promise reacheth to all Abraham's posterity.

Baptism to us is as circumcision was to the Jews.

[1] So R. S. ed. Day has, 'tell why the,' &c.]

bound us christian men to receive this sign for our infirmities' sake, to be a witness between him and us, and also to put this sign upon our children; not binding us to any appointed time, but as it shall seem to us most convenient, to bring them to the knowledge of God the Father, and of Christ, and of their duty to God and his law. And as the circumcised in the flesh, and not in the heart, have no part in God's good promises; even so they that be baptized in the flesh, and not in heart, have no part in Christ's blood. And as the circumcised in the heart, and not in the flesh, had part in God's good promises; even so a Turk unbaptized (because he either knoweth not, that he ought to have it, or cannot for tyranny,) if he believe in Christ, and love as Christ did and taught, then hath he his part in Christ's blood.

And though the outward circumcision, by the which God challengeth them to do him service, yea, whether they would or not, and by the which they were taught to believe in God, and in the seed of Abraham that should come and bless all the world, and to love the law; and certified them also, on the other side, of the good-will of God, if they so did; though (I say) it was the chief and most principal sign, (for so are such ceremonies called in the Hebrew[2], because they yet signify other things than appeareth to the outward sense,) yet God gave them divers other signs, both to stir up faith in the promise made them, and also to keep the benefit of the mercy of God in mind.

As in Exodus xiii. all the first-born, both of man and beast, are sanctified and dedicated unto the Lord, for a remembrance that the Lord slew all the first-born of Egypt; this did God command to be observed, that their children should ask why: and he commanded their fathers to teach their children, when they should ask what was meant thereby. Exod. xiii.

Also Exodus xx. the Sabbath is commanded to be observed, to be a sign, and to testify that God had sanctified and dedicated or chosen them, that they should be his people, to keep his laws, and that he would be their God, to keep them; and Exod. xx.

[2 It will appear probable, from what follows, that, by the expression "*in the Hebrew*," Tyndale only meant *in Hebrew usage*; especially as the Hebrew name for a sign, viz. אוֹת, is not equivalent to *ceremony*. In the Hebrew scriptures מִשְׁמֶ֫רֶת is the word used in the only instance (Numb. ix. 3) where the English version has *ceremonies*.]

to testify also, that God hath created all things of nought in six days, and rested the seventh.

Num. x. Also Numbers x., where Almighty God commanded the children of Israel to blow a trumpet, when they entered into battle against their enemies; and promised that they should be thought upon before the Lord their God, and saved from their enemies.

And likewise in their solemn feasts God commanded them to blow trumpets over the sacrifice; to be a sign unto them, that God would think on them, according to the covenant made in the blood of the sacrifice. Lo, the trumpets were commanded to be blown; not that God delighted in the noise of the trumpets, but in the faith of his people.

Num. xv. Also Numbers xv. the Israelites are commanded to make yellow gards[1] upon their garments, to put them in remembrance to keep his commandments, that they should do nothing after their own imagination, nor observe any fashion that pleased their own eyes. Whereby ye see that ceremonies are not a service to God, but a service to man; to put him in mind of the covenant, and to stir up faith and love, which are God's spiritual sacrifices, in man's heart, &c.

Josh. iv. And Joshua iv., when the water of Jordan had given place to go over by dry ground, God commanded Joshua to take twelve stones out of the bottom of Jordan, and to pitch them on the land, to keep the deed in memory; and commanded, when the children should ask what the stones meant, that their father should teach them.

1 Kings xi. In the 3 Kings xi. Ahijah the prophet tare the cloak of Jeroboam in twelve pieces, and bade him take ten; in sign that he should reign over ten of the tribes.

2 Kings xiii. In 4 Kings xiii. Eliseus made Joash king of Israel open a window eastward toward the Syrians, and made him to shoot out an arrow, and said, "It is the arrow of victory through the Lord against the Syrians." And that did he to stablish the king's faith in God, that he should with God's help overcome the Syrians; and then he bade the king smite the ground with an arrow, and the king smote it thrice; whereby he prophesied, and certified the king, that he should thrice overcome the Syrians.

Isai. xx. And Isaiah, in his xxth chapter, was commanded to go

[1 Gards: borders.]

naked and barefoot; to be a sign that Egypt, in whom the children of Israel trusted, should be so carried away of Nabuchadnezzar.

And Jeremiah, in his xxviiith chapter, cometh among the people with bonds and chains put about his neck, and sheweth them unto all the kings of those countries, in token that they must be all under the yoke of Nabuchadnezzar king of Babylon. God so used to give them signs, that they would not believe without signs; as ye may see not only in the old Testament, but also in the new, how the Jews asked Christ, saying, "What sign dost thou shew us?" &c. Jer. xxvii.

And Paul (1 Cor. i.), "The Jews asked signs." 1 Cor. i.

Also Zacharias, John Baptist's father, asked a sign; and the angel gave it him. Luke i.

Christ's mother also asked a sign, and the angel gave her Elizabeth to a sign. Luke i.

And unto the shepherds gave the angel a sign; as ye read Luke ii. Luke ii.

And (Exod. xii.) God gave the children of Israel the sign of Pesah[2], which we call the Easter lamb, for a sign that the time was come that the children of Israel should be delivered out of Egypt. And therefore God sent Moses and Aaron to them, which wrought many miracles among them, to stir up their faith to the promise of that deliverance, against the manifold and sore temptations to the contrary, through the most strait and grievous bondage and merciless oppression, and in that most specially, that Pharao was waxed ten times worse to them after the coming of Moses and Aaron than before. Yet in the last night, in which he had promised to smite the first-born of Egypt both of man and of beast, and to deliver them, he commanded them to take for every house a lamb or a kid, and to slay them, and to strike the door-posts with the blood, to be a sign to them, and a seal of the Exod. xii. Exod. xii.

[2 פֶּסַח subst. from פָּסַח, he passed over, or leapt over. So the old lexicographers, as Buxtorff, and Legh in his Critica Sacra, explain the Hebrew verb. So also abp. Magee, On the Atonement, Notes to Vol. I. Later critics, guiding themselves chiefly by the acknowledged meaning of kindred Arabic roots, have taken the verb to mean primarily, relaxing, or loosening; then giving liberty; and protecting from one who would destroy that liberty. Thus Simon's Lexicon; and Prof. J. Robertson in his Clavis Pentateuchi, 2274—5.]

promise that God would deliver them that night both out of the hands of Pharao, and also from the smiting of the angel that went about all Egypt, and slew the first-born in every house.

The institution of the paschal lamb.

And this sign Pesah, beside that it was a seal of the promise to be delivered the same night, to stablish that faith, and commanded to be observed ever after yearly, to keep the benefit in memory; it was also a very prophecy of the passion of Christ, describing the very manner and fashion of his death, and the effect and virtue thereof also. In whose stead is the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ come, as baptism in the room or stead of circumcision.

To see how Christ was prophesied and described therein, consider and mark, how that the kid or lamb must be without spot or blemish; and so was Christ only of all mankind, in the sight of God and of his law. It must be taken up the tenth day of the first month, which is the tenth day of the first new moon in March; for so count they their months from the new moon, and begin there[1] in the time of March with us. And the same day came Christ to Jerusalem, there to be offered and to suffer his passion.

It must be offered the fourteenth day of the same month at night: and the same hour began Christ's passion; he was the same hour betrayed, and persecuted all night, and taken in the morning early. The fear of death was the same hour upon him, neither slept he any more after, but went immediately, as soon as he had comforted his disciples, into the place where he was taken, to abide his persecutors; where also he sweat water and blood of very agony conceived of his passion so nigh at hand.

Christ's death figured by the paschal lamb.

The blood stricken on the posts saved them, that they were not plagued with the Egyptians, and delivered them out of the captivity of Pharao. And the blood of Christ, stricken on the posts of our consciences with a sure faith[2], delivereth us from the captivity of Pharao the devil, and smiting of his angels, &c. There might not a bone thereof be broken: no more were there of Christ's, though the two that were hanged with him had either of them his legs and his arms broken.

[1 Day has *there begin;* but R. S., *begin there.*]

[2 The words *with a sure faith* are wanting in D. but found in R. S.]

Moreover, that it was a very prophecy of the death of Christ, and of the virtue of his passion, it is made the more manifest by the words of Christ himself (Luke xxii.): for the night before his passion, when he had eaten Pesah with his disciples, he said, "I will no more eat of it henceforth, till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God." As who should say, 'This memorial which we yearly have hitherto observed, was once fulfilled in the kingdom of this world, when your fathers were delivered out of bondage and servitude of the Egyptians. But it hath yet another signification, hitherto unknown unto you, which must be fulfilled spiritually in the kingdom of God by my passion that is at hand, and blood that now shall shortly be shed; by the which ye shall be delivered out of the power of Satan, sin, and hell, and made heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Neither was it the lamb's blood that delivered you then: (for what regard hath God in the blood of sheep and calves?) but the blood of Christ (whom that lamb figured, and described his innocence, pureness, and obedience to his Father, and compassion to mankind-ward, whose feeble nature he had put on with all the infirmities of the same, save sin) did then deliver you, to bring you to the faith of this deliverance, and to make you through faith partakers thereof.'

Luke xxii.

Christ's exposition of the paschal lamb.

Many things there be in the scripture, which have a carnal fulfilling, even there where they be spoken or done; and yet have another spiritual signification, to be fulfilled long after in Christ and his kingdom, and yet never known till the thing be done. As the serpent of brass which Moses hanged up in the wilderness, though it took effect carnally in the wilderness, yet it so describeth the lifting up of Christ upon the cross, and the virtue of his passion, that no tongue could better declare it, to make the heart feel it.

The scriptures of God are full of hidden mysteries.

Num. xxi.

John iii.

If ye ask: Why they may not be known till they be done, and what such[3] prophecy may help? I answer, If men did understand them before they were done, they would endeavour to let the fulfilling of them; and when the signification is fulfilled, then to see how plainly it was described in the scripture doth exceedingly confirm the faith thereof, and make it better to be understood.

And when this Pesah was fulfilled spiritually in the king-

How the paschal lamb

[3 So R. S. edition; in D. *such* is wanting.]

was spiritually fulfilled in the kingdom of heaven.

dom of heaven by the death and bloodshedding of Christ, it ended there: and in the room thereof (concerning that spiritual signification) came the sign of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, as baptism came instead of circumcision; things more easy, and less painful and tedious to be observed, and more gentle, to provoke and entice the heathen. For as the lamb described the death of Christ to come, and the manner of his passion, by which we should be delivered; even so doth the ceremony of the body and blood of Christ testify unto us, that he hath given himself to death for us, and redeemed us already, if we believe and cleave fast to the profession of our baptism, to walk therein, or will (if any tempest had driven us out of the right course) return to the right way again.

The institution of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ.

The paschal lamb and the death and sacrifice of Christ's body and blood compared together.

1 Cor. xi.

This to be so, the words of the institution declare, which are these (1 Cor. xi.): "The Lord Jesus, the night that he was betrayed, took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body that shall be given for you: this do in remembrance of me. And likewise he took the cup, when supper was done, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood; this do, as often as ye shall drink it, in the remembrance of me." Here ye see by these words, that it was ordained to keep the death of Christ in mind, and to testify that his body was given and his blood shed for us.

Luke xxii.

And, Luke xxii. "This is my body, that is given for you; this do in remembrance of me. And this cup is the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you." Lo, here ye see again that it was instituted to keep the death of Christ in mind; and to testify wherefore he died, even to save us from sin, death and hell, that we should seek none other means to be delivered with; for there is none other name for us to be saved by, but only by the name of Jesus. Acts iv. For as the children of Israel, stung of the fiery serpents, could have none other remedy to save them from present death, than to go and behold the brasen serpent hanged up by Moses in the wilderness, which looking on only healed them; even so, if the sting of death, which is sin, have wounded the[1] soul with the working of the law in the consciences, there is none other remedy than to run to Christ, which shed his blood, hanging upon the cross, and to his everlasting testament and

The chief and only cause of the institution of the sacrament.

Acts iv.

1 Cor. xv.

[1] So R. S.; D. has *their*.]

merciful promise, that it was shed for us for the remission of our sins. If thou be stung with conscience of sin, and the cockatrice of thy poisoned nature hath beheld herself in the glass of the righteous law of God, there is none other salve for remedy, than to run to Christ immediately, and to the Father through him; and to say, 'Father I have sinned against thee, and thy godly, holy, and righteous law, and against my brother, whom I ought of all right to love, for thy sake, as well as myself: forgive me, O Father, for thy dear son Jesus Christ's sake[2], according to thy most merciful promises and testament[3]; and I will ask my brother forgiveness (if the peace, I mean, be not made already), and will make to my power such satisfaction to him as shall seem right in his eyes, if he be reasonable; or as the congregation shall assign, or faithful men thereunto appointed by the congregation, or such as I and he shall agree upon; and will endeavour myself to do so no more, with the help of thy grace. And I will submit myself to the wholesome ordinance of the congregation, according to the doctrine of thy son Jesus and of his faithful apostles.' For there is none other name given under heaven whereby we shall be saved, but only the name of Jesus[4].

In all afflictions we must resort to Christ.

We must be ordered by the congregation.

Only by the name of Jesus Christ cometh our salvation.

Hereof ye see that the sacrament is an absolution of our sins, as often as we receive it, where it is truly taught and understood, and received aright.

The nature of the sacrament of the supper of our Lord.

Hereof ye see also, that as the Hebrews wrote their stories in covenants and signs, giving their signs such names as could not but keep them in mind; so God the Father did follow the ensample of the people (or they following him) and commanded his promises, covenants and prophecies, to be written in gestures[5], signs and ceremonies, giving them names that could not but keep his covenants in mind. Even so Christ wrote the covenant of his body and blood in bread and wine; giving them that name, that ought to keep the covenant in remembrance.

Sacraments and ceremonies were first ordained by God, to keep his covenants and promises in remembrance.

And hereof ye see, that our sacraments are bodies of sto-

Sacraments are as stories

[2 Dear son Jesus' blood sake. R. S. ed. Thy son Jesus Christ's sake. Day.]

[3 Used here, according to Tyndale's definition, for *covenant*.]

[4 So Day; R. S. has, *under heaven than Jesus given to men, that we may be saved by*.]

[5 So Day; R. S. has *gestes*.]

to keep Christ's covenants in memory.

ries only; and that there is none other virtue in them, than to testify, and exhibit to the senses and understanding, the covenants and promises made in Christ's blood. And here ye see that where the sacraments, or ceremonies, are not rightly understood, there they be clean unprofitable.

Circumcision without faith availed nothing.

Baptism without faith availeth nothing.

And as the circumcision[1] in the flesh, their hearts still uncircumcised, hating the law of God and believing in their own imaginations, were circumcised to their damnation; and as the[2] baptized in the flesh only, the heart still unclean, neither believing in Christ for the forgiveness of their sins, neither loving their neighbour for Christ's sake, are baptized also unto their greater damnation, (for though God hath right to all men, because he hath created and made man, yet to all such persons by reason of the sign and badge, and of their own consent, grant and promise, he hath more right to the calling of them to the keeping of his law, if they trust in him only; or to damn them, because when they know their duty, or might if they would, the sign moving them, and giving them an occasion to ask thereafter[3], and yet do it not;) even so all that come to the sacrament for any other purpose than it was ordained and instituted for, that is to say, to seek absolution of their sins, with a set purpose to sin no more, as nigh as they can, and to call to memory the benefits of the passion of Christ, with the meditation to weaken[4] the flesh, and to strength the spirit against her, and to give thanks again; that is to say, to call to mind how much he is bounden, for Christ's sake[5], to love his neighbour, to help his need, and to bear his infirmity and to forgive him, if he have offended and desire forgiveness, promising to amend, whereunto Christ bindeth all that will be partakers of his blood; the same, I say, come thereto to their greater damnation[6]. I pass over with silence the wicked and damnable doctrine of these servants of mammon, which for lucre pervert the true use of

[1 Meaning the persons circumcised; as the words *the uncircumcision* are used in Rom. ii. 26.]

[2 So Day; R. S. has *they*.]

[3 So R. S.; Day's ed. has *the rather*.]

[4 So Day; R. S. has *to weak*, where *weak* is a verb; as is *strength* in the next clause.]

[5 In Day, *for Christ's sake* is omitted.]

[6 So R. S.; Day has, *All such as are not thus prepared, come to*, &c.]

the sacrament, and hide it from the people for their gain[7], teaching it to be a sacrifice instituted of God to help the souls of the dead in purgatory, and that it will make men rich, and bring them to such promotion as Christ never promised his disciples, but forbade it them.

Some will say, This sacrament needed not, baptism is enough; baptism is a receiving into religion, and there is the covenants made, what we shall do and what we shall have: and baptism is a sign whereby God hath right to us, and we to God and to Christ; and whereby every man hath right to call other to do their duties, and to rebuke them that will not. Neither our salvation so greatly standeth in that or any other sacrament, that we could not be saved without them, by preaching the word only. Nevertheless God hath written his will, to have his benefits kept in memory, to his glory and our benefit, and namely this benefit of all benefits, wherein only the pith of our salvation resteth. Therefore though the effect of it be signified by baptism, and though we be baptized to believe in the death of Christ, and to die with him by the mortifying of the flesh; yet doth this sacrament, through the rehearsing of the covenant, and breaking of the bread, and pouring out of wine, much more lively express the whole story, and keep it better in memory, by daily repeating thereof, and hath more might and vehemency to heal the conscience stung with fresh sin. For the nature of man is so weak, so feeble, and so frail, that he cannot but sin, as there is no man that liveth and sinneth not.

Baptism and the sacrament of Christ's body and blood are both necessary.

The sacrament of baptism, what it worketh in us.

The sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, what it worketh in us.

And when he is so fallen, then the law looketh upon him with so terrible a countenance, and so thundereth in his ears, that he dare not abide, but turneth his back and to go; and[8] the enemy assaileth him on the other side, to persuade him that God hath cast him away, saying, 'They that be God's have power to keep his law: thou hast not, but breakest them; ergo, thou art a cast-away and a damned creature:' and hell gapeth, and setteth open her mouth beneath to devour him. And the flesh also wrestleth with the spirit, to keep him down, and to take him prisoner, and to stop his

The law driveth a sinner to desperation. Mark x.

The devil enemy to man.

The flesh enemy to man.

[7 So Day's edition. Instead of *their gain*, R. S. has *neante*, a word which, if it be not an error of the press, can only be conjectured to have some affinity to the Italian *niente*.]

[8 So R. S.; D. has *but*, and inserts *still* after enemy.]

mouth, that he cry no more upon her, that she might sin at pleasure without all fear.

The impenitent and wilful sinner feeleth not the wrath of God in his law.

The careless swine, that consent unto sin, feel not these things; neither yet[1] the hypocrites, that have put a visard on the face of the law, and make her look with such a countenance as pleaseth them: but the poor folks, that have the eyes open, and consent, and fain would do the law, they feel that cannot be expressed with tongue. Neither is there living any man, that feeleth the virtue and power of the blood of Christ, which hath not first felt the strong pains of hell.

The law, the flesh, and the devil, are three great enemies unto man.

Why the sacraments were chiefly ordained by God.

Seeing then that man is so sick, so prone and ready to fall, and so cruelly invaded when he hath sinned of the fiend, the flesh, and the law, that he is oft put to flight, and feared and made to run away from his Father; therefore hath the God of all mercy, and of infinite pity and bottomless compassion, set up this sacrament as a sign on a high hill, whence it may be seen on every side, afar and near, to call again them that be fled and run away. And with this sacrament he (as it were) clucketh to them, as an hen doth for her chickens, to gather them under the wings of his mercy; and hath commanded his sacrament to be had in continual use, to put them in mind of mercy laid up for them in Christ's blood, and to witness and testify it unto them, and to be the seal thereof. For the sacrament doth much more vehemently print lively the faith, and make it sink down into the heart, than do bare words only: as a man is more sure of that he heareth, seeth, feeleth, smelleth and tasteth, than that he heareth only.

God hath commanded his sacraments to be had in daily use, and the cause why.

The sacrament of Christ's body and blood is a sure token of Christ's promise of our salvation in his death.

Now when the words of the testament and promises are spoken over the bread, "This is my body that shall be broken for you," "This is my blood that shall be shed for you;" they confirm the faith: but much more when the sacrament is seen with the eyes, and the bread broken, the wine poured out or looked on; and yet more when I taste it and smell it. As ye see when a man maketh a promise to another with light words between themselves, and as they be departed, he to whom the promise is made beginneth to doubt whether the other spake earnestly or mocked, and doubteth whether he will remember his promise, to bide by it or not: but when any man speaketh with advisement and

[1 So R. S.; D. omits *yet*.]

deliberation, the words are then more credible; but yet if he swear, it confirmeth the thing more; and yet the more if he strike hands, if he give earnest, if he call record, if he give his hand-writing, and seal it; so is the promise more and more believed. For the heart gathereth, 'Lo, he spake with advisement and deliberation; and with good sadness he sware[2]; he clapped hands, called records, and put to his hand and seal: the man cannot be so feigned without the fear of God, as to deny all this; shame shall make him bide by his promise, though he were such a man that I could not compel him if he would deny it.' If a young man break a ring between him and a maid; doth not the fact testify and make a presumption to all men, that his heart meant as his words spake?

Manoah, Samson's father, when he had seen an angel, Judg. xiii. he said to his wife, "We shall surely die, because we have seen the Lord." But his wife gathered other comfort of the circumstances, and said, "If the Lord would kill us, he would not have received such offerings of our hands, nor shewed us such things as he hath, nor told us of things to come." Even so our hearts gather of the circumstances, protestations, and other miracles and earnest ceremonies[3] of God, good arguments and reasons, to stablish our weak faith withal, such as we could not gather at bare words only. Judg. xiii.

A brief collection of the premises.

And thus[4] we dispute: God sent his Son in our nature, and made him feel all our infirmities that move us to sin; and named him Jesus, that is to say, Saviour, because he should save his people from their sins. Matt. i. And after his death he sent his apostles to preach the things or tidings, and to thrust it in at the ears of us, and set up a sacrament of it, to testify it, to be a seal of it, to thrust it in, not at the ears only by the rehearsing of the promises and testament over it, neither at our eyes only in beholding it, but beat it in through our feeling, tasting and smelling also; and to be repeated daily, and to be ministered to us. He would not Matt. i.

[2 So in R. S. edition. In Day only, *and good sadness.*]

[3 R. S., Even our hearts gather of the circumstances protestations as other miracles and earnest ceremonies, &c. Day, Even so our hearts gather of the circumstances, protestations and other miracles of God, &c.]

[4 So R. S.; but Day, *this.*]

(think we) make half so much ado with us if he loved us not, or if he would not have us fain come, and be as merciful to us as he was to his friends in the old time, that fell and rose again. God so then used to[1] the Jews (to whom all ceremonies were first given, and from whom they came to us) even such fashions as they used among themselves, in all his promises and covenants, not for his necessity, but for ours; that such things should be a witness and testimony between him and us, to confirm the faith of his promise, that we should not waver nor doubt in them, when we look on the seals of his obligations, wherewith he hath bound himself; and to keep the promises and covenants better in mind, and to make them the more deep sink into our hearts, and to be more earnestly regarded, and that we should ask what such things meant, and why God commanded them to be observed; that ignorance should not excuse, if we know not what we ought to do and believe: for natural reason ought to teach us that the outward, corporal, and bodily thing cannot help the spiritual soul, and that God hath not delectation in such fantasy. Now if we were diligent to search for the good will of God, and would ask what such ceremonies meant, it were impossible but then God (which hath promised, Matt. vii. "If we seek we shall find,") would send us true interpreters of his signs or sacraments.

Matt. vii.

To an ignorant and unfaithful person the sacraments and ceremonies are sin.

And he that, being of a lawful age, observeth a ceremony and knoweth not the intent, to him is the ceremony not only unprofitable, but also hurtful, and cause of sin; in that he is not careful and diligent to search for it, and he there observeth them with a false faith of his own imagination, thinking, as all idolaters do and ever have done, that the outward work is a sacrifice and service to God. The same therefore sinneth yet more deeper and more damnable. Neither is idolatry any other thing than to believe that a visible ceremony is a service to the invisible God; whose service is spiritual, as he is a spirit, and is none other thing than to know that all is of him, and to trust in him only for all things, and to love him for his great goodness and mercy above all, and our neighbours as ourselves for his sake: unto which spiritual serving of God, and to lead us to the same, the old ceremonies were ordained.

Idolatry, what it is.

The spiritual and right serving of God, what it is.

[1] So R. S.; in Day, *to* is wanting.]

These be now sufficient concerning the intent and use of the ceremonies, and how they came up. Now let us consider the words of this testament and promises, as they be rehearsed of the three evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke, and of the apostle Paul: for John, which wrote last, touched nothing that was sufficiently declared of other. Matthew, in the twenty-sixth, thus saith: "When they were eating, Jesus took bread, and gave thanks, and brake, and gave his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body: and he took the cup, and thanked, and gave it them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood, which is of the new testament, that is shed for many for the remission of sins." First, ye see by these words, that the body was given to death, and the blood shed, for the remission of sins, and that for many. But who are these many? Verily, they that turn to God, to believe in him only, and to endeavour themselves to keep his law from henceforth. Which many yet, in respect of them that love not the law, are but very few, and even that little flock that gave themselves wholly to follow Christ. Wherefore if any man think he believe in Christ, and have not the law written in his heart, to consent that his duty is to love his brother for Christ's sake as Christ loved him, and to endeavour himself so to do, the faith of that same man is vain, and built upon sand of his own imagination, and not upon the rock of God's word; for his word, unto which he hath bound himself, is, that they only which turn to God, to keep his laws, shall have mercy for Christ's sake. "Drink of it all, for it is my blood of the new testament:" "for it is," that is to say, the drink that is in the cup, or, if ye list, the cup is "my blood of the new testament," taking the cup for the drink, by a manner of speaking used in all tongues; as when we say, 'I have drunk a cup of wine,' we take there the cup for the wine. "My blood of the new testament," that is to say, My blood, for whose shedding sake this new testament and covenant is made to you, for the forgiveness of sin.

Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

The institution of the sacraments of Christ's body and blood.

Who they are that receive benefit of Christ's death.

The cup of the blood of Christ, what it is.

The old testament made between God and your fathers in mount Sinai, in which life was promised to them only that kept it, and to the breakers death, wrath and vengeance, and to be accursed, and no mention made of mercy, [which] was confirmed with blood, Exodus xxiv. Moses offered

Exod. xxiv.

half the blood to God, and sprinkled the people with the other half, to confirm the covenant and to bind both parties: neither was there any covenant made that was not confirmed with blood, as it is rehearsed in Hebrews ix.; and as we see in the books of Moses, whose custom of blood-shedding was not only to confirm those old covenants, but also to be a prophecy of the blood that should be shed to confirm this testament. That old, cruel, and fearful testament, which drew the people away, so that they durst not abide the voice of thunder, nor the terrible sight of the fire, but went and stood afar off, was confirmed with the blood of calves: but this new and gentle testament, which calleth again, and promiseth mercy to all that will amend, as it is a better testament, so is it confirmed with a better blood, to make men see love, to love again, and to be a greater confirmation of the love promised. For if he gave us his Son, what will he deny us? If God so loved us, when we were sinners and knew him not, that he gave his Son for us; how much more loveth he us now, when we love again, and would fain keep his commandments!

Heb. ix.

The great and merciful difference between the old testament and the new.

The great mercy of God to mankind.

In the old covenants the people were sprinkled with blood of calves without, in their bodies, to bind them to keep the law; else we were bound to just damnation, for the breaking of it. Here it is said, "Drink of it every one," that your souls within may be sprinkled, and washed through faith, with the blood of the Son of God for the forgiveness of sin, and to be partakers of a more easy and kind testament, under which, if you sin through fragility, you shall be warned lovingly, and received to mercy, if you will turn again and amend.

Mark, in the fourteenth: "And as they did eat, Jesus took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to them, and said, Take, eat; this is my body: and he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he took it to them, and they all drank of it: and he said to them, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many." This is all one with Matthew, as is aforesaid.

Mark xiv.

Luke, in the twenty-second: "And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it and gave to them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also, when he had supped, he

Luke xxii.

took the cup, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you."

Here is also to be noted, that the cause of the institution was to be a memorial, to testify that Christ's body was given, and his blood shed for us. And again, where Matthew and Mark said, "This is my blood in the new testament;" Luke saith, "This cup is the new testament in my blood which shall be shed for you." This is a strange speaking, and far from the use of our tongue, to call the sign and confirmation by the name of the thing that is signified and confirmed. The testament is, that Christ's blood is shed for our sins: and Christ saith, "This cup is that testament;" signifying thereby, that the thing that is meant by this ceremony is, that we believe that his blood-shedding is the remission of our sins; which is the very testament.

The cause of the institution of the sacrament of Christ's body.

The sign of the body of Christ is called by the name of Christ's body, which is there signified.

Paul, 1 Cor. xi. saith on this manner: "That which I delivered unto you I received of the Lord. For the Lord Jesus, the same night in the which he was betrayed, took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take ye, and eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death until he come."

1 Cor. xi.

As Matthew and Mark agree in these words, so do Lucas and Paul. And as it is above declared upon the words of Luke, and so here by oft repeating one thing: ("This do in remembrance of me. This cup is the new testament in my blood. This do as oft as ye drink it in the remembrance of me." Again, "As oft as ye shall eat of this bread and drink of this cup, so oft ye must declare the Lord's death:") by this often repeating, I say, ye may evidently perceive that the cause, intent, and whole purpose of the institution of this sacrament was to testify and confirm the faith of the testament made in the death of Christ; how that, for his sake, our sins shall be forgiven.

So, "Do this in the remembrance of me:" that is to say, 'Take bread and wine, and rehearse the covenant and testament over them, how that my body was broken, and my

blood shed for many: and then give them to the people to eat and drink, to be a sign and carnest, and the seal of the testament; and cry upon them, without ceasing, to believe in me only for the remission of sins, and not to despair, how weak soever they be, only if they hang on me, and desire power to keep the law after my doctrine and example of my life, and do mourn and be sorry because they cannot do that good thing which they would.'

Cor. xi. For, saith Paul, "Whosoever shall eat of this bread or drink of the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord:" that is to say, whoso receiveth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ with an unclean heart, not forsaking the old lusts of the flesh, nor purposing to follow Christ, and to be to his neighbour as Christ was to him, only merciful; the same sinneth against the body and blood of Christ; in that he maketh a mock of the earnest Heb. x. death of Christ, and, as it is written Hebrews the tenth, "treadeth Christ under foot, and counteth the blood of the testament wherewith he was sanctified[1] as an unholy thing, and doth dishonour to the Spirit of grace."

What the sacrament meaneth, and why the same was instituted. Of this ye may perceive again what the sacrament meaneth, and what the intent of the ordinance was, and how such ceremonies came up, and whence they had their beginning, and what the fruit thereof is, and what is therein to be sought. And though this were enough, so that I might here well cease; yet, because the unquiet, scrupulous, and superstitious nature of man, wholly given to idolatry, hath stirred up such traditions about this one sacrament most specially, I cannot but speak thereof somewhat more, and declare what my conscience thinketh in this matter.

There are three opinions about the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Ye shall understand therefore that there is great dissension, and three opinions, about the words of Christ, where he saith, in pronouncing the testament over the bread, "This is my body;" and in pronouncing it over the wine, "This is my blood."

The first opinion. One part[2] say that these words, "This is my body," "This is my blood," compel us to believe, under pain of damnation, that the bread and wine are changed into the very body and blood of Christ really: as the water at Cana Galilee was turned into very wine.

[1 Washed, in R. S. ed.] [2 The Romanists.]

The second part[3] saith, 'We be not bound to believe that bread and wine are changed; but only that his body and blood are there presently[4].' The second opinion.

The third say, 'We be bound by these words only to believe that Christ's body was broken, and his blood shed for the remission of our sins; and that there is no other satisfaction for sin than the death and passion of Christ.' The third opinion.

The first say these words, "This is my body," "This is my blood," compel us to believe, that things there shewed are the very body and blood of Christ really. But bread and wine, say they, cannot be Christ's natural body; therefore the bread and wine are changed, turned, altered, and transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ. And they of this opinion have busied themselves in seeking subtilties and similitudes to prove, how the very body and blood might be there under the similitude of bread and wine only, the very bread and wine being thus transubstantiated. And these men have been so occupied in slaying all that will not captive their wits to believe them, that they never taught nor understood that the sacrament is an absolution to all that thereby believe in the body and blood of Christ. A declaration made by them of the first opinion above mentioned.

The second part grant with the first, that the words compel us to believe that the things shewed in the sacrament are the very body and blood of Christ. But where the first say 'bread and wine cannot be the very body and blood of Christ,' there they vary and dissent from them, affirming that bread and wine may, and also is, Christ's body really, and very blood of Christ; and say, that 'it is as true to say that bread is Christ's body, and that wine is his blood, as it is true to say Christ being a very man is also very God.' And they say, 'As the Godhead and manhood in Christ are in such manner coupled together, that man is very God, and God very man; even so the very body and the bread are so coupled, that it is as true to say that bread is the body of Christ, and the blood so annexed there with the wine, that it is even as true to say that the wine is Christ's blood.' A declaration of them of the second opinion above mentioned.

The first, though they have slain so many in and for the defence of their opinion, yet they are ready to receive the second sort to fellowship, not greatly striving with them or

[3 The Lutherans.]

[4 Presently: after the manner of a thing present, before us.]

abhorring the presence of bread and wine with the very body and blood, so that they yet by that means may keep him there still, and hope to sell him as dear as before, and also some to buy him, and not to minish the price.

A declaration of them of the third opinion above mentioned.

The third sort affirm, that the words mean[1] no more but only that we believe, by the things that are there shewed, that Christ's body was broken and his blood shed for our sins, if we will forsake our sins and turn to God to keep his law. And they say that these sayings, "This is my body," and, "This is my blood," shewing bread and wine, are true as Christ meant them, and as the people of that country, to whom Christ spake, were accustomed to understand such words, and as the scripture useth in a thousand places to speak. As when one of us saith, 'I have drunk a cup of good wine,' that saying is true as the man meant; that he drank wine only, and not the cup; which words haply, in some other nation's ears, would sound that he drank the cup too. And as when we say of a child, 'This is such a man's very face;' the words are true, as the manner of our land is to understand them, that the face of the one is very like the other. And as when we say, 'He gave me his faith and his truth in my hand,' the words are true as we understand them; that he struck hands with me, or gave earnest in sign or token that he would bide by his promise. For the faith of a man doth alway rest in his soul, and cannot be given out, though we give signs and tokens of them. Even so, say they, we have a thousand examples in the scripture, where signs are named with the names of things signified by them: as Jacob called the place, where he saw the Lord face to face,

Gen. xxxii.

Pheniel, that is, God's face, when he saw the Lord face to face. Now it is true to say of that field, that it is God's face, though it be not his very face. The same field was so called to signify that Jacob there saw God face to face.

The chief hold and principal anchor that the two first have, is these words, "This is my body: This is my blood." Unto these the third answereth as is above said. Other texts they allege for themselves, which not only do not strength their cause, but rather make it worse: as the sixth of John;

John vi.

Papists are the wresters of the scriptures.

which they draw and wrest to the carnal and fleshly eating of Christ's body in the mouth, when it only meaneth of this

[1 So Day; R. S. has *will* in the place of *mean*.]

eating by faith. For when Christ said, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye[2] have no life in you," this cannot be understood of the sacrament. For Abraham had life, and all the old holy fathers; Christ's mother, Elizabeth, Zacharias, John Baptist, Simeon, Anna, and all the apostles, had life already by faith in Christ; of which not one had eaten his flesh, and drunken his blood, with their bodily mouths. But truth it is, that the righteous liveth by his faith; ergo, to believe and trust in Christ's blood is the eating that there was meant, as the text well proveth. If they say, We grant that life cometh by faith; but we all that believe must be baptized to keep the law and to keep the covenant in mind; even so all that liveth by faith must receive the sacrament: I answer, The sacrament is a confirmation to weak consciences, and in no wise to be despised; howbeit many have lived by faith in the wilderness, which in twenty, thirty, or forty years have not received the sacrament. Notwithstanding, this oration is nothing to the purpose. For Christ spake to the blind and unbelieving Jews; testifying to them, that they could have no life except they should first eat his flesh, and drink his blood: ergo, this eating and drinking is meant only of that thing that first bringeth life into the soul, and that is faith, by your own confession. And therefore must it be understood of faith only, and not of the sacrament.

The sacraments are confirmations to weak consciences.

Faith increaseth by the worthy receiving of the sacraments.

And Matthew, the last [chapter]: "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world;" which may well be understood, and so was it of old doctors, by his spiritual being with us by faith, and in his Spirit. And so may that text of Matthew xviii. be understood: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." There is many times two or three good men that meet together in Christ's name, where the sacrament is not. And Paul (Eph. iii.) boweth his knees for the Ephesians to God, "That he would give them his riches, to be strengthened with his Spirit, that Christ may dwell in their hearts through faith." Where the heart then believeth in Christ, there dwelleth Christ in the heart; though there be no bread in the heart, neither yet in the maw.

Matt. xxviii.

Matt. xviii.

Eph. iii.

[2 *Ye shall*, in R. S. ed.]

The old doctors vary in their opinion of the sacrament.

The two first parties taking the old doctors to be on their side, I answer, Many of the old doctors spake so mystically that they seem sometimes to affirm plainly that it is but bread and wine only concerning the substance, and that it is a figure of the body and blood of Christ only; and sometimes, that it is his very body and blood: therefore it were needless to wade any further herein.

An answer to them of the second opinion.

And unto them of the second opinion, that the bread is his very body, I answer, Ye must remember that the old doctors as earnestly call it a sacrifice, as they do Christ's body. But that ye deny: and say, with the epistle to the Hebrews, that he was but once sacrificed for altogether, when he offered and sacrificed himself to the Father for our sins, and can now no more be sacrificed. Christ dieth no more now, and therefore is no more sacrificed. Neither do we properly offer him to God. But he in his mortal flesh offered himself for us to God the Father, and purchased therewith a general pardon for ever. And now doth God the Father proffer him, and giveth him to us. And the priests, in God's stead, proffer him and give him unto the people, for a remission and absolution of their sins daily, if they by the moving and stirring of the sacrament believe in the body and blood of Christ.

Christ once sacrificed is a sacrifice for ever.

The doctrine of the papists [1].

Papists be aggrieved with such as consent not to their gross opinion [3].

Wherefore ye[2] ought of no right to be angry with them of the third opinion, though they deny the doctors, where they seem to say that the sacrament is the very body of

[1 In Day's folio there is a break after the words *pardon for ever*; but there is none in the older edition by Stoughton. Whatever led the editor of the folio, supposed to be Foxe the martyrologist, to make a separate paragraph of the words which intervene between *for ever* and *wherefore*, seems also to have led him to suppose that Tyndale had changed his subject; and consequently to attach this marginal note. When read, as in Stoughton's edition, it is easily seen that Tyndale is continuing his description of what he thought suitable for 'them of the second opinion,' that is, the Lutherans, to say in explanation of their belief.]

[2 The Lutherans, or consubstantialists.]

[3 The error of the previous margin is continued here. Stoughton's edition is still without a break; and Tyndale is here speaking to the Lutherans, as he was speaking for them in the previous sentence. He is now reminding the Lutherans that they, as well as those of the third opinion, held in what have since been called the reformed churches, were alike obliged to deny what the old doctors *seem* some-

Christ; as they[4] be not angry with you, when ye deny them[5], where they as earnestly affirm that it is a sacrifice. Nevertheless they[4] answer, that doctors call it a sacrifice only because it is the memorial, the earnest and seal of that everlasting sacrifice offered once for all. And even so say they that the doctors called the sacrament the body and blood of Christ after the same manner only; because it is the memorial, the earnest, and seal of his body and blood, as the use of the scriptures is to call signs by the names of things signified thereby.

Signs commonly called by the name of things signified thereby.

And unto them of the first opinion I answer, with the same reason, that it is impossible that the sacrament should be a very sacrifice. For neither the sacrifices of the old law which prophesied the sacrificing of Christ, neither yet our redemption, was fulfilled that night. For if the scriptures and prophecies were then fulfilled, and we then redeemed, Christ died on the morrow in vain; and false are the apostles and evangelists, that preach his body-breaking and blood-shedding under Pontius Pilate, by the persecution of Caiaphas and Annas, to be our redemption.

Note this worthy and true argument following.

Moreover, for all the breaking and dividing of the sacrament of his body among his apostles, his body abode still alive; and for all the pouring out of the sacrament of his blood, of the pot into the cup, and out of the cup into the mouths and bellies of his disciples, he bled as fresh on the morrow as though he had bled then nothing at all.

He was verily much more easily sacrificed that night, in the breaking and dividing of the bread and pouring out of wine, than he was on the morrow. The sacrament was that night, no doubt, but a description of his passion to come[6]; as it is now a memorial of his passion past. He instituted the manner of the sacrament then, and taught his disciples also that they after understood, when he was risen again, and not then, as they never had capacity to understand him when he spake of his death. For they then imagined carnally of

times to affirm. It is not till the opening of the next paragraph that Tyndale reverts to his argument with 'them of the first opinion,' or the Romanists.]

[4 The reformed, or holders of the third opinion.]

[5 The old doctors.]

[6 So R. S.: Day has, *passion come*. *And.*]

Christ (as the Jews yet do) that Christ should never die, (as he did not, concerning his Godhead,) but should live ever bodily, as he now doth concerning his resurrection.

All the doctors with one accord call the sacrament a sacrifice.

Wherefore, seeing that all the doctors with one accord call the sacrament so earnestly a sacrifice, they[1] cannot otherwise understand than[2] that they[3] so say after the use of the scripture only, because it is the memorial of the sacrifice of his death and blood-shedding. Why should they[1] then of right be offended, if we[4] understand the doctors after the same manner, when they call it his body and blood; and that they so call it after the use of the scripture, because that it is only a memorial of his body and blood?

Papists should be indifferent in judgments as protestants are[5].

Transubstantiation was a word used among the old doctors.

As concerning the transubstantiation: I think that such a speech was among the old doctors, though they that came after understood them amiss. Their hearts were gross, through busying themselves too much with worldly business. For the bread and wine are but only bread and wine, till the words of the testament be rehearsed over them; and then they cease to be any[6] more bread and wine in the hearts of the true believers: for the heart, after these words once spoken, thinketh only upon the covenant made in the body and blood of Christ, and, through faith eateth his body, and drinketh his blood; though the eyes, and other senses, perceive nothing but bread and wine: as when a man sometime seeketh for a text in the bible, he seeth paper and ink and the figures of letters; yet his heart not once thinketh of any other thing than on the words and sense of his text. And thereof, no doubt, came up this transubstantiation through false understanding.

An effectual and good argument.

Another thing is this, none of those wicked heretics which denied Christ to be very God, or any of them that denied Christ to be man or to have a very body, save a fantastical

[1 The Lutherans.]

[2 So R. S.: Day has *them* instead of *than*, and inserts *but*, between *only* and *because*.]

[3 The old doctors.]

[4 The holders of the third opinion.]

[5 The editor of Day's edition has again misunderstood his author; failing to perceive that in this paragraph Tyndale speaks again of consubstantiation, as he avowedly returns to transubstantiation in the next.]

[6 So Day: R. S. has *begin to be no*, instead of *cease to be any*.]

body, did cast the true believers in the teeth at any time, of the faith of Christ's body present in their sacrament everywhere; which thing it is not like but they would have done, if that opinion had then been a general article of the faith.

Neither was there any heresy, or diversity of opinion, or disputing about the matter, till the pope had gathered a council to confirm this transubstantiation: wherefore it is most likely that this opinion came up by them of latter days.

The pope confirming transubstantiation did purchase his own gain to the overthrow of the right use of Christ's sacrament.

Furthermore, all the law and prophets seek[7], all that Christ did or can yet do, is to bring us to believe in him, and in God the Father through him, for the remission of sins; and to bring us unto that which immediately followeth out of that belief, to love our neighbours for his sake as he loved us. Wherefore if Christ did put his bodily presence in the sacrament, and would we should believe it; it is done only to bring us to this faith. Now is this faith no where less had, than where that opinion is most strong; neither so cruelly persecuted of Jew or Turk, as of them that most fervently defend that opinion. True faith maketh a man to love his brother: but that opinion maketh them to hate and slay their brethren, that better believe in Christ than they of that opinion do; and that murder do they, for fear of losing that they have gotten through that opinion.

The common persuasion of papists.

Item, they of this opinion, instead of teaching us to believe in Christ, teach us to serve Christ with bodily service, which thing is nought else but idolatry. For they preach, that all the ceremonies of the mass are a service to God by reason of the bodily works, to obtain forgiveness of sins thereby, and to deserve and merit therewith. And yet Christ is now a spiritual substance with his Father, having also a spiritual body[8]; and with the Father to be worshipped, in spirit only. And his service in the spirit is only to believe in him for the remission of sin, to call upon him, and give him thanks, and to love our neighbours for his sake.

Now all works done to serve man, and to bring him to this point, to put his trust in Christ, are good and acceptable to God; but, done for any other purpose, they be idolatry and image-service, and make God an idol or bodily image.

[7 So R. S.: Day's ed. omits *seek*.]

[8 So Day: R. S. has, "is now a spirit with his Father, both in body and soul."]

Again, seeing the faith of the testament in Christ's blood is the life of the righteous, from the beginning of the world to the end; and forasmuch as the sacrament was instituted only to bring to this life; now when they which think not the body to be present in the sacrament[1] have by the preaching and confirmation of the sacrament obtained this life or stedfast faith in Christ's blood, and by the daily use of the sacrament are more and more hardened therein, and in the love that springeth thereof; what reasonable cause have the contrary part (which believe the body present, and bread turned into the very body as flesh, bones, hair, sinews, nails, and all other, as he was put on the cross, of length and quantity, I cannot tell what) to rail on us as heretics, hate, persecute, and slay us most cruelly as enemies? Christ saith, *Qui contra me non est, mecum est,* "He that is not against me is with me." Now they that believe in Christ for the remission of their sins, and for his sake love their foes, are not Christ's enemies; ergo, they be on Christ's side. Why then should they, that boast themselves to be Christ's friends, slay them? Faith in Christ's blood, and in the Father through him, is God's service in the spirit[2]. And so have they, which believe not the bodily presence, served God a long time, and thereto been holpen by the sacrament. The other part fallen therefrom through preaching[3] the body present, serving[4] God with bodily service, (which is idolatry, and to make God an idol or image,) in that they trust in the goodness of their works (as they which serve tyrants), and not in the goodness of God through trust in the blood of Christ: ergo, they that believe not the bodily presence (not a little thereto compelled through the wicked idolatry of the contrary belief) are not to be thought so evil as the other would have them seem to be.

Mark ix.

Papists are cruel persecutors.

The faithful are in good state, though the wicked judge the contrary.

Paul teacheth, (1 Cor. xiii.) that if a man had all other

1 Cor. xiii.

[1 In R. S.'s edition there is a parenthesis between the words *sacrament* and *have*, which Day probably omitted as unintelligible. As printed by R. S. the parenthesis is as follows: '(a thousand ensamples in the scripture concerning their judgment).' Perhaps *concerning* is a misprint for *confirming*.]

[2 So R. S.: but Day, *in spirit*.]

[3 So R. S.: but Day's text has *believing* instead of *preaching*.]

[4 So both R. S. and D.; but the sense seems to require *serve*.]

gifts that God can give man, and had not charity to love his neighbour, it helpeth not. For all other gifts, and the remission in Christ's blood also, are given him of God, to bring him to love his neighbour; which thing had, a man hath all; which not had, a man hath nothing.

And, Phil. ii. how sweetly and how vehemently conjureth he them to draw all one way, to be of one accord and one mind or sentence; and to do nothing of strife or of vainglory, that is to say, of hate or disdain one of another, or of affection to himself for to seem glorious; but each to prefer other through meekness, and to have his [own] opinion suspect, and to fear lest he hath not obtained the understanding; rather than of presumption to his own wit to despise and hate the contrary party, and persecute as a tyrant! And in the third of the same, Paul saith: "Let as many as be perfect," (that is to say, be truly taught, and know the law truly, and her office, and the office and effect of faith, and know which be good works before God, and what the intent of them is,) "let us," saith he, "so far[5] as we be come, proceed in one rule, that we may be of one accord[6]." Now hitherto we be all come, and this general rule have we gotten, that faith only justifieth, that is to say, that the sin is forgiven only for Christ's sake; and again, that our duty is to love our neighbours no less than Christ loved us: wherefore let us proceed forth in this rule, and exhort each other to trust in Christ, and to love each other as Christ did; and in this, wherein we all agree, let us be wise only and fervent, and strive who shall be greatest and go foremost.

Phil. ii.

Phil. iii.

Faith only justifieth, what it is to say.

And in that[7] which is not opened to all parties, let us be meek, sober, and cold; and keep our wisdom secret to ourselves, and abide patiently, till God open it to other also.

The cause why the third part say that this word (*is*) compelleth us not to believe the bodily presence of Christ to be there is this. The Jews (say they) are wont ever to name the memorial and signs of things with the very name

[5 Such is R. S.'s reading; but Day has *serve* instead of *far*.]

[6 Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thuswise minded: and if ye be otherwise minded, I pray God open even this unto you. Nevertheless in that whereunto we are come, let us proceed by one rule, that we may be of one accord. Phil. iii. Tyndale's translation.]

[7 So R. S.: but Day has *this*.]

of the thing signified; that the very name might the better
Gen. xxxii. keep the thing in mind: as when Jacob, Gen. xxxii. turned home again out of Mesopotamia, saw the angels of God come against[1] him, he called the place where he saw them *Mahanaim*[2], *an host;* because that his posterity in time to come, when they heard the field, which was none host, yet so called, should ask why it was so named, that their elders might thereby have an occasion to teach that Jacob saw there an host of angels.

And again in the same chapter, when the angel that wrestled with him had blessed him, and was departed, Jacob called the name of the place *Pheniel, God's face;* that the people in time to come should ask why it was called God's face, and their elders should answer, because Jacob saw there God face to face, that the name should keep the thing in mind.

Gen. xxxiii. And again, in the thirty-third, where he had made booths[3], or houses of boughs for his beasts, he named the place *Succoth,* that is, *booths.*

Item, Gen. xxxiii. he bought a parcel of land and built there an altar; and called it, *El Eloth Israel*[4], *The mighty God of Israel.*

Gen. xxxv. Item, Gen. xxxv. he called the place *El Bethel*[5], *The God of Bethel.* And Genesis, the last chapter, Joseph held a lamentation for his father seven days, and the people of the country called the name of the place *Abel Masrain,*
Gen. l. Gen. l. *the lamentation of the Egyptians.* Now the place was not the lamentation; but so called to keep the lamentation in memory.

[1 To come against is, in old English, to come with an opposite motion, whether with, or (as here) without an opposing purpose; to come so as to face the party spoken of. The word *against* is used with a similar meaning in Joshua v. 13. "Joshua lifted up his eyes, and behold there stood a man over *against* him, and Joshua said, Art thou for us?"]

[2 מַחֲנַיִם. Two camps, or two hosts. For the noun is in the dual number.]

[3 Day, boughtes. R. S. bowthes.]

[4 Hebr. אֵל אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; or El Eloho Israel; printed as in the text in R. S. but omitted by Day.]

[5 Hebr. אֵל בֵּית־אֵל. Day omits the words: 'He called the place El Bethel.']

Item, Exodus xii. the lamb is called *Pesah*[6], *a passing by;* because the angel did pass by the houses and hurted not where it was slain, and the blood stricken on the posts: that the name should keep the thing in memory. Exod. xii.

Item, Exod. xxix. and Leviticus[7], almost everywhere the beast offered for sin is called sin; which use of speaking Paul useth, Rom. viii. and 2 Cor. v. and calleth Christ sin; when Christ yet is neither sin nor sinful, but an acceptable offering for sin. And yet he is called our sin, because he bare our sins on his back; and because our sins are consumed, and made no sin in him, if we will forsake our sins, and believe in Christ for the remission thereof. Christ is also called our righteousness, to certify us that when we have no righteousness of our own, yet that his righteousness is given us, to make satisfaction for our unrighteousness, if we will believe it. Exod. xxix. Rom. viii. 2 Cor. v.

Item, Exodus the xxx. the sin or sin-offering is called atonement; and it was yet but a sign, certifying the conscience that the atonement was made, and that God had forgiven the sin. Exod. xxx.

Item, Judges i. they called the name of a certain city *Horma*[8], as it were *an utter destruction;* because that they had utterly destroyed man, woman, and child, and all that bare life. Judg. i.

Item, Judges xv. the place where Sampson killed men with an ass's jaw was called *Lehi*, that is, *jaw-bone*, to keep the act in mind. Judg. xv.

Item, Judges xviii. there went a company out of the tribe of Dan, and pitched besides Kiriath Jearim, in Judah, and the place was called ever after *Mahond Dane*[9], *the host of Dan*, only to keep the thing in mind. Judg. xviii.

Item, 1 Kings vi. a great stone, where God slew fifty 1 Sam. vi.

[6 Hebr. פֶּסַח.]

[7 So R. S.'s edition; but Day has 8, after Leviticus, thus confining the remark to that chapter, where it only occurs in verses 2 and 14. In our present authorised version the Hebr. חַטָּאת is translated *sin-offering*, without distinguishing the word *offering* by italics.]

[8 Hebr. חֳרְמָה; from חָרַם, to cut off, to extirpate, to lay under a curse.]

[9 So printed in R. S.'s edition. Day omits the imitation of the Hebrew words מַחֲנֵה דָן; which are more closely copied in our authorised version, Mahaneh-Dan.]

thousand, was called *the great lamentation*; insomuch that the text saith, they put the ark on the great lamentation[1].

1 Sam. vii. Item, 1 Kings vii. Samuel pitched a stone on an end, and called it *the help-stone*[2]; because God had there holpen them, and given them a great victory of the Philistines.

1 Kings xxii. Item, the last of the 3rd of Kings, Sedechias came to Achab with a couple of horns on his head, saying, "*With these horns shalt thou slay the Assyrians.*" He meant not that Achab should take these horns, and gore at the Assyrians; but would that he should believe only that, as a beast scattereth a cock of hay with his horns, so should Achab scatter the host of the Assyrians with his host.

Numb. vi. Item, Numbers the sixth, He that voweth abstinence must let his hair grow, to keep his abstinence in mind; and when his abstinence is out, he is commanded *to shave the head of his abstinence*, and to offer such offerings as are there appointed, after that he hath shaven off his abstinence. Lo here, the hair is called his abstinence, and is yet but a memory of his abstinence[3].

Jer. vii. Item, Jerem. vii. the prophet was commanded to shear off his abstinence, and to cast it away: which abstinence is but his hair[4].

Ezek. xii. Also, Ezekiel xii. God commanded the prophet to remove with all his goods, after such manner as conquerors carry the people captive from country to country; and when he had done, the Lord said unto him, "This prophecy is the captain, or prince, of Jerusalem[5];" when yet it was but an ensample to him, how he should be served.

[1 In 1 Sam. vi. 18, the English reader may observe that the words *stone of* are in Italics, implying that the Hebrew has only 'the great Abel,' אֶבֶל הַגְּדוֹלָה, or, as Tyndale says, *the great lamentation.*]

[2 Hebr. אֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר, Eben haazer.]

[3 The word נֵזֶר rendered by Tyndale *abstinence*, and in our authorised version of Numb. vi. 18. *separation*, is acknowledged by lexicographers to have each of those meanings.]

[4 In Jerem. vii. 29, the word rendered *hair* by our translators is again נֵזֶר, and therefore, as Tyndale has observed, is strictly no more than *abstinence*, or *separation.*]

[5 Ezek. xii. 10. הַנָּשִׂיא הַמַּשָּׂא הַזֶּה בִּירוּשָׁלִַם. Authorised version, 'This burden *concerneth* the prince in Jerusalem;' where the

Finally, where Matthew and Mark say, "This cup is my blood of the new testament;" Paul and Luke say, "This cup is the new testament in my blood." Now must the sense of the words of the two first, Matthew and Mark, be all one with the senses of the words of the two last, Luke and Paul. The words of Luke and Paul are: "This cup is the new testament made in my blood," or for my blood's sake. A short and effectual collection of the former arguments.

Now the testament is, that his blood was shed for our sins; but it is impossible that the cup or his blood should be that promise. Wherefore the sense must needs be, that it is the memorial and seal of the testament only. And therefore where Matthew and Mark say, "This cup is my blood of the new testament," the sense must needs be also, that it is the memorial and seal thereof; only calling, after the use of the Hebrews, the sign with the name of that which is signified; that is to say, calling the wine, which only signifieth the blood, with the name of the blood. And then it followeth that the bread is called his body after the same manner, because it is the sign of his body.

These and like examples move the third part to affirm, that we be not bound to believe that the bread is the very body of Christ, though it be so called; nor that the bread is transubstantiated into the body: no more than the things here rehearsed are that they be called, or transubstantiated into the very things which they be called.

The other will answer, Though this memorial were not the things whose names they bear, yet it will not follow that it should be so here in the sacrament. For they that gave such other names had no power to make the things so to be: but Christ is very God, and hath power to make his body to be every thing and every where. An objection made by the papists.

I answer, That God cannot make every of his creatures God too[6]; neither can it be proved less repugnant[7] that a creature should be every where, than that he should be God. An answer to the former objection.

Moreover, though God, where he appeared to Jacob, had

removal of the word in Italics will shew the English reader, that the form of speech is as Tyndale stated; though he has substituted *prophecy* for its metaphor, *burden*.]

[6 So R. S. *Too* is wanting in Day.]

[7 So R. S., but Day has *repugnance*.]

pitched a stone on an end, and called it God's face; yet had we not been any more bound to believe that it had been the very face of God, than if Jacob had done it. The almightiness of God standeth not in that he is able to do all that our foolish, lewd[1] thoughts may imagine. But because all power is his and of him, and that he doth all he will, and hath made all of nought, and can bring all to nought again, and can do all that includeth not contrary to the truth and verity that God hath put in his creatures; and because he can do things impossible for man, or any other creature to do, or to think how they should be done; therefore he is called the Lord Almighty. But because to brawl about such possibility or impossibility is the lust of sophisters, and also the desire of the devil to quench the profession of our baptism, and to wipe out the image of Christ out of our hearts, and a thing endless; therefore I count it wickedness to wade forth in it, and to give them that seek it an occasion perpetually to scold. The negative may a man hold, till they can prove the affirmative.

Moreover, if bread be the very body of Christ, whether abiding the very body still or transubstantiated, and enjoy the glory of the soul of Christ, and also of the Godhead, it seemeth impossible to be avoided but that Christ was made man and died: also bread, which seemeth to some a great inconvenience[2]. Howbeit that great promotion[3] of bread, and also that high power of priests above all angels[4], I

[1 Lewd: misled, ignorant. So Frith also uses the word. 'Then they are of corrupt minds, and lewd as concerning the faith.' Antithesis of Christ and the pope. In its origin it was the Saxon participle of the verb læran, to mislead, or betray.]

[2 Inconvenience: unsuitableness. The text is very obscure. If there be no misprint, it would seem that there must be an ellipsis in the last clause; and that Tyndale meant to say, 'and also made bread.' R. S.'s edition has a full stop before *also;* whilst Day has only the colon.]

[3 *Proclamation*, Day.]

[4 At the close of a council assembled at Rome, in 1099, at which Abp. Anselm and his friend the monk Eadmer were present, pope Urban II. anathematized all such clerks as should consent to do homage to any prince for any ecclesiastical preferment: "Dicens, Nimis execrabile videri manus quæ in tantam eminentiam excreverint, ut, quod nemini angelorum concessum est, Deum cuncta creantem suo ministerio creent, et eundem ipsum pro redemptione et salute totius

amit[5] also, to avoid all brawling. But one reason I have, unto which I cleave somewhat, and it is this.

An excellent argument.

All that is between God and man in the scripture is for man's necessity, and not for any need that God hath thereof. And other spiritual profit can none have by that faith in the sacrament, than to be taught thereby to believe in Christ our Saviour, and to do good to his neighbour. Now is that belief and love had as well, and rather better, (as is above proved,) without such faith than with it: ergo, where the scripture compelleth to no such belief, it is wickedness to make it a necessary article of our faith, and to slay them that cannot think that it ought to be believed.

Notwithstanding all these reasons, and the damnable idolatry which the papists have committed with the sacrament, yet, whether they affirm the body and blood to be present with the bread and wine, or the bread and wine to be turned and transubstantiated into the body and blood, I am therewith content (for unity's sake) if they will there cease, and let him be there only to testify and confirm the testament or covenant made in Christ's blood and body; for which cause only Christ instituted the sacrament. But and if they will rage further with their blind reasons of their subtle sophistry and devilish idolatry, and say, where Christ's blood is, there is his body, and where his body is, there is his soul, and where his soul is, there is the[6] Godhead and the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and there men ought to pray, and say, 'O Father, which art present with thy Son Christ, under bread and wine, or in form of bread and wine'—if (I say) they so rave, then as the old prophet for like idolatry denieth God to dwell in the temple, or to have pleasure in sacrifice of blood of goats, sheep and calves; even so deny I the body of Christ to be any more in the sacra-

mundi summi Dei Patris obtutubus offerant, in hanc ignominiam detrudi ut ancillæ fiant earum manuum quæ die ac nocte obscœnis contagiis inquinantur."—Eadmeri Monachi Cantuar. Hist. Novorum. Edited by J. Selden, London, 1624, Lib. II. p. 53, where however *angelorum* is misprinted *anglorum*.]

[5 So R. S.'s edition. Day has *admit*. As omit from *omitto*, and admit from *admitto*, so Tyndale may have employed amit from *amitto* in its sense of *putting aside*.]

[6 So R. S.'s edition. Day *his*.]

ment, than God was in the golden calves, which Jeroboam set up to be prayed to, the one in Bethel, and the other in Dan: for though God be present everywhere, yet if heaven of heavens cannot compass him to make him a dwelling-place (as the scripture testifieth), and much less the temple that was at Jerusalem, how should he have a dwelling-place in a little wafer or crumb of bread? God dwelleth not in the temple; neither did our fathers, which were of the true faith in the old testament, pray to God as present in the temple: but the
1 Kings viii. name of God only was in the temple, 1 Kings viii. and his law and covenants and wonderful deeds were therein written in signs, and were there preached and testified continually of the true priests and prophets unto the people. The fathers of the true faith came thither furthermore, for the fervent love which they had towards the laws and covenants of God. For the which prophets Salomon prayed so earnestly unto the Lord God, saying: "Hear thou, O God, in heaven thy dwelling-place, and do all that the stranger calleth to thee for; that all nations of the earth may know thee, and fear thy
1 Kings viii. name, as do this people Israel, &c." Read the third book of of Kings, the eighth chapter. When God delighted only in the faith of the offerer, which believed in God only for all mercy, taking the sacrifice for a sure token and earnest of the mercy of God, certified by that sign, that God loved them, and was at one with them for Christ's sake to come: as we should be certified by the sacrament of God with us for Christ's death that is past[1]. And Christ taught us in our prayers to look up to heaven and say, *Our Father, which art in heaven;* and he himself in all his prayers did lift up his eyes to heaven to his Father; and so did he when he instituted the sacrament, and rehearsed the words of the covenant
Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi. over bread and wine, as it is written Matthew xxvi.; Mark xiv.; Luke xxii.; 1 Cor. xi.; in these words, "Jesus took bread," &c.

Christ, though he affirmed himself to be the Son of God, and his Father to be in him, yet he taught not his disciples to

[1] The expression here seems to be intended for, *certified of God being with us.* R. Stoughton's edition reads, *certified by the sacrament of God is with us.* The antithesis would be more complete if it were read, As we should be certified, by the sacrament, *that* God is *at one* with us, for Christ's death that is past.]

direct the prayer to the Father in him, but up to the Father in heaven; neither lift he up his eyes, or prayer, to his Father in the sacrament, but to his Father in heaven. I know divers, and divers men know me, which love me as I do them: yet if I should pray them, when I meet them in the street openly, they would abhor me; but if I pray them where they be appointed to meet me secretly, they will hear me and accept my request. Even so though God's presence be everywhere, yet will he be prayed to up to the place only where we shall see him, and where he would have us to long for to be.

Moreover if I grant you that the blood of Christ is in the cup, it will [not] follow that his body is there also; neither when I grant that his body is in the bread, or under the form of bread, will it follow that his soul is there too. Christ made the bread the sacrament of his body only: wherefore as the bread is no similitude of[2] his blood, so am I not bound or ought to affirm, that his blood is there present. And he did institute the wine to be the sacrament of his blood only. And haply it was red wine, the more lovely[3] to represent it. Now as the wine in no similitude doth represent the body, so am I not bound, nor ought to affirm, that his body is there present.

Ye say that Christ is so mighty, that though he stood mortal before his disciples' eyes, yet he was able to make the same body that same time to be in the sacrament immortal, and to be under every little piece of bread or of the sacrament, though it be no greater than a mote in the sun, and that as long, as great, and thick as he stood before them. If he were so mighty, why is he not as mighty to make his blood to be alone, and his body alone? His blood, body and soul were each alone at his death, and while the body lay in the sepulchre.

Finally, Christ said, "This is my[4] blood that shall be shed:" ergo, it is true now, This is my blood that was shed. Now the blood of Hales[5], and the blood that is in many other

[2 R. S.'s edition, *similitude of the* sacrament of his blood.]

[3 Perhaps, *lively*, i. e. livelily.]

[4 R. S. *his*.]

[5 'There was also another famous imposture discovered at Hales, in Gloucestershire; where the blood of Christ was pretended to be

places, men say is the blood that was shed; ergo, that blood is in the sacrament, if any be: but I am not bound to believe or ought to affirm, that the blood that is at Hales is animate with the soul of Christ, or that his body is there present.

Wherefore, to avoid this endless brawling, which the devil no doubt hath stirred up, to turn the eyes of our souls from the everlasting covenant made us in Christ's blood and body, and to nosel us in idolatry, which is trust and confidence in false worshipping of God; and to quench first the faith to Christ-ward, and then the love due to our neighbour; therefore methinketh that the party that hath professed the faith of Christ, and the love of his neighbour, ought of duty to bear each other, as long as the other opinion is not plain wicked through false idolatry, nor contrary to the salvation that is in Christ, nor against the open and manifest doctrine of Christ and his apostles, nor contrary to the general articles of the faith of the general church of Christ, which are confirmed with open scripture; in which articles never a true church in any land dissenteth.

There be many texts of[1] the scripture, and therefore diversely expounded of holy doctors, and taken in contrary senses, when no text hath contrary senses indeed, or more than one single sense: and yet that hurteth not; neither are the holy doctors therefore heretics, as the exposition destroyeth not the faith in Christ's blood, nor is contrary to the open scripture or general articles. No more doth it hurt to say

shewn in a vial of crystal, which the people sometimes saw, but sometimes they could not see it; so they were made believe that they were not capable of so signal a favour, as long as they were in mortal sin. And so they continued to make presents, till they bribed heaven to give them the sight of so blessed a relic. This was now discovered to have been the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; and the one side of the vial was so thick, that there was no seeing through it, but the other was clear and transparent. And it was so placed near the altar, that one in a secret place behind, could turn either side of it outward. So when they had drained the pilgrims that came thither of all they had brought with them, then they afforded them the favour of turning the clear side outward; who upon that, went home very well satisfied with their journey, and the expense they had been at.' Bp. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. B. III. vol. I. p. 242—3. 1st ed.]

[1 R. S. *in.*]

that the body and blood are not in the sacrament. Neither doth it help to say they be there, but hurt exceedingly, if ye infer that the soul is there too, and that God must be there prayed to; when, as our kingdom is not on the earth, even so we ought not to direct our prayers to any God in earth, but up where our kingdom is, and whither our Redeemer and Saviour is gone, and there sitteth on the right hand of his Father, to pray for us, and to offer our prayers unto his Father, and to make them for his sake acceptable. Neither ought he, that is bound under pain of damnation to love his brother as Christ loved him, to hate, to persecute, and to slay his brother for blind zeal to any opinion, that neither letteth nor hindereth to salvation that is in Christ: as they which pray to God in the sacrament not only do, but also through that opinion, as they have lost love to their neighbours, even so have they lost the true faith in the covenant made in Christ's blood and body: which covenant only is that which saveth. And to testify this, was the sacrament instituted only.

TYNDALE'S

ADDRESSES TO THE READERS

OF

DIFFERENT PORTIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

TYNDALE's earliest Prologue, having been subsequently altered by him for publication as a separate treatise, has already been given to the subscribers to this volume in the text and notes of the Pathway. The next composition of the same class was an epistle 'To the Reader,' at the close of his first published version of the New Testament. It is not in Day's folio of his works, but was given to the public by Mr Offor, in his reprint of the New Testament of 1526, from the unique copy of that edition preserved in the Museum of the Baptists' College at Bristol, with which Mr Offor's reprint of the epistle to the Reader has again been collated for this edition by the Rev. T. S. Crisp, president of that college.

The other Prologues and Prefaces being in Day's folio of 1573, his text of them has been collated by the editor, either with Tyndale's own editions of his New Testament and Pentateuch, or with the reprints of them in Matthews' Bible of 1536.]

TYNDALE'S

EPISTLE TO THE READER,

SUBJOINED TO HIS FIRST PUBLISHED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT,

1526.

TO THE READER.

GIVE diligence, reader, I exhort thee, that thou come with a pure mind, and, as the scripture saith, with a single eye, unto the words of health and of eternal life; by the which, if we repent and believe them, we are born anew, created afresh, and enjoy the fruits of the blood of Christ: which blood crieth not for vengeance, as the blood of Abel, but hath purchased life, love, favour, grace, blessing, and whatsoever is promised in the scriptures to them that believe and obey God; and standeth between us and wrath, vengeance, curse, and whatsoever the scripture threateneth against the unbelievers and disobedient, which resist and consent not in their hearts to the law of God, that it is right, holy, just, and ought so to be. Mark the plain and manifest places of the scriptures, and in doubtful places see thou add no interpretations contrary to them; but (as Paul saith) let all be conformable and agreeing to the faith. Note the difference of the law and of the gospel. The one asketh and requireth, the other pardoneth and forgiveth. The one threateneth, the other promiseth all good things to them that set their trust in Christ only. The gospel signifieth glad tidings, and is nothing but the promises of good things. All is not gospel that is written in the gospel-book: for if the law were away, thou couldest not know what the gospel meant; even as thou couldest not see pardon and grace, except the law rebuked thee, and declared unto thee thy sin, misdeed, and trespass. Repent and believe the gospel, as

saith Christ in the first of Mark. Apply alway the law to thy deeds, whether thou find lust in thine heart to the lawward; and so shalt thou no doubt repent, and feel in thyself a certain sorrow, pain, and grief to thine heart, because thou canst not with full lust do the deeds of the law. Apply the gospel, that is to say the promises, unto the deserving of Christ, and to the mercy of God and his truth, and so shalt thou not despair; but shalt feel God as a kind and merciful father. And his Spirit shall dwell in thee, and shall be strong in thee, and the promises shall be given thee at the last, (though not by and by[1], lest thou shouldest forget thyself and be negligent,) and all threatenings shall be forgiven thee for Christ's blood's sake, to whom commit thyself altogether, without respect either of thy good deeds, or of thy bad.

Them that are learned christianly I beseech, forasmuch as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me record, that of a pure intent, singly and faithfully, I have interpreted it, as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge and understanding, that the rudeness of the work now at the first time offend them not; but that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the scripture beforetime. Moreover, even very necessity, and cumbrance (God is record) above strength, which I will not rehearse, lest we should seem to boast ourselves, caused that many things are lacking which necessarily are required. Count it as a thing not having his full shape, but as it were born before his time, even as a thing begun rather than finished. In time to come (if God have appointed us thereunto) we will give it his full shape, and put out, if ought be added superfluously, and add to, if ought be overseen through negligence; and will enforce to bring to compendiousness that which is now translated at the length, and to give light where it is required, and to seek in certain places more proper English, and with a table to expound the words which are not commonly used, and shew how the scripture useth many words which are otherwise understood of the common people, and to help with a declaration where one tongue taketh not another; and will endeavour ourselves, as it

[1 That is, immediately.]

were, to seethe it better, and to make it more apt for the weak stomachs; desiring them that are learned, and able, to remember their duty, and to help them thereunto, and to bestow unto the edifying of Christ's body, which is the congregation of them that believe, those gifts which they have received of God for the same purpose.

The grace that cometh of Christ be with them that love him. Amen.

THE PREFACE

OF

MASTER WILLIAM TYNDALE,

THAT HE MADE BEFORE THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES, CALLED GENESIS.

ANN. 1530. JANUA. 17.[1]

WHEN I had translated the New Testament, I added an epistle unto the latter end, in which I desired them that were learned to amend if ought were found amiss. But our malicious and wily hypocrites, which are so stubborn and hard-hearted in their wicked abominations, that it is not possible for them to amend any thing at all, (as we see by daily experience, when both their livings and doings are rebuked with the truth,) say, some of them, that it is impossible to translate the scripture into English; some, that it is not lawful for the lay-people to have it in their mother-tongue; some, that it would make them all heretics; as it would, no doubt, from many things which they of long time have falsely taught; and that is the whole cause wherefore they forbid it, though they other cloaks pretend: and some, or rather every one, say that it would make them rise against the king,

The reason that the papists make against the translation of the scripture into English.

A subtle shift of the pope's clergy, to cover their evil.

[1 Such is the heading to this preface in Day's folio. Its wording seems to imply, that it was originally composed by Tyndale to go forth with his edition of Genesis, as separately published; and this preface is, in fact, found prefixed to a Genesis, published without the other parts of the Pentateuch, which is now in the Bodleian, and has this colophon: 'Emprented at Marlborow in the lande of Hesse, by me, Hans Luft, the yere of oure Lorde M.CCCCC.XXX. the XVII dayes of Januarii.'

The margins to this preface are all of more recent date than its publication, and were probably composed for Day by John Foxe.]

whom they themselves (unto their damnation) never yet obeyed. And lest the temporal rulers should see their falsehood, if the scripture came to light, causeth them so to lie.

How the papists were vexed with Tyndale's translation of the new Testament.

And as for my translation, in which they affirm unto the lay-people (as I have heard say) to be I wot not how many thousand heresies[2], so that it cannot be mended or correct; they have yet taken so great pain to examine it, and to compare it unto that they would fain have it, and to their own imaginations and juggling terms, and to have somewhat to rail at, and under that cloak to blaspheme the truth; that they might with as little labour (as I suppose) have translated the most part of the bible. For they which in times past were wont to look on no more scripture than they found in their Duns[3], or such like devilish doctrine, have yet now so narrowly looked on my translation, that there is not so much as one *i* therein, if it lack a tittle over his head, but they have noted it, and number it unto the ignorant people for an heresy. Finally, in this they be all agreed, to drive you from the knowledge of the scripture, and that ye shall not have the text thereof in the mother-tongue, and to keep the world still in darkness, to the intent they might sit in the consciences of the people, through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their filthy lusts, their proud ambition, and unsatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour above king and emperor, yea, and above God himself.

The papists shamed not to wrest the scriptures.

A thousand books had they lever to be put forth against their abominable doings and doctrine, than that the scripture should come to light. For as long as they may keep that down, they will so darken the right way with the mist of their sophistry, and so tangle them that either rebuke or despise their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes and apparent reasons of natural wisdom, and with wresting the scripture unto their own purpose, clean contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text; and so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses before the unlearned lay-people, (when it hath but one simple,

The papists have wrought wonderfully to have suppressed the scriptures.

As owls abide not the brightness of the day, so cannot the papists abide the light of the gospel.

[2 Bishop Tonstal had said in a sermon that he found 2000 corruptions or errors in Tyndale's New Test. See Fulke's Defence. Park. Soc. ed. p. 61.]

[3 That is, the works of Duns Scotus.]

literal sense, whose light the owls cannot abide,) that, though thou feel in thine heart, and art sure, how that all is false that they say, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles.

What first moved W. Tyndale to translate the scripture into English.

Which thing only moved me to translate the new Testament. Because I had perceived by experience, how that it was impossible to establish the lay-people in any truth, except the scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother-tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text: for else, whatsoever truth is taught them, these enemies of all truth quench it again, partly with the smoke of their bottomless pit, whereof thou readest in Rev. ix. Apocalypse, chap. ix. (that is, with apparent reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without ground of scripture,) and partly in juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as is impossible to gather of the text, if thou see the process, order, and meaning thereof.

This bishop of London was then Tonstall, which afterward was bishop of Durham.

And even in the bishop of London's house I intended to have done it. For when I was so turmoiled in the country where I was, that I could no longer dwell there, (the process whereof were too long here to rehearse,) I this-wise thought in myself: This I suffer because the priests of the country be unlearned; as God it knoweth, there are a full ignorant sort, which have seen no more Latin than that they read in their portesses and missals, which yet many of them can scarcely read, (except it be Albertus *de secretis mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say; and Linwode[1], a book of constitutions, to gather tythes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part, and the duty of holy church, to discharge their consciences withal; for they are bound that they shall not diminish, but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers;) and therefore, (because they are thus unlearned, thought I,) when they come together to the ale-house, which is their preaching-place, they affirm that my sayings are heresy. And besides that, they

The pope's chaplains' pulpit is the ale-house.

[1] William Lindwood, or Linwood, fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and keeper of the privy seal to Henry V. collected and digested *the Constitutions* of the archbishops of Canterbury, from Stephen Langton to Henry Chicheley. This compilation was printed at Paris in 1505, and is still held in esteem by canonists.]

add to, of their own heads, which I never spake, as the manner is to prolong the tale to short the time withal, and accused me secretly to the chancellor and other the bishop's officers. And, indeed, when I came before the chancellor, he threatened me grievously, and reviled me, and rated me as though I had been a dog; and laid to my charge whereof there could be none accuser brought forth, (as their manner is not to bring forth the accuser,) and yet all the priests of the country were the same day there.

Christ's apostles did meekly admonish, but the pope's sectaries brawl and scold.

As I this thought, the bishop of London came to my remembrance, whom Erasmus (whose tongue maketh of little gnats great elephants, and lifteth up above the stars whosoever giveth him a little exhibition,) praiseth exceedingly, among other, in his Annotations on the New Testament, for his great learning[2]. Then thought I, if I might come to this man's service, I were happy. And so I gat me to London, and, through the acquaintance of my master, came to sir Harry Gilford, the king's grace's comptroller[3], and brought him an Oration of Isocrates, which I had translated out of Greek into English, and desired him to speak unto my lord of London for me; which he also did, as he shewed me, and willed me to write an epistle to my lord, and to go to him myself; which I also did, and delivered my epistle to a servant of his own, one William Hebilthwayte, a man of mine old acquaintance. But God (which knoweth what is within hypocrites) saw that I was beguiled, and that that counsel was not the

Partiality sometimes in men of great learning.

How Tyndale was deceived.

[2 This passage has given considerable trouble to former editors of Tyndale, and narrators of his life, because they do not find bishop Tonstal noticed in Erasmus' Annotations till 1527, when he published his fourth edition of them. But Tonstal had gained a reputation for learning and liberality to scholars as early as 1516, as appears from Erasmus' letters to Sir Thomas More, cited by Mr Anderson, p. 38, n.; and Tyndale says '*praiseth*,' not *had praised*, 'in his annotations.' Our author's language does not necessarily mean, that when he sought Tonstal's patronage, in 1523, it was in consequence of Erasmus' published praise of that prelate.]

[3 Sir Henry Guilford had returned to his native country, after serving with reputation in the wars with the Moors in Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella. He corresponded with Erasmus; and in the seventh year of Henry VIII. 1519—20, he was made master of the horse for life. Granger's Biog. Hist. of Eng. Vol. I. p. 64. edit. 1769. Quoted by Mr Russell.]

next way unto my purpose. And therefore he gat me no favour in my lord's sight.

Tyndale could get no place in the bishop of London's house.

Whereupon my lord answered me, his house was full; he had more than he could well find; and advised me to seek in London, where he said I could not lack a service. And so in London I abode almost a year, and marked the course of the world, and heard our praters, (I would say our preachers,) how they boasted themselves and their high authority; and beheld the pomp of our prelates, and how busy they were, as they yet are, to set peace and unity in the world, (though it be not possible for them that walk in darkness to continue long in peace, for they cannot but either stumble or dash themselves at one thing or another that shall clean unquiet all together,) and saw things whereof I defer to speak at this time, and understood at the last not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the new Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England, as experience doth now openly declare.

Room enough in my lord's house for belly-cheer, but none to translate the new Testament.

Under what manner, therefore, should I now submit this book to be corrected and amended of them, which can suffer nothing to be well? Or what protestation should I make in such a matter unto our prelates, those stubborn Nimrods which so mightily fight against God, and resist his Holy Spirit, enforcing with all craft and subtlety to quench the light of the everlasting testament, promises, and appointment made between God and us, and heaping the fierce wrath of God upon all princes and rulers; mocking them with false feigned names of hypocrisy, and serving their lusts at all points, and dispensing with them even of the very laws of God, of which Christ himself testifieth, Matt. v., that "not so much as one tittle thereof may perish, or be broken;" and of which the prophet saith, Psalm cxviii., "Thou hast commanded thy laws to be kept" *meod*[1], that is, in Hebrew, exceedingly, with all diligence, might, and power; and have made them so mad with their juggling charms and crafty persuasions, that they think it a full satisfaction for all their wicked lying to torment such as tell them truth, and to burn the word of their souls' health, and slay whosoever believe thereon?

Tyndale's submission is

Notwithstanding yet I submit this book, and all other

[1 Ps. cxix. (numbered in Vulgate cxviii.) v. 4. מְאֹד.]

that I have either made or translated, or shall in time to come, (if it be God's will that I shall further labour in his harvest,) unto all them that submit themselves unto the word of God, to be corrected of them; yea, and moreover to be disallowed and also burnt, if it seem worthy, when they have examined it with the Hebrew, so that they first put forth of their own translating another that is more correct. to all such as submit themselves to God.

PROLOGUES BY WILLIAM TYNDALE

SHEWING

THE USE OF THE SCRIPTURE, WHICH HE WROTE BEFORE THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES.

THOUGH a man had a precious jewel and a rich, yet if he wist not the value thereof, nor wherefore it served, he were neither the better nor richer of a straw. Even so, though we read the scripture, and babble of it never so much, yet if we know not the use of it, and wherefore it was given, and what is therein to be sought, it profiteth us nothing at all. It is not enough, therefore, to read and talk of it only, but we must also desire God, day and night instantly, to open our eyes, and to make us understand and feel wherefore the scripture was given, that we may apply the medicine of the scripture, every man to his own sores; unless that we intend to be idle disputers, and brawlers about vain words, ever gnawing upon the bitter bark without, and never attaining unto the sweet pith within, and persecuting one another in defending of lewd imaginations and fantasies of our own invention.

Not the tongue, but the life, proveth a true gospeller.

Paul, in the third of the second epistle to Timothy, saith, "that the scripture is good to teach," (for that ought men to teach, and not dreams of their own making, as the pope doth,) "and also to improve;" for the[1] scripture is the touchstone that trieth all doctrines, and by that we know the false from the true. And in the vith to the Ephesians he calleth it "the sword of the Spirit," because it killeth hypocrites, and uttereth and improveth their false inventions. And in the xvth to the Romans he saith, "All that are written are written for our learning; that we through patience and comfort of the scripture might have hope:" that is, the ensam-

The truest touchstone of religion is Christ's gospel.

The scripture of God is the sword of the Spirit.

[1 In the 'Pentateuch corrected' of 1534, which is preserved in the Museum of the Baptists' college, it is, *that scripture.*]

ples that are in the scripture comfort us in all our tribulations, and make us to put our trust in God, and patiently to abide his leisure. And in the xth of the first to the Corinthians he bringeth in examples of the scripture to fear us, and to bridle the flesh, that we cast not the yoke of the law of God from off our necks, and fall to lusting and doing of evil.

So now the scripture is a light, and sheweth us the true way, both what to do and what to hope for; and a defence from all error, and a comfort in adversity that we despair not, and feareth us in prosperity that we sin not. Seek therefore in the scripture as thou readest it, *first the law, what God commandeth us to do; and secondarily, the promises, which God promiseth us again, namely in Christ Jesus our Lord. Then seek ensamples, first of comfort, how God purgeth all them, that submit themselves to walk in his ways, in the purgatory of tribulation, delivering them yet at the latter end, and never suffering any of them to perish that cleave fast to his promises. And, finally, note the ensamples which are written to fear the flesh, that we sin not: that is, how God suffereth the ungodly and wicked sinners that resist God, and refuse to follow him, to continue in their wickedness; ever waxing worse and worse, until their sin be so sore increased, and so abominable, that if they should longer endure they would corrupt the very elect. But for the elect's sake God sendeth them preachers. Nevertheless they harden their hearts against the truth, and God destroyeth them utterly, and beginneth the world anew[2].*

Tribulation is the gift of God.

What we ought to seek in the scriptures.

This comfort shalt thou evermore find in the plain text and literal sense. Neither is there any story so homely, so rude, yea, or so vile (as it seemeth outward), wherein is

[2 The passage between asterisks is a substitute, in Day's text, for a much longer passage in Tyndale's 'Pentateuch corrected:' but the use of the verb *fear*, for *to cause fear*, in the substituted passage, is so peculiarly Tyndale's, as to leave little doubt that he himself introduced this change into some later edition of this Prologue to Genesis; and it therefore would not be right to insert here what its author deliberately erased. As, however, the removed passage contains valuable instruction, and was probably only struck out of the Prologue, because it was, in fact, less applicable to Genesis than to most other parts of the narrative portion of the old Testament, the reader will find it at the end of this Prologue.]

not exceeding great comfort. And when some, which seem to themselves great clerks, say, 'They wot not what more profit is in many gests of the scripture, if they be read without an allegory, than in a tale of Robin Hood:' say thou, 'That they were written for our consolation and comfort; that we despair not, if such like happen unto us. We be not holier than Noe, though he were once drunk; neither better beloved than Jacob, though his own son defiled his bed. We be not holier than Lot, though his daughters through ignorance deceived him; nor, peradventure, holier than those daughters. Neither are we holier than David, though he brake wedlock, and upon the same committed abominable murder. All those men have witness of the scripture that they pleased God, and were good men, both before that those things chanced them, and also after. Nevertheless such things happened them for our ensample, not that we should counterfeit their evil; but if, while we fight with ourselves, enforcing to walk in the law of God as they did, we yet fall likewise, that we despair not, but come again to the laws of God, and take better hold.'

A goodly comfort against desperation.

We read, since the time of Christ's death, of virgins that have been brought unto the common stews, and there defiled; and of martyrs that have been bound, and whores have abused their bodies. Why? The judgments of God are bottomless. Such things chanced partly for ensamples; partly, God through sin healeth sin. Pride can neither be healed, nor yet appear, but through such horrible deeds. Peradventure they were of the pope's sect, and rejoiced fleshly; thinking that heaven came by deeds, and not by Christ, and that the outward deed justified them and made them holy, and not the inward spirit received by faith, and the consent of the heart unto the laws of God.

Ensamples of their evils not to bolden us, but to fear us from sin and desperation.

As thou readest, therefore, think that every syllable pertaineth to thine own self, and suck out the pith of the scripture, and arm thyself against all assaults. First note with strong faith the power of God, in creating all of nought; then mark the grievous fall of Adam, and of us all in him, through the light regarding of the commandment of God. In the ivth chapter, God turneth him unto Abel, and then to his offering, but not to Cain and his offering: where thou seest that though the deeds of the evil appear outwardly as

How we ought to prepare ourselves to the reading of the scriptures.

glorious as the deeds of the good, yet in the sight of God, which looketh on the heart, the deed is good because of the man, and not the man good because of his deed. In the vith, God sendeth Noe to preach to the wicked, and giveth them space to repent: they wax hard-hearted, God bringeth them to nought, and yet saveth Noe, even by the same water by which he destroyed them. Mark also what followed the pride of the building of the tower of Babel.

Consider how God sendeth forth Abraham out of his own country into a strange land, full of wicked people, and gave him but a bare promise with him, that he would bless him and defend him. Abraham believed, and that word saved and delivered him in all perils: so that we see how that man's life is not maintained by bread only, as Christ saith, but much rather by believing the promises of God. Behold how soberly, and how circumspectly, both Abraham and also Isaac behave themselves among the infidels. Abraham buyeth that which might have been given him for nought, to cut off occasions. Isaac, when his wells which he had digged were taken from him, giveth room and resisteth not. Moreover, they ear[1] and sow, and feed their cattle, and make confederations, and take perpetual truce, and do all outward things even as they do which have no faith; for God hath not made us to be idle in this world. Every man must work godly and truly, to the uttermost of the power that God hath given him; and yet not trust therein, but in God's word or promise, and God will work with us, and bring that we do to good effect: and then, when our power will extend no further, God's promises will work all alone.

Faith our surest shield in all assaults.

We may not trust in our works, but in the word and promise of God.

How many things also resisted the promises of God to Jacob! And yet Jacob conjureth God with his own promises, saying, "O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, O Lord, which saidest unto me, Return unto thine own country, and unto the place where thou wast born, and I will do thee good; I am not worthy of the least of those mercies, nor of that truth which thou hast done to thy servant: I went out but with a staff, and come home with two droves: deliver me out of the hands of my brother Esau, for I fear him greatly," &c. And God delivered him, and will likewise all that call unto his promises with a repent-

God burthened with his promise.

[1 That is, plough.]

ing heart, were they never so great sinners. Mark also the weak infirmities of the man. He loveth one wife more than another, one son more than another. And see how God purgeth him. Esau threateneth him; Laban beguileth him; the beloved wife is long barren; his daughter is ravished; his wife is defiled, and that of his own son. Rachel dieth, Joseph is taken away, yea, and, as he supposed, rent of wild beasts. And yet how glorious was his end! Note the weakness of his children, yea, and the sin of them, and how God through their own wickedness saved them. These ensamples teach us, that a man is not at once perfect the first day he beginneth to live well. They that be strong, therefore, must suffer with the weak, and help to keep them in unity and peace one with another, until they be stronger.

The Holy Ghost breatheth where and when it pleaseth him.

Note what the brethren said when they were attached[1] in Egypt: "We have verily sinned (said they) against our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and would not hear him; and therefore is this tribulation come upon us." By which ensample thou seest how that conscience of evil doings findeth men out at last, but namely in tribulation and adversity: there temptation, and also desperation, yea, and the very pains of hell, find us out: there the soul feeleth the fierce wrath of God, and wisheth mountains to fall on her, and to hide her (if it were possible) from the angry face of God.

Conscience of evil doings findeth out evil men.

Mark also, how great evils follow of how little an occasion. Dinah goeth but forth alone to see the daughters of the country, and how great mischief and trouble followed! Jacob loved but one son more than another, and how grievous murder followed in their hearts! These are ensamples for our learning, to teach us to walk warily and circumspectly in the world of weak people, that we give no man occasions of evil.

Of small occasions do rise great evils.

Finally, see what God promised Joseph in his dreams. Those promises accompanied him always, and went down with him even into the deep dungeon, and brought him up again, and never forsook him, till all that was promised was fulfilled. These are ensamples written for our learning (as Paul saith), to teach us to trust in God in the strong fire of tribulation and purgatory of our flesh; and that they which sub-

Ensamples for our learning.

[1] Pent. of 1534, tached: i. e. arrested.]

mit themselves to follow God, should note and mark such things: for their learning and comfort is the fruit of the scripture, and cause why it was written. And with such a purpose to read it, is the way to everlasting life, and to those joyful blessings that are promised unto all nations in the Seed of Abraham; which Seed is Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be honour and praise for ever, and unto God our Father through him. Amen.

[The passage mentioned in note 2. p. 399, as forming part of this prologue in its earliest editions, and as having had a few sentences, more closely connected with the subject of Genesis, inserted in its place in Day, stands as follows in Tyndale's Pentateuch of 1534.]

Seek therefore in the scripture, as thou readest it, chiefly and above all, the covenants made between God and us; that is to say, the law and commandments which God commandeth us to do; and then the mercy promised unto all them that submit themselves unto the law. For all the promises throughout the whole scripture do include a covenant: that is, God bindeth himself to fulfil that mercy unto thee only if thou wilt endeavour thyself to keep his laws; so that no man hath his part in the mercy of God, save he only that loveth his law, and consenteth that it is righteous and good, and fain would do it, and ever mourneth because he now and then breaketh it through infirmity, or doth it not so perfectly as his heart would.

And let love interpret the law, that thou understand this to be the final end of the law, and the whole cause why the law was given; even to bring thee to the knowledge of God, how that he hath done all things for thee, that thou mightest love him again with all thine heart, and thy neighbour for his sake as thyself, and as Christ loved thee: because thy neighbour is the son of God also, and created unto his likeness as thou art, and bought with as dear blood as art thou. Whosoever feeleth in his heart that every man ought to love his neighbour as Christ loved him, and consenteth thereto, and enforceth to come thereto, the same only understandeth the law aright, and can interpret it. And he that submitteth

not himself, in the degree he is in, to seek his neighbour's profit as Christ did his, can never understand the law, though it be interpreted to him; for that love is the light of the law, to understand it by.

And behold how righteous, how honest, and how due a thing it is by nature, that every man love his neighbour unfeignedly even as himself, for his Father's sake. For it is the father's great shame and his high displeasure, if one brother hurt another. If one brother be hurt of another, he may not avenge himself, but must complain to his father, or to them that have authority of his father, to rule in his absence. Even so if any of God's children be hurt by any of his brethren, he may not avenge himself with hand or heart. God must avenge. And the governors and ministers of the law that God hath ordained to rule us by, concerning our outward conversation of one with another, they must avenge. If they will not avenge, but rather maintain wrong and be oppressors themselves, then must we tarry patiently till God come, which is ever ready to reap tyrants off the face of the earth, as soon as their sins are ripe.

Consider also what wrath, vengeance, and plagues God threateneth to them that are rebellious and disobedient.

Then go to and read the stories of the bible for thy learning and comfort, and see every thing practised before thine eyes; for according to those ensamples shall it go with thee and all men until the world's end: so that into whatsoever case or state a man may be brought, according to whatsoever ensample of the bible it be, his end shall be according as he there seeth and readeth. As God there warneth ere he smite, and suffereth long ere he take extreme vengeance, so shall he do with us. As they that turn are there received to mercy, and they that maliciously resist perish utterly, so shall it be with us. As they that resist the counsel of God perish through their own counsel, so shall it be with us until the world's end. As it went with their kings and rulers, so shall it go with ours. As it was with their common people, so shall it be with ours. As it was with their spiritual officers, so shall it be with ours. As it was with their true prophets, so shall it be with ours until the world's end. As they had ever among them false prophets and true, and as their false persecuted the true, and

moved the princes to slay them, so shall it be with us until the end of the world. As there was among them but a few true-hearted to God, so shall it be among us; and as their idolatry was, so shall ours be, until the end of the world. All mercy that is shewed there is a promise unto thee, if thou turn to God. And all vengeance and wrath shewed there is threatened to thee, if thou be stubborn and resist. And this learning and comfort shalt thou evermore find in the plain text and literal sense, &c.

A TABLE,

EXPOUNDING CERTAIN WORDS IN THE FIRST BOOK OF MOSES, CALLED GENESIS.

ABRECH. Tender father; or, as some will, Bow the knee[1].

ARK. A ship made flat, as it were a chest or a coffer.

[1 These two explanations of אַבְרֵךְ, the word proclaimed before Joseph, Gen. xli. 43, are retained in the margin and text of our authorised version. The first is the proper one, if we are to suppose that the four letters are two words, אַב רֵךְ; whilst the second might be a correct interpretation, if we are to consider the word as the hiphil imperative of בָּרַךְ, with the formative servile ה changed into א, as occurs in some other instances.

The interpretation, 'tender father,' Tyndale could neither have learnt from the Greek Septuagint, nor from Luther's German version, nor from the Latin Vulgate; which last two have been rashly said to have been the only sources from whence he could translate. The Greek translator has either left the word אברך unnoticed, or has supposed it to be the Egyptian term for a herald. Luther has paraphrased it, Der ist des Landes Vater, which he may have taken from the Chaldee paraphrast, whose words are דֵּין אֲבָא לְמַלְכָּא. The Vulgate has, Ut omnes coram eo genu flecterent.

Modern lexicographers have generally assumed that the word is Egyptian, and have gathered from the Coptic a meaning not remote from 'Bow the knee:' whilst Prof. James Robertson, in his Clavis Pentateuchi, makes בָּרֵךְ its root, and supposes the servile א to make its effect superlative, rendering it, 'most blessed.']

BISSE[1]. Fine white, whether it be silk or linen.

BLESS. God's blessings are his gifts: as in the first chapter he blessed them, saying, "Grow and multiply, and have dominion," &c. And in the ninth chapter he blessed Noah and his sons, and gave them dominion over all beasts, and authority to eat them. And God blessed Abraham with cattle and other riches. And Jacob desired Esau to receive the blessing which he brought him, that is, the present and gift. God blessed the seventh day; that is, gave it a preeminence, that men should rest therein from bodily labour, and learn to know the will of God and his laws, and how to work their works godly all the week after. God also blesseth all nations in Abraham's Seed; that is, he turneth his love and favour unto them, and giveth them his Spirit and knowledge of the true way, and lust and power to walk therein, and all for Christ's sake, Abraham's son.

CAIN. So is it written in Hebrew. Notwithstanding, whether we call him *Cain*, or *Caim*, it maketh no matter, so we understand the meaning. Every land hath his manner: that we call *John*, the Welshmen call *Evan*, the Dutch *Haunce*. Such difference is between the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; and that maketh them that translate out of the Hebrew vary in names from them that translate out of Latin or Greek[2].

CURSE. God's curse is the taking away of his benefits; as God cursed the earth, and made it barren. So now hunger, dearth, war, pestilence, and such like, are yet right curses, and signs of the wrath of God unto the unbelievers; but unto them that know Christ they are very blessings, and that wholesome cross and true purgatory of our flesh, through which all must go that will live godly and be saved: as

[1 The word used by Tyndale in Genesis xli. 42, where the authorised version has *fine linen*, and in its margin *silk*. Tyndale has evidently formed the word from Βύσσος, which occurs in Luke xvi. 19.]

[2 It is thus that, having to follow the Greek in the New Testament, Tyndale wrote, and our authorised version continues, Osee. Gr. Ὡσηέ, in Rom. ix. 25. instead of Hosea, or more correctly Hoshea, for הוֹשֵׁעַ. But in Heb. iv. 8, Tyndale writes Josue, not suffering a defect in the Greek alphabet to restrain him from copying the Hebrew name with sufficient closeness to avoid a confusion between the son of Nun and Jesus Christ.]

thou readest, Matt. v. "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake," &c. And Heb. xii. "The Lord chastiseth whom he loveth; and scourgeth all the children that he receiveth." Matt. v. Heb. xii.

EDEN. Pleasure.

FIRMAMENT. The sky[3].

FAITH, is the believing of God's promises, and a sure trust in the goodness and truth of God: which faith justified Abraham, and was the mother of all his good works which he afterwards did. For faith is the goodness of all works in the sight of God. Good works are things of God's commandment, wrought in faith; and to sew a shoe at the commandment of God, to do thy neighbour service withal, with faith to be saved by Christ, as God promiseth us, is much better than to build an abbey of thine own imagination, trusting to be saved by the feigned works of hypocrites. Jacob robbed Laban his uncle; Moses robbed the Egyptians; and Abraham is about to slay and burn his own son: and all are holy works, because they are wrought in faith at God's commandment. To steal, rob, and murder, are no holy works before worldly people; but unto them that have their trust in God they are holy, when God commandeth them. What God commandeth not, getteth no reward with God. Holy works of men's imaginations receive their reward here, as Christ testifieth, Matt. vi. Howbeit, of faith and works I have spoken abundantly in *Mammon*. Let him that desireth more seek there. Gen. xv. Matt. vi.

GRACE. Favour: as Noah found grace; that is to say, found favour and love.

HAM and CAM all one[4].

[3 The rendering of רָקִיעַ *firmamentum* is traceable to the LXX. who have used the equivalent word στερέωμα. But the adoption of the word στερέωμα seems to have sprung from a system of philosophy to which the Pharisees were inclined. It receives no countenance from the Hebrew original, which would be most closely copied by rendering it *expanse*. Tyndale, adopting the word *firmament*, which he found in general use, has explained it by *sky*; that his readers might understand that *strength* was not to be taken as any part of the idea attached to his use of the word.]

[4 He means that the Cam, or Cham, of the Vulgate, and the Ham of the English translation, are alike intended for copies of the Hebrew חָם; only differing because the Hebrew letter ח has no exact equivalent in the Roman alphabet.]

JEHOVAH, is God's name; neither is any creature so called; and it is as much to say as, One that is of himself, and dependeth of nothing. Moreover, as oft as thou seest LORD in great letters (except there be any error in the printing), it is in Hebrew *Jehovah*, Thou that art; or, He that is[1].

MARSHAL. In Hebrew he is called *Sartabaim:* as thou wouldest say, Lord of the slaughtermen. And though that *Tabaim* be taken for cooks in many places, (for the cooks did slay the beasts themselves in those days,) yet it may be taken for them that put men to execution also[2]. And that I thought it should here best signify, inasmuch as he had the oversight of the king's prison, and the king's prisoners, were they never so great men, were under his custody: and therefore I call him chief marshal; an officer, as it were the lieutenant of the Tower, or master of the Marshalsea.

Gen. xi. xiv. SLIME was their mortar, xith chapter; and slime-pits, xivth chapter. That slime was a fatness that oosed out of the earth, like unto tar; and thou mayest call it cement, if thou wilt.

SILOH, after some, is as much to say as *sent;* and after some, *happy;* and after some, it signifieth Messias[3], that is to say, *anointed*, and that we call Christ after the Greek word. And it is a prophecy of Christ; for after all the other tribes were in captivity, and their kingdom destroyed, yet the tribe

[1 When Tyndale thus explains Jehovah, he must be understood to mean that if God be addressed by that name, it is like saying, O thou self-existent one; and when he is spoken of by that name, it is like saying, The self-existent one.]

[2 שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים occurs Gen. xxxvii. 34, and is rendered in our authorised version, Captain of the guard; whilst the margin gives both of Tyndale's explanations of the word. What he has said of טַבָּחִים is in exact agreement with the best lexicographers.]

[3 שִׁילֹה. Gen. xlix. 10. Tyndale's first remark, on Shiloh, is doubtless allusive to the Latin Vulgate; in which it is rendered *Qui mittendus est.* But this rendering is indefensible except on the supposition that Jerome read ן, where the ordinary reading is ה.

When he says, 'after some it is equivalent to *happy*,' he alludes to those who consider the word as a derivative from שָׁלָה. And when he alters his expression and says, 'after some it signifieth Messias', he alludes to the Rabbinical interpreters, who derive it from שִׁיל, secundina, and say it means 'his son,' 'the Messiah.']

of Judah had a ruler of the same blood, even unto the coming of Christ: and about the coming of Christ the Romans conquered them, and the emperor gave the kingdom of the tribe Judah unto Herod, which was a stranger, even an Edomite, of the generation of Esau.

TESTAMENT; that is, an appointment made between God and man, and God's promises. And sacrament is a sign representing such appointment and promises; as the rainbow representeth the promise made to Noe, that God will no more drown the world. And circumcision representeth the promises of God to Abraham, on the one side; and that Abraham and his seed should circumcise, and cut off the lusts of their flesh, on the other side, to walk in the ways of the Lord: as baptism, which is come in the room thereof, now signifieth on the one side, how that all that repent and believe are washed in Christ's blood; and on the other side, how that the same must quench and drown the lusts of the flesh, to follow the steps of Christ.

TYRANTS. "There were tyrants in the earth in those days, for the sons of God saw the daughters of men," &c. The sons of God were the prophets' children, which, though they succeeded their fathers, fell yet from the right way; and through falsehood of hypocrisy subdued the world under them, and became tyrants; as the successors of the apostles have played with us.

VAPOUR. A dewy mist, as the smoke of a seething pot.

WALK. To walk with God is to live godly, and to walk in his commandments. Enos walked with God, and was no more seen; he lived godly, and died. God took him away; that is, God hid his body as he did Moses and Aaron's, lest haply they should have made an idol of him; for he was a great preacher and a holy man.

ZAPHNATH PAENEA. Words of Egypt are they (as I suppose); and as much to say as, 'a man to whom secret things be opened;' or 'an expounder of secret things,' as some interpret it[4].

[4 צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ. Gen. xli. 45. The Greek translator in the Septuagint has not given an interpretation of these words, but writes them *Ψονθομφανὴχ*, according to some copies; *Ψοτομφανὴχ*, according to others; and these, according to Simons, reconcile the text with

That Joseph brought the Egyptians into such a subjection, would seem unto some a very cruel deed: howbeit, it was a very equal way; for they paid but the fifth part of that that grew on the ground, and therewith were they quit of all duties, both of rent, custom, tribute, and toll; and the king therewith found them lords, and all ministers, and defended them. We now pay half so much unto the priests only, beside their other crafty exactions. Then pay we rent yearly, though there grow never so little on the ground; and yet, when the king calleth, pay we never the less. So that if we look indifferently, their condition was easier than ours; and but even, a very indifferent way both for the common people, and the king also.

See, therefore, that thou look not on the ensamples of the scripture with worldly eyes, lest thou prefer Cain before Abel, Ismael before Isaac, Esau before Jacob, Reuben before Judah, Zarah before Phares, Manasses before Ephraim, and even the worst before the best, as the manner of the world is.

two different Coptic dialects. Joh. Simons. Lex. corrected by J. Godf. Eichorn. Halæ, 1793. The Latin Vulgate has: Vocavit eum lingua Ægyptiaca, salvatorem mundi; which nearly agrees with Simon's explanation of the Coptic words. Luther has, Nennete ihn den heimlichen rath. So that Tyndale was not guided by any of these translations, in forming his opinion respecting the meaning of these words: and his interpretation has not only been continued in the margin of our authorised version; but has also been adopted and defended by Professor Robertson, who says, on these words, Dictus est (Josephus) Ægyptiace, Occultorum revelator, vel Abditorum index et doctor. Clavis Pentat. No. 1891.]

A PROLOGUE

INTO THE SECOND BOOK OF MOSES, CALLED EXODUS.

Learn here how to read and understand the scripture.

Of the preface upon Genesis mayest thou understand how to behave thyself in this book also, and in all other books of the scripture. Cleave unto the text and plain story, and endeavour thyself to search out the meaning of all that is described therein, and the true sense of all manner of speakings of the scripture; of proverbs, similitudes, and borrowed speech, whereof I entreated in the end of The Obedience; and beware of subtle allegories.

And note every thing earnestly, as things pertaining unto thine own heart and soul.

For as God used himself unto them of the old Testament, even so shall he unto the world's end use himself unto us which have received his holy scripture, and the testimony of his Son Jesus. As God doth all things here for them that believe his promises, and hearken unto his commandments, and with patience cleave unto him, and walk with him; even so shall he do for us, if we receive the witness of Christ with a strong faith, and endure patiently, following his steps. And on the other side, as they that fell from the promise of God through unbelief, and from his law and ordinances through impatiency of their own lusts, were forsaken of God, and so perished; even so shall we, as many as do likewise, and as many as mock with the doctrine of Christ, and make a cloak of it to live fleshly, and to follow our lusts.

If we hearken unto the voice of God, and bend ourselves to do his will, he will be our God, and help us; but otherwise, he will plague us as he plagued the unthankful and faithless Jews.

Note thereto, how God is found true at the last; and how, when all is past remedy, and brought into desperation, he then fulfilleth his promises, and that by an abject and a castaway, a despised and a refused person; yea, and by a way impossible to believe.

The cause of all captivity of God's people is this: the world ever hated them for their faith and trust which they have in God; but in vain, until they fall from the faith of the promises, and love of the law and ordinances of God, and

Trust and believe in God, and care not what the world say.

put their trust in holy deeds of their own finding, and live altogether at their own lust and pleasure, without regard of God, or respect of their neighbour. Then God forsaketh us, and sendeth us into captivity for our dishonouring of his name and despising of our neighbour. But the world persecuteth us for our faith in Christ only, (as the pope now doth,) and not for our wicked living. For in his kingdom thou mayest quietly, and with licence, and under a protection, do whatsoever abomination thy heart lusteth; but God persecuteth us because we abuse his holy testament, and because that, when we know the truth, we follow it not.

The world liketh well all wicked livers and ungodly people.

Note, also, the mighty hand of the Lord, how he playeth with his adversaries, and provoketh them, and stirreth them up a little and a little, and delivereth not his people in an hour; that both the patience of his elect, and also the worldly wit and wily policy of the wicked, wherewith they do fight against God, might appear.

Here is set forth the office of every good person.

Mark the long-suffering and soft patience of Moses, and how he loveth the people, and is ever between the wrath of God and them, and is ready to live and die with them, and to be put out of the book that God had written for their sakes, (as Paul for his brethren, Rom. ix.) and how he taketh his own wrongs patiently, and never avengeth himself. And make not Moses a figure of Christ, with Rochester[1]; but an ensample unto all princes, and to all that are in authority, how to rule unto God's pleasure and unto their neighbour's profit. For there is not a perfecter life in this world, both to the honour of God and profit of his neighbour, nor yet a greater cross, than to rule christianly. And of Aaron also see that thou make no figure of Christ, until he come unto his sacrificing; but an ensample unto all preachers of God's word, that they add nothing unto God's word, or take ought therefrom.

Temptation is the trial of true Christians.

Note also, how God sendeth his promise to the people, and Moses confirmeth it with miracles, and the people believe: but when temptation cometh, they fall into unbelief, and few bide standing. Where thou seest that all be not Christians, that will be so called, and that the cross trieth the true from the feigned; for if the cross were not, Christ should have

[1 That is, after the example of Fisher, bishop of Rochester. See p. 208—9.]

disciples enough. Whereof also thou seest, what an excellent gift of God true faith is, and impossible to be had without the Spirit of God. For it is above all natural power, that a man, in time of temptation, when God scourgeth him, should believe then stedfastly how that God loveth him, and careth for him, and hath prepared all good things for him, and that that scourging is an earnest that God hath elect and chosen him.

The excellency of faith which is the gift of God.

Those whom God scourgeth he dearly loveth.

Note how oft Moses stirreth them up to believe and to trust in God, putting them in remembrance alway in time of temptation of the miracles and wonders which God had wrought before-time in their eye-sight. How diligently also forbiddeth he all that might withdraw their hearts from God! To put nought to God's word, to take nought therefrom; to do only that which is right in the sight of the Lord; that they should make no manner image, to kneel down before it; yea, that they should make none altar of hewed stone, for fear of images; to flee the heathen idolatries utterly, and to destroy their idols, and cut down their groves where they worshipped; and that they should not take the daughters of them unto their sons, nor give their daughters to the sons of them: and that whosoever moved any of them to worship false gods, howsoever nigh of kin he were, they must accuse him, and bring him to death; yea, and wheresoever they heard of man, woman, or city that worshipped false gods, they must[2] slay them, and destroy the city for ever, and not build it again; and all because they should worship nothing but God, nor put confidence in any thing, save in his word.

A necessary lesson for a good preacher.

God commandeth that we should make no images.

The worshipping of idols or images was abhorred of God.

Yea, and how warneth he to beware of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, necromancy, and all crafts of the devil, and of dreamers, soothsayers, and of miracle-doers to destroy his word, and that they should suffer none such to live. Thou wilt haply say, 'They tell a man the truth.' What then? God will that we care not to know what shall come. He will have us care only to keep his commandments, and to commit all chances unto him. He hath promised to care for us, and to keep us from all evil. All things are in his hand; he can remedy all things; and will, for his truth's sake, if we pray him. In his promises only will he have us trust, and there rest, and to seek no farther.

Witchcraft, sorcery, &c. abhorred of God.

[2 So Pent. of 1534. Day has *should*.]

Moses often rehearseth the benefits of almighty God, to move us to fear him, and to love our neighbour.

How also doth he provoke them to love; ever rehearsing the benefits of God done to them already, and the godly promises that were to come! And how goodly laws of love giveth he, to help one another; and that a man should not hate his neighbour in his heart, but love him as himself, Lev. xix. And what a charge giveth he in every place over the poor and needy, over the stranger, friendless and widow! And when he desireth to shew mercy, he rehearseth withal the benefits of God done to them at their need, that they might see a cause, at the least way in God, to shew mercy of very love unto their neighbours at their need.

Also there is no law so simple in appearance throughout all the five books of Moses, but that there is a great reason of the making thereof, if a man search diligently. As that a man is forbid to seeth a kid in his mother's milk, moveth us unto compassion, and to be pitiful. As doth also that a man should not offer the sire, or dam, and the young both in one day. (Lev. xxii.) For it might seem a cruel thing, inasmuch as his mother's milk is, as it were, his blood: wherefore God will not have him sod therein; but will have a man shew courtesy upon the very beasts: as in another place he commandeth that we muzzle not the mouth of[1] the ox that treadeth out the corn, (which manner of threshing is used in hot countries,) and that because we should much rather not grudge[2] to be liberal and kind unto men that do us service. Or haply, God would have no such wanton meat used among his people: for the kid of itself is nourishing, and the goat's milk is restorative; and both together might be too rank, and therefore forbidden; or some other like cause there was.

God will have us to be merciful to our neighbours.

All the ceremonies of the old testament were but preachers of Christ that was to come.

Of the ceremonies, sacrifices, and tabernacle, with all his glory and pomp, understand that they were not permitted only, but also commanded of God; to lead the people in the shadows of Moses and night of the old testament, until the light of Christ and day of the new testament were come: as children are led in the fantasies of youth, until the discretion of man's age be come upon them. And all was done to keep them from idolatry.

The tabernacle was ordained to the intent they might

[1 So Pent. of 1534. D. wants, *the mouth of.*]

[2 Pent. of 1534, has *not grudge*, which D. wants.]

have a place appointed them to do their sacrifices openly in the sight of the people, and namely, of the priests which waited thereon; that it might be seen that they did all things according to God's word, and not after the idolatry of their own imagination. And the costliness of the tabernacle, and the beauty also pertained thereunto, that they should see nothing so beautiful among the heathen, but that they should see more beautiful and wonderful at home; because they should not be moved to follow them.

The beauty of the tabernacle was to keep the Jews from hearkening to the heathen.

And in like manner, the divers fashions of sacrifices and ceremonies was to occupy their minds, that they should have no lust to follow the heathen; and the multitude of them was, that they should have so much to do in keeping them, that they should have no leisure to imagine other of their own: yea, and that God's word might be thereby in all that they did, that they might have their faith and trust in God, which he cannot have that followeth either his own inventions, or traditions of men's making, without God's word.

Finally: God hath two testaments, the old and the new. The old testament is those temporal promises which God made the children of Israel, of a good land, and that he would defend them, and of wealth and prosperity, and of temporal blessings, of which thou readest over all the law of Moses, but namely Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii., and the avoiding of all threatenings and curses, of which thou readest likewise every where, but specially in the two books above rehearsed, and the avoiding of all punishment ordained for the transgressors of the law.

God had two testaments, that is, the old and the new.

And the old testament was built altogether upon the keeping of the law and ceremonies; and was the reward of keeping of them in this life only, and reached no farther than this life and this world: as thou readest, Lev. xviii. "A man that doth them shall live therein;" which text Paul rehearseth, Rom. x. and Gal. iii.: that is, he that keepeth them shall have this life glorious, according to all the promises and blessings of the law, and shall avoid both all temporal punishment of the law, with all the threatenings and cursings also. For neither the law, even of the ten commandments, nor yet the ceremonies, justified in the heart before God, or purified unto the life to come: insomuch that Moses at his death, even forty years after the law and ceremonies were given,

The old testament was built upon the observation of the law.

The law could not give life.

complaineth, saying, "God hath not given you an heart to understand, nor eyes to see, nor ears to hear unto this day." As who should say, God hath given you ceremonies, but ye know not the use of them; and hath given you a law, but hath not written it in your hearts.

Wherefore serveth the law then, if it giveth us no power to do the law? Paul answereth them, that it was given to utter sin only, and to make it appear: as a corrosive is laid unto an old sore, not to heal it, but to stir it up, and make the disease alive; that a man might feel in what jeopardy he is, and how nigh death, and not aware; and to make a way unto the healing plaister.

The law is the utterer of sin.

Even so saith Paul, Gal. iii. "The law was given because of transgression," (that is, to make the sin alive, that it might be felt and seen,) "until the seed came unto whom it was promised:" that is to say, until the children of faith came, or until Christ, that Seed in whom God promised Abraham that all nations of the world should be blessed, came.

The law was given by God to shew what sin was.

That is, the law was given to utter sin, death, damnation, and curse, and to drive us[1] unto Christ, in whom forgiveness, life, justifying, and blessings were promised; that we might see so great love of God to us-ward in Christ, that we, henceforth overcome with kindness, might love again, and of love keep the commandments.

Ceremonies are not given to justify the heart, but to signify our justification by Christ.

Now[2] he that goeth about to quiet his conscience and to justify himself with the law, doth but heal his wounds with fretting corrosives. And he that goeth about to purchase grace with ceremonies, doth but suck the ale-pole to quench his thirst; inasmuch as the ceremonies were not given to justify the heart, but to signify the justifying and forgiveness that is in Christ's blood.

Ceremonies cannot justify.

Of the ceremonies, that they justify not, thou readest Heb. x. "It is impossible that sin should be done away with the blood of oxen and goats." And of the law thou readest, Gal. iii. "If there had been a law given that could have quickened," or given life, "then had righteousness," or justifying, "come by the law indeed." Now the law not only quickeneth not the heart, but also woundeth it with conscience of sin, and ministereth death and damnation unto her, 2 Cor. iii.:

[1 So Day. The Pent. of 1534, wants *us*.]
[2 Pent. of 1534, has *so now*.]

so that she must needs die and be damned, except she find other remedy. So far it is off that she is justified, or holpen by the law.

The new testament is those everlasting promises which are made us in Christ the Lord throughout all the scripture. And that testament is built on faith, and not in works. For it is not said of that testament, He that worketh shall live; but, "he that believeth shall live:" as thou readest, John iii. "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that none which believe in him should perish, but have life everlasting."

The new testament is the everlasting promises made to us in Christ.

Faith only justifieth.

And when this testament is preached and believed, the Spirit entereth the heart, and quickeneth it, and giveth her life, and justifieth her. The Spirit also maketh the law a lively thing in the heart; so that a man bringeth forth good works of his own accord, without compulsion of the law, without fear of threatenings or cursings, yea, and without all manner respect or love unto any temporal pleasure, but of the very power of the Spirit, received through faith, as thou readest, John i. "He gave them power to be the sons of God, in that they believed on his name."

Good works spring out of the love we have to God.

And of that power they work; so that he which hath the Spirit of Christ is now no more a child: he neither learneth nor worketh now any longer for pain of the rod, or for fear of bugs[3] or pleasure of apples, but doth all things of his own corage[4]; as Christ saith, John vii. "He that believeth on me shall have rivers of living waters flowing out of his belly:" that is, all good works and all gifts of grace spring out of him naturally, and by their own accord. Thou needest not to wrest good works out of him, as a man would wring verjuice out of crabs: nay, they flow naturally out of him, as springs out of rocks.

Where true faith is, there good works do flow and abound.

The new testament was ever, even from the beginning of the world. For there were always promises of Christ to come, by faith in which promises the elect were then justified inwardly before God, as outwardly before the world by keeping of the law and ceremonies.

The new testament was from the beginning.

And in conclusion, as thou seest blessings or cursings fol-

[3 Bugs are objects of childish or superstitious terror.]

[4 In Day, courage. Corage is from the low Latin *coragium*, the heart and its affections.]

low the keeping or breaking of the law of Moses; even so, naturally, do the blessings or cursings follow the keeping or breaking of the law of nature, out of which spring all our temporal laws. So that, when the people keep the temporal laws of their land, temporal prosperity, and all manner of such temporal blessings as thou readest of in Moses, do accompany them, and fall upon them. And, contrariwise, when they sin unpunished, and when the rulers have no respect unto natural[1] equity or honesty; then God sendeth his curses among them, as hunger, dearth, murrain, baning[2], pestilence, war, oppression, with strange and wonderful diseases, and new kinds of misfortune and evil luck.

Our temporal laws spring out of the law of nature.

If any man ask me, seeing that faith justifieth me, 'Why I work?' I answer, 'Love compelleth me.' For as long as my soul feeleth what love God hath shewed me in Christ, I cannot but love God again, and his will and commandments, and of love work them, nor can they seem hard unto me. I think not myself better for my working, nor seek heaven, nor an higher place in heaven, because of it. For a Christian worketh to make his weak brother perfecter, and not to seek an higher place in heaven. I compare not myself unto him that worketh not. No, he that worketh not to-day, shall have grace to turn and to work to-morrow; and in the mean season I pity him, and pray for him. If I had wrought the will of God these thousand years, and another had wrought the will of the devil as long, and this day turn and be as well willing to suffer with Christ as I, he hath this day overtaken me, and is as far come as I, and shall have as much reward as I: and I envy him not, but rejoice most of all, as of lost treasure found. For if I be of God, I have these thousand years suffered to win him, for to come and praise the name of God with me. These thousand years I have prayed, sorrowed, longed, sighed, and sought for that which I have this day found; and therefore rejoice with all my might, and praise God for his grace and mercy.

Love counselleth the faithful to work.

We must not presume in our well-doing, nor condemn others that run astray; the last, which turneth to God is as far forward as the first.

[1 So Pent. of 1534. D. wants *natural*.]

[2 Pent. of 1534, banynge. Day, bannyng. The word is closely connected with bane.]

A TABLE,

EXPOUNDING CERTAIN WORDS OF THE SECOND BOOK OF MOSES.

ALBE. A long garment of white linen.

ARK. A coffer, or chest, as our shrines, save it was flat; and the sample of our shrines was taken thereof.

BOOTH. An house made of boughs.

BRESTLAP, or brestflap, is such a flap as thou seest in the breast of a cope.

CONSECRATE. To appoint a thing to holy uses.

DEDICATE. Purify or sanctify.

EPHOD, is a garment somewhat like an amice; save the arms came through and it was girded to. (Chap. xxv.)

GEERAS[3]. In weight as it were an English halfpenny, or somewhat more.

HEAVE-OFFERINGS. Because they were hoven up before the Lord.

HOUSE. He made them houses; that is, he made a kindred, or a multitude of people to spring out of them; as we say the house of David, for the kindred of David.

PEACE-OFFERING. Offering of thanksgiving of devotion, and not for conscience of sin and trespass.

POLLUTE. Defile.

RECONCILE. To make at one, and to bring in grace or favour.

SANCTIFY. To cleanse and purify; to appoint a thing unto holy uses, and to separate from unclean and unholy uses.

SANCTUARY. A place hallowed and dedicate unto God.

SHEWBREAD. Because it was always in the sight and presence of the Lord. (chap. xxv.) Exod. xxv.

TABERNACLE. A house made tentwise, or as a pavilion.

[3 Geeras. גֵּרָה. According to bishop Cumberland, it would weigh very nearly eleven grains, Troy weight. Arbuthnot's Tables of Ancient Coins, ch. v. p. 37, Lond. ed. 1727. It was a small silver piece of money, of the value of three-halfpence. Robertson's Clavis Pentat. No. 2710.]

TUNICLE. Much like the uppermost garment of the deacon.

WAIVE-OFFERING. Because they were waiven in the priest's hands to divers quarters.

WORSHIP. By worshipping, whether it be in the old Testament or new, understand the bowing of a man's self upon the ground: as we ofttimes, as we kneel in our prayers, bow ourselves, and lie on our arms and hands, with our face to the ground.

*[1]Of this word, I WILL BE, cometh the name of God, Jehovah, which we interpret Lord; and is as much to say as, I am that I am. (chap. iii.)

That I here call a sheep, in Hebrew is a word indifferent to a sheep and a goat both[2]. (chap. xii.)

The Lamb was called passover, that the very name itself should put them in remembrance what it signified; for the signs that God ordained either signified the benefits done, or promises to come, and were not dumb, as the signs of our dumb god the pope.

JEHOVAH NISSI[3]. The Lord is he that exalteth me. (chap. xvii.)* Exod. xvii.

[1 The passage between asterisks is not in the Pentateuchs of either 1530 or in 1534, but is in Day's folio.]

[2 The word rendered *sheep* by Tyndale, and *lamb* in our authorised version of Exod. xii. is שֶׂה, which first occurs in the question of Isaac to his father, Gen. xxii. 7, and is acknowledged by lexicographers to be a common term for either sheep or goat.]

[3 Jehovah Nissi. יְהוָה נִסִּי. Tyndale's interpretation of נִסִּי differs from the ordinary one, which is *my banner*, and which supposes it to be the substantive נֵס, with the pronominal affix, ִי *my*. Tyndale has gone back to the root נָסַס, *to be*, or *make, conspicuous; to glitter, to raise on high.*]

A PROLOGUE

INTO THE THIRD BOOK OF MOSES CALLED LEVITICUS.

THE ceremonies which are described in the book following were chiefly ordained of God (as I said in the end of the prologue upon Exodus,) to occupy the minds of that people the Israelites, and to keep them from serving of God after the imagination of their own blind zeal and good intent; that their consciences might be stablished, and they sure that they pleased God therein; which were impossible, if a man did of his own head that which was not commanded of God, nor depended of any appointment made between him and God. Such ceremonies were unto them as an ABC, to learn to spell and read; and as a nurse, to feed them with milk and pap, and to speak unto them after their own capacity, and to lisp the words unto them, according as the babes and children of that age might sound them again. For all that were before Christ were in the infancy and childhood of the world, and saw that sun, which we see openly, but through a cloud, and had but feeble and weak imaginations of Christ, as children have of men's deeds, a few prophets except, which yet described him unto others in sacrifices and ceremonies, likenesses, riddles, proverbs, and dark and strange speaking, until the full age were come, that God would shew him openly unto the whole world, and deliver them from their shadows and cloud-light, and the heathen out of their dead sleep of stark blind ignorance. And as the shadow vanisheth away at the coming of the light, even so do the ceremonies and sacrifices at the coming of Christ; and are henceforth no more necessary than a token left in remembrance of a bargain is necessary when the bargain is fulfilled. And though they seem plain childish, yet they be not altogether fruitless; as the puppets and twenty manner of trifles, which mothers permit unto their young children, be not all in vain. For albeit that such fantasies be permitted to satisfy the children's lusts, yet in that they are the

Man's wisdom is plain idolatry, it scattereth, divideth, and maketh sects.

Ceremonies to the Israelites and Jews were as good schoolmasters are to young scholars.

All things were first revealed in ceremonies and shadows, until it pleased Almighty God to reveal his Son Jesus Christ.

Small and little gifts, given by the

parents to their children, cause love and obedience.

mother's gift, and be done in place and time at her commandment, they keep the children in awe, and make them know the mother, and also make them more apt against a more stronger age to obey in things of greater earnest.

Sacrifices and ceremonies serve for allegories to find out Christ.

And moreover, though sacrifices and ceremonies can be no ground or foundation to build upon; that is, though we can prove nought with them, yet when we have once found out Christ and his mysteries, then we may borrow figures,

Similitudes prove nothing, but do more plainly lead thee to understand the text.

that is to say allegories, similitudes, or examples, to open Christ, and the secrets of God hid in Christ, even unto the quick, and to declare them more lively and sensibly with them than with all the words in the world. For similitudes have more virtue and power with them than bare words, and lead a man's wits farther into the pith and marrow and spiritual understanding of the thing, than all the words that can be imagined. And though also that all the ceremonies and sacrifices have, as it were, a star-light of Christ, yet some

Some ceremonies contain wholesome and profitable doctrine.

there be that have, as it were, the light of the broad day, a little before the sun-rising; and express him, and the circumstances and virtue of his death so plainly, as if we should play his passion on a scaffold, or in a stage-play, openly before the eyes of the people; as the scape-goat, the brasen serpent, the ox burnt without the host, the passover lamb, &c.:

Ceremonies ordained to confirm our faith.

insomuch that I am fully persuaded, and cannot but believe, that God had shewed Moses the secrets of Christ, and the very manner of his death beforehand, and commanded him to ordain them for the confirmation of our faith, which are now in the clear day-light. And I believe also that the prophets, which followed Moses to confirm his prophecies, and to maintain his doctrine unto Christ's coming, were moved by

God's secrets were opened but to a few.

such things to search farther of Christ's secrets. And though God would not have the secrets of Christ generally known, save unto a few familiar friends, which in that infancy he made of man's wit to help the other babes; yet as they had a general promise that one of the seed of Abraham should come and bless them, even so they had a general faith that God would by the same man save them, though they wist not by what means: as the very apostles, when it was oft told them, yet they could never comprehend it, till it was fulfilled in deed.

The ceremonies of them-

And beyond all this, their sacrifices and ceremonies, as

far forth as the promises annexed unto them extend, so far forth they saved them and justified them, and stood them in the same stead as our sacraments do us; not by the power of the sacrifice or deed itself, but by the virtue of the faith in the promise, which the sacrifice or ceremony preached, and whereof it was a token or sign. For the ceremonies and sacrifices were left with them, and commanded them, to keep the promise in remembrance, and to wake up their faith: as it is not enough to send many on errands, and to tell them what they shall do; but they must have a remembrance with them, and it be but a ring of a rush about one of their fingers; and as it is not enough to make a bargain with words only, but we must put thereto an oath, and give earnest to confirm the faith of the person with whom it is made; and in like manner if a man promise, whatsoever trifle it be, it is not believed except he hold up his finger also; such is the weakness of the world: and therefore Christ himself used oftentimes divers ceremonies in curing the sick, to stir up their faith withal. As for example: it was not the blood of the lamb that saved them in Egypt, when the angel smote the Egyptians, but the mercy of God and his truth, whereof that blood was a token and remembrance, to stir up their faiths withal. For though God make a promise, yet it saveth none finally but *them that long for it, and pray God* with a strong faith to fulfil it, for his mercy and truth only, and knowledge their unworthiness. And even so our sacraments (if they be truly ministered) preach Christ unto us, and lead our faiths unto Christ; by which faith our sins are done away, and not by the deed or work of the sacrament. For as it was impossible that the blood of calves should put away sin; even so is it impossible that the water of the river should wash our hearts. Nevertheless the sacraments cleanse us, and absolve us of our sins, as the priests do in preaching of repentance and faith, for which cause either other[1] of them were ordained; but if they preach not, whether it be the priest or the sacrament, so profit they not.

selves saved not, but faith in God's promise.

Our nature is so weak, that we must be holpen by outward signs and tokens.

No man is *holpen by God's promises but sinners that feel their sin.*

Sacraments truly ministered are profitable.

Sacraments truly ministered preach unto us repentance of our sins.

And if a man allege Christ, John in the iiird chapter, saying, "Except a man be born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, he cannot see the kingdom of God," and will therefore that the Holy Ghost be present in the water, and there-

[1 Either other; i. e. both the one and the other.]

fore the very deed or work doth put away sin; then I will send him unto Paul, which asketh his Galatians, whether they received the Holy Ghost by the deed of the law, or by preaching of faith; and there concludeth that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entereth the heart and purgeth it: which thou mayest also understand by St Paul saying, "Ye are born anew out of the water through the word." So now if baptism preach me the washing in Christ's blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it; and that deed of preaching through faith doth put away my sins. For the Holy Ghost is no dumb God, nor no God that goeth a mumming. If a man say of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, that it is a sacrifice as well for the dead as for the quick, and therefore the very deed itself justifieth and putteth away sin; I answer, that a sacrifice is the slaying of the body of a beast, or a man: wherefore, if it be a sacrifice, then is Christ's body there slain, and his blood there shed; but that is not so. And therefore it is properly no sacrifice, but a sacrament, and a memorial of that everlasting sacrifice once for all, which he offered upon the cross now upon a fifteen hundred years ago; and preacheth only unto them that are alive. And as for them that be dead, it is as profitable unto them as is a candle in a lanthern without light unto them that walk by the way in dark night; and as the gospel song in Latin is unto them that understand none at all, and as a sermon preached to him that is dead, and heareth it not. It preacheth unto them that are alive only: for they that be dead, if they died in the faith which that sacrament preacheth, they be safe, and are past all jeopardy. For when they were alive, their hearts loved the law of God, and therefore sinned not, and were sorry that their members sinned, and ever moved to sin; and therefore through faith it was forgiven them. And now their sinful members be dead, so that they can now sin no more; wherefore it is unto them that be dead neither sacrament nor sacrifice. But under the pretence of their soul-health, it is a servant unto our spiritualty's holy covetousness; and an extortioner; and a builder of abbeys, colleges, chauntries and cathedral churches, with false-gotten goods; a pickpurse, a poller[1], and a bottomless bag.

Not naked or dumb ceremonies, but the Holy Ghost, throughfaith, washeth away sins.

The difference between a sacrifice and a sacrament.

In what state we die, in the same we shall rise again, either of salvation or damnation.

The sacraments are unto the dead no sacraments at all.

Sacraments abused by the clergy.

[1 Poller; spelt in Day, *polar;* a plunderer.]

Some man would haply say, that the prayers of the mass help much, not the living only, but also the dead. Of the hot fire of their fervent prayer, which consumeth faster than all the world is able to bring sacrifice, I have said sufficiently in other places. Howbeit it is not possible to bring me in belief that the prayer, which helpeth her own master unto no virtue, should purchase me the forgiveness of sins. If I saw that their prayers had obtained them grace to live such a life as God's word did not rebuke, then could I soon be borne in hand that, whatsoever they asked of God, their prayers should not be in vain. But now what good can he wish me in his prayers, that envieth me Christ, the food and the life of my soul? What good can he wish me, whose heart cleaveth asunder for pain, when I am taught to repent of my evil?

The papists have had no small friend and good helper of the mass.

Hypocrites' prayers can neither profit themselves nor any man else.

Those that are enemies to the word of God, love neither God nor his people.

Furthermore, because that few know the use of the old Testament, and the most part think it nothing necessary but to make allegories, which they feign every man after his own brain at all wild adventure, without any certain rule; therefore (though I have spoken of them in another place[2],) yet, lest the book come not to all men's hands that shall read this, I will speak of them here also a word or twain.

We had need to take heed every where that we be not beguiled with false allegories, whether they be drawn out of the new Testament or the old, either out of any other story, or of the creatures of the world, but namely in this book. Here a man had need to put on all his spectacles, and to arm himself against invisible spirits.

Allegories are to be well weighed and considered.

The greatest cause of the decay of faith and blindness that we were in was through allegories.

First, allegories prove nothing; and by allegories understand examples or similitudes borrowed of strange matters, and of another thing than that thou entreatest of. As though circumcision be a figure of baptism, yet thou canst not prove baptism by circumcision. For this argument were very feeble: the Israelites were circumcised, therefore we must be baptized. And in like manner, though the offering of Isaac were a figure or ensample of the resurrection, yet is this argument naught: Abraham would have offered Isaac, but God delivered him from death; therefore we shall rise again; and so forth in all other.

How allegories are to be understood.

But the very use of allegories is to declare and open a

The right use of allegories.

[2 In his treatise, On the Obedience of a Christian Man, p. 303—7.]

text, that it may be the better perceived and understood. As when I have a clear text of Christ and the apostles, that I must be baptized, then I may borrow an example of circumcision to express the nature, power, and fruit, or effect of baptism. For as circumcision was unto them a common badge, signifying that they were all soldiers of God, to war his war, and separating them from all other nations, disobedient unto God: even so baptism is our common badge, and sure earnest and perpetual memorial, that we pertain unto Christ, and are separated from all that are not Christ's. And as circumcision was a token certifying them that they were received unto the favour of God, and their sins forgiven them; even so baptism certifieth us that we are washed in the blood of Christ, and received to favour for his sake: and as circumcision signified unto them the cutting away of their own lusts, and slaying of their free-will, as they call it, to follow the will of God; even so baptism signifieth unto us repentance, and the mortifying of our unruly members and body of sin, to walk in a new life, and so forth.

Baptism is the common badge of all true professors of Christ.

Baptism teacheth us repentance of sin.

And likewise, though that the saving of Noe, and of them that were with him in the ship, through water, is a figure, that is to say an example and likeness, of baptism, as Peter maketh it, (1 Pet. iii.) yet I cannot prove baptism therewith, save describe it only. For as the ship saved them in the water through faith, in that they believed God, and as the other that would not believe Noe perished; even so baptism saveth us through the word of faith which it preacheth, when all the world of the unbelieving perish. And Paul (1 Cor. x.) maketh the sea and the cloud a figure of baptism; by which, and a thousand more, I might declare it, but not prove it. Paul also in the said place maketh the rock, out of which Moses brought water unto the children of Israel, a figure or ensample of Christ; not to prove Christ (for that were impossible,) but to describe Christ only; even as Christ himself (John iii.) borroweth a similitude or figure of the brasen serpent, to lead Nicodemus from his earthly imagination into the spiritual understanding of Christ, saying: "As Moses lifted up a serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that none that believe in him perish, but have everlasting life." By which similitude the virtue of Christ's death is better described than thou couldest

The bare washing helpeth not, but through the word of faith it purifieth us.

How Christ borroweth figures of the old Testament, to make plain the texts of the new Testament.

declare it with a thousand words. For as those murmurers against God, as soon as they repented, were healed of their deadly wounds, through looking on the brasen serpent only, without medicine or any other help, yea, and without any other reason but that God hath said it should be so; and not to murmur again, but to leave their murmuring: even so all that repent, and believe in Christ, are saved from everlasting death, of pure grace, without, and before, their good works; and not to sin again, but to fight against sin, and henceforth to sin no more.

Even so with the ceremonies of this book thou canst prove nothing, save describe and declare only the putting away of our sins through the death of Christ. For Christ is Aaron and Aaron's sons, and all that offer the sacrifice to purge sin. And Christ is all manner offering that is offered: he is the ox, the sheep, the goat, the kid, and lamb; he is the ox that is burnt without the host, and the scape-goat that carried all the sin of the people away into the wilderness: for as they purged the people from their worldly uncleannesses through blood of the sacrifices, even so doth Christ purge us from the uncleannesses of everlasting death with his own blood; and as their worldly sins could no otherwise be purged, than by blood of sacrifices, even so can our sins be no otherwise forgiven than through the blood of Christ. All the deeds in the world, save the blood of Christ, can purchase no forgiveness of sins; for our deeds do but help our neighbour, and mortify the flesh, and help that we sin no more: but and if we have sinned, it must be freely forgiven through the blood of Christ, or remain for ever.

Our duty is to do good deeds, but salvation we cannot challenge thereby.

And in like manner of the lepers thou canst prove nothing: thou canst never conjure out confession thence, howbeit thou hast an handsome example there to open the binding and loosing of our priests with the key of God's word; for as they made no man a leper, even so ours have no power to command any man to be in sin, or to go to purgatory or hell. And therefore (inasmuch as binding and loosing is one power) as those priests healed no man; even so ours cannot of their invisible and dumb power drive any man's sins away, or deliver him from hell or feigned purgatory. Howbeit if they preached God's word purely, which is the authority that Christ gave them, then they should bind and loose, kill and make

A good example taken of the lepers.

The true preaching of God's word doth bind and loose consciences.

alive again, make unclean and clean again, and send to hell and fetch thence again; so mighty is God's word. For if they preached the law of God, they should bind the consciences of sinners with the bonds of the pains of hell, and bring them unto repentance: and then if they preached unto them the mercy that is in Christ, they should loose them and quiet their raging consciences, and certify them of the favour of God, and that their sins be forgiven.

In allegories is both honey and gall; that is to say, both good and evil.

Finally, beware of allegories; for there is not a more handsome or apt thing to beguile withal than an allegory; nor a more subtle and pestilent thing in the world to persuade a false matter, than an allegory. And contrariwise; there is not a better, vehementer, or mightier thing to make a man understand withal, than an allegory. For allegories make a man quick-witted, and print wisdom in him, and make it to abide, where bare words go but in at the one ear, and out at the other. As this, with such like sayings: 'Put salt to all your sacrifices,' instead of this sentence, 'Do all your deeds with discretion,' greeteth[1] and biteth (if it be understood) more than plain words. And when I say, instead of these words, 'Boast not yourself of your good deeds,' 'Eat not the blood nor the fat of your sacrifice;' there is as great difference between them as there is distance between heaven and earth. For the life and beauty of all good deeds is of God, and we are but the carrion-lean; we are only the instrument whereby God worketh only, but the power is his: as God created Paul anew, poured his wisdom into him, gave him might, and promised him that his grace should never fail him, &c., and all without deservings, except that murdering the saints, and making them curse and rail on Christ, be meritorious. Now, as it is death to eat the blood or fat of any sacrifice, is it not (think ye) damnable to rob God of his honour, and to glorify myself with his honour?

All good deeds are God's workmanship, and we his instruments whereby he doth them.

[1 So Day. The word intended by Tyndale was probably *grideth*; used by Spenser for *pierceth*.]

THE PROLOGUE

INTO THE FOURTH BOOK OF MOSES CALLED NUMERI.

In the second and third book they received the law; and in this fourth they begin to work and to practise. Of which practising ye see many good ensamples of unbelief, and what free-will doth, when she taketh in hand to keep the law of her own power, without help of faith in the promises of God; how she leaveth her masters' carcases by the way in the wilderness, and bringeth them not into the land of rest. "Why could they not enter in? Because of their unbelief." (Heb. iii.) For had they believed, so had they been under grace, and their old sins had been forgiven them; and power should have been given them to have fulfilled the law thenceforth, and they should have been kept from all temptations that had been too strong for them. For it is written, (John i.) "He gave them power to be the sons of God, through believing in his name." Now to be the son of God is to love God and his commandments, and to walk in his way, after the ensample of his Son Christ. But these people took upon them to work without faith, as thou seest in the xivth of this book, where they would fight, and also did, without the word of promise; even when they were warned that they should not. And in the xvith again, they would please God with their holy, faithless works, (for where God's word is not, there can be no faith;) but the fire of God consumed their holy works, as it did Nadab and Abihu. (Levit. x.) And from these unbelievers turn thine eyes unto the Pharisees, which, before the coming of Christ in his flesh, had laid the foundation of free-will after the same ensample: whereon they built holy works after their own imagination, without faith of the word, so fervently that for the great zeal of them they slew the king of all holy works, and the lord of free-will; which only through his grace maketh the will free, and looseth her from bondage of sin, and giveth her love and lust unto the laws of God, and power to fulfil them. And so through their holy

Free-will and unbelief were the overthrow of our forefathers.

Then cannot they be the children of God, which put more trust in their own works than in the blood of Jesus Christ.

Faithless works.

The Pharisees by their

free-will excluded themselves from the salvation in Christ.

works done by the power of free-will, they excluded themselves out of the holy rest of forgiveness of sins by faith in the blood of Christ.

And then look on our hypocrites, which in like manner, following the doctrine of Aristotle, and other heathen pagans, have against all the scripture set up free-will again; unto whose power they ascribe the keeping of the commandments of God. For they have set up wilful poverty of another manner than any is commanded of God: and, the chastity of matrimony utterly defied, they have set up another wilful chastity not required of God, which they swear, vow, and profess to give God, whether he will give it them or no; and compel all their disciples thereunto, saying that it is in the power of every man's free-will to observe it, contrary to Christ and his apostle Paul.

Blasphemy to Christ's death.

And, the obedience of God and man excluded, they have vowed another wilful obedience[1], condemned of all the scripture; which they will yet give God, whether he will or will not.

O subtle foxes! through poverty made themselves lords of all.

And what is become of their wilful poverty? hath it not robbed the whole world, and brought all under them? Can there be either king, or emperor, or of whatsoever degree it be, except he will hold of them, and be sworn unto them to be their servant, to go and come at their lust, and to defend their quarrels, be they false or true? Their wilful poverty hath already eaten up the whole world, and is yet still greedier than ever it was, insomuch that ten worlds more were not enough to satisfy the hunger thereof.

Wilful chastity is wilful wickedness.

Moreover, besides daily corrupting of other men's wives and open whoredom, unto what abominations, too filthy to be spoken of, hath their voluntary chastity brought them!

The papists wilful obedience is common disobedience to all princes.

And as for their wilful obedience, what is it but the disobedience and the defiance both of all the laws of God and man; insomuch that if any prince begin to execute any law of man upon them, they curse him unto the bottom of hell, and proclaim him no right king, and that his lords ought no longer to obey him; and interdict his common people, as they were heathen Turks or Saracens? And if any man preach

[1 He means the vow of obedience to their monastic superior, made by those who joined any monastic order; and the oath of obedience to the pope, taken by the ecclesiastics.]

them God's law, him they make an heretic and burn him to ashes. And instead of God's law and man's, they have set up one of their own imagination, which they observe with dispensations.

And yet in these works they have so great confidence, that they not only trust to be saved thereby, and to be higher in heaven than they that be saved through Christ, but also promise to all other forgiveness of their sins through the merits of the same; wherein they rest, and teach other to rest also, excluding the whole world from the rest of forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ's blood.

Our righteousness cometh not by our merits, but through faith, by the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

And now, seeing that faith only letteth a man in unto rest, and unbelief excludeth him, what is the cause of this unbelief? Verily, no sin that the world seeth, but a pope-holiness, and a righteousness of their own imagination. As Paul saith, Rom. x. they be ignorant of the righteousness wherewith God justifieth, and have set up a righteousness of their own making, through which they be disobedient unto the righteousness of God. And Christ rebuketh not the Pharisees for gross sins which the world saw, but for those holy deeds which so bleared the eyes of the world, that they were taken as gods; even for long prayers, for fasting, for tithing so diligently that they left not so much as their herbs untithed, for their cleanness in washing before meat, and for washing of cups, dishes, and all manner vessels, for building the prophets' sepulchres, and for keeping the holy day, and for turning the heathen unto the faith, and for giving of alms. For unto such holy deeds they ascribed righteousness, and therefore when the righteousness of God was preached unto them they could not but persecute it, the devil was so strong in them: which thing Christ well describeth, (Luke xi.) saying, "That after the devil is cast out, he cometh again, and findeth his house swept, and made gay, and then taketh seven worse than himself and dwelleth therein; and so is the end of that man worse than the beginning." That is, when they be a little cleansed from gross sins which the world seeth, and then made gay in their own sight with the righteousness of traditions, then cometh seven, that is to say, the whole power of the devil: for seven with the Hebrews signifieth a multitude without number, and the extremity of a thing, and is a speech borrowed (I suppose) out of Leviticus, where is so oft

Faith only bringeth us to Christ, and unbelief bringeth us from Christ.

Christ rebuked the Pharisees for their holy and hypocritical deeds.

The Pharisees ascribe righteousness to works, and therefore were condemned of Christ.

The justifying of ourselves maketh the devil more busy than he would be.

mention made of seven. Where I would say, I will punish thee, that all the world shall take an ensample of thee; there the Jew would say, "I will circumcise thee or baptize thee seven times." And so here by seven is meant all the devils of hell, and all the might and power of the devil. For unto what further blindness could all the devils in hell bring them, than to make them believe that they were justified through their own good works? For when they once believed that they were purged from their sins, and made righteous through their own holy works, what room was there left for the righteousness that is in Christ's blood-shedding? And therefore when they be fallen into this blindness, they cannot but hate and persecute the light. And the more clear and evidently their deeds be rebuked, the furiouser and maliciouser blind are they, until they break out into open blasphemy and sinning against the Holy Ghost, which is the malicious persecuting of the clear truth, so manifestly proved that they cannot once hish[1] against it: as the Pharisees persecuted Christ, because he rebuked their holy deeds; and when he proved his doctrine with the scripture and miracles, yet though they could not improve him, nor reason against him, they taught that the scripture must have some other meaning, because his interpretation undermined their foundation, and plucked up by the roots the sects which they had planted; and they ascribed also his miracles to the devil. And in like manner, though our hypocrites cannot deny but this is the scripture, yet because there can be no other sense gathered thereof, but that overthroweth their buildings, therefore they ever think that it hath some other meaning than as the words sound; and that no man understandeth it, or understood it since the time of the apostles. Or if they think that some that wrote upon it, since the apostles, understood it, they yet think that we, in like manner as we understand not the text itself, so we understand not the meaning of the words of that doctor. For when thou layest the justifying of holy works, and deniest the justifying of faith, how canst thou understand St Paul, Peter, John, and the Acts of the apostles, or any scripture at all, seeing the justifying of faith is almost all that they intend to prove?

What is meant in the scripture by this word seven times.

Merit-mongers, the more their blindness is rebuked, the more they rebel against Christ and his gospel.

The doctrine of the Pharisees, and the doctrine of our papists do well agree.

The papists cannot away with justification by faith.

Of vows.

Finally, concerning vows, whereof thou readest in the

[1 To hish, is to make an insulting objection.]

xxxth chapter, there may be many questions, whereunto I answer shortly, that we ought to put salt to all our offerings; that is, we ought to minister knowledge in all our works, and to do nothing whereof we could not give a reason out of God's words. We be now in the day-light, and all the secrets of God, and all his counsel and will is opened unto us; and he that was promised should come and bless us, is come already, and hath shed his blood for us, and hath blessed us with all manner blessings, and hath obtained all grace for us, and in him we have all. Wherefore God henceforth will receive no more sacrifices of beasts of us, as thou readest, Heb. x. If thou burn unto God the blood or fat of beasts, to obtain forgiveness of sins thereby, or that God should the better hear thy request, then thou dost wrong unto the blood of Christ, and Christ unto thee is dead in vain. For in him God hath promised not forgiveness of sins only, but also whatsoever we ask to keep us from sin and temptation withal. And what if thou burn frankincense unto him, what if thou burn a candle, what if thou burn thy chastity or virginity unto him for the same purpose, dost thou not like rebuke unto Christ's blood? Moreover, if thou offer gold, silver, or any other good for the same intent, is there any difference? And even so, if thou go in pilgrimage, or fastest, or goest woolward, or sprinklest thyself with holy water, or else whatsoever deed it is, or observest whatsoever ceremony it be, for like meaning, then it is like abomination. We must therefore bring the salt of the knowledge of God's word with all our sacrifices, or else we shall make no sweet savour unto God thereof.

God accepteth for us none other sacrifice but only Jesus Christ his Son.

All holiness in our own imagination is a robbing of Christ's honour.

Thou wilt ask me, Shall I vow nothing at all? Yes, God's commandment, which thou hast vowed in thy baptism. For what intent? Verily, for the love of Christ which hath bought thee with his blood, and made thee son and heir of God with him, that thou shouldest wait on his will and commandments, and purify thy members according to the same doctrine that hath purified thine heart: for if the knowledge of God's word hath not purified thine heart, so that thou consentest unto the law of God that it is righteous and good, and sorrowest that thy members move thee unto the contrary, so hast thou no part with Christ. For if thou repent not of thy sin, so it is impossible that thou shouldest believe that Christ had delivered thee from the danger thereof. If thou believe not

Faith followeth repentance of sin.

that Christ hath delivered thee, so is it impossible that thou shouldest love God's commandments. If thou love not the commandments, so is Christ's Spirit not in thee, which is the earnest of forgiveness of sin and of salvation.

Repentance goeth before faith, and prepareth the way unto Christ.

For scripture teacheth, first repentance, then faith in Christ, that for his sake sin is forgiven to them that repent; then good works, which are nothing save the commandment of God only. And the commandments are nothing else save the helping of our neighbours at their need, and the taming of our members, that they might be pure also, as the heart is pure through hate of vice and love of virtue, as God's word teacheth us: which works must proceed out of the faith; that is, I must do them for the love which I have to God for that great mercy which he hath shewed me in Christ, or else I do them not in the sight of God. And that I faint not in the pain of the slaying of the sin that is in my flesh, mine help is the promise of the assistance of the power of God, and the comfort of the reward to come; which reward I ascribe unto the goodness, mercy, and truth, of the promiser that hath chosen me, called me, taught me, and given me the earnest thereof; and not unto the merits of my doings or sufferings: for all that I do and suffer is but the way to the reward, and not the deserving thereof. As if the king's grace should promise me to defend me at home in mine own realm[1], yet the way thither is through the sea, wherein I might haply suffer no little trouble. And yet for all that, if I might live in rest when I come thither, I would think, and so would others say, that my pains were well rewarded; which reward and benefit I would not proudly ascribe unto the merits of my pains taken by the way, but unto the goodness, mercifulness, and constant truth of the king's grace whose gift it is, and to whom the praise and thanks thereof belongeth of duty and right. So now a reward is a gift, given freely of the goodness of the giver, and not of the deservings of the receiver. Thus it appeareth, that if I vow, whatsoever it be, for any other purpose than to tame my members, and to be an ensample of virtue and edifying unto my neighbour, my sacrifice is unsavoury, and clean without salt, and my lamp without oil, and

How our works are good in the sight of God.

The work saveth not, but the word, that is to say, the promise.

An apt similitude for reward of good works.

All vows must be made for the mortifying or taming of our members, or the edifying of our neighbours, or else they are wicked.

[1 He means the kingdom of England, in which he was born, and to which he could not return because of the men who sought his life.]

I one of the foolish virgins, and shall be shut out from the feast of the bridegroom, when I think myself most sure to enter in.

If I vow voluntary poverty, this must be my purpose, that I will be content with a competent living, which cometh unto me either by succession of mine elders, or which I get truly with my labour in ministering, and doing service unto the commonwealth, in one office or in another, or in one occupation or other, because that riches and honour shall not corrupt my mind, and draw mine heart from God; and to give an example of virtue and edifying unto other; and that my neighbour may have a living by me as well as I. If I make a cloak of dissimulation of my vow, laying a net of feigned beggary to catch superfluous abundance of riches, and high degree and authority, and through the estimation of false holiness to feed and maintain my slothful idleness with the sweat, labour, lands, and rents of other men, after the example of our spiritualty, robbing them of their faiths, and God of his honour; turning unto mine hypocrisy that confidence which should be given unto the promises of God only; am I not a wily fox, and a ravening wolf in a lamb's skin, and a painted sepulchre fair without and filthy within? In like manner, though I seek no worldly promotion thereby, yet if I do it to be justified therewith, and to get an higher place in heaven; thinking that I do it of my own natural strength, and of the natural power of my free-will, and that every man hath might even so to do, and that they do it not is their fault and negligence, and so, with the proud Pharisee, in comparison of myself despise the sinful publicans; what other thing do I than eat the blood and fat of my sacrifice, devouring that myself which should be offered unto God alone and his Christ? And shortly, whatsoever a man doth of his natural gifts, of his natural wit, wisdom, understanding, reason, will, and good intent, before he be otherwise and clean contrary taught of God's Spirit, and have received other wit, understanding, reason and will, is flesh, worldly, and wrought in abominable blindness; with which a man can but seek himself, his own profit, glory and honour, even in very spiritual matters. As if I were alone in a wilderness, where no man were to seek profit or praise of, yet, if I would seek heaven of God there, I could, of mine own natural gifts, seek it no other ways than for the merits and deservings of my good works, and to enter

How we ought to vow wilful poverty.

Whether fished the pope's prelates with this net or no?

Our works do not stand in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God.

therein by another way than by the door Christ, which were very theft; for Christ is Lord over all, and whatsoever any man will have of God, he must have it given him freely for Christ's sake. Now to have heaven for mine own deserving, is mine own praise, and not Christ's. For I cannot have it by favour and grace in Christ, and by mine own merits also; for free giving and deserving cannot stand together.

Desert and free gift are contraries.

If thou wilt vow of thy goods unto God, thou must put salt unto this sacrifice; that is, thou must minister knowledge in this deed, as Peter teacheth, 2 Pet. i. Thou must put oil of God's word in thy lamp, and do it according to knowledge, if thou wait for the coming of the bridegroom to enter in with him into his rest. But thou peradventure[1] wilt hang it about the image, to move men to devotion. Devotion is a fervent love unto God's commandments, and a desire to be with God and with his everlasting promises. Now shall the sight of such riches as are shewed at St Thomas's shrine, or at Walsingham[2], move a man to love the commandments of God better, and to desire to be loosed from his flesh and to be with God; or shall it not rather make his poor heart sigh, because he hath no such at home, and to wish part of it in another place? The priest shall have it in God's stead. Shall the priest have it? If the priest be bought with Christ's blood, then he is Christ's servant, and not his own; and ought therefore to feed Christ's flock with Christ's doctrine, and to minister Christ's sacraments unto them purely, for very love, and not for filthy lucre's sake, or to be lord over them, as Peter teacheth, 1 Pet. v., and Paul, Acts xx. Beside this, Christ is ours, and is a gift given us; and we be heirs of

2 Pet. i.

The sight of riches is rather a cause of covetousness than a mean to honour God.

1 Pet. v. Acts xx.

[1 *But* and *peradventure*, are wanting in Pent. of 1534; but are found in Day.]

[2 By St Thomas he means Thomas a Becket, and by *his shrine*, that in Christ's Church, Canterbury; in which cathedral the three chief altars were those of Christ, of the Virgin, and of Becket. At the last of these, according to bishop Burnet, there was offered in one year £954. 6*s*. 3*d*. when but £4. 1*s*. 8*d*. was offered at the Virgin's altar, and nothing at Christ's. Hist. of Reform. B. III. Vol. I. p. 244, 1st edit. The shrine at Walsingham was that of the Virgin Mary, called Our Lady of Walsingham. Tyndale's contemporary, Erasmus, has given an imaginary narrative of a pilgrim's visit to both these shrines. See Desid. Erasmi Colloquia. Peregrinatio religionis ergo. Lugduni Batav. 1655. pp. 368, and 387.]

Christ, and of all that is Christ's. Wherefore the priest's doctrine is ours, and we heirs of it; it is the food of our souls. Therefore if he minister it not truly and freely unto us, without selling, he is a thief and a soul-murderer: and even so is he, if he take upon him to feed us, and have not wherewith. And for a like conclusion, because we also with all that we have be Christ's, therefore is the priest heir with us also of all that we have received of God; whereof inasmuch as the priest waiteth on the word of God, and is our servant therein, therefore of right we are his debtors, and owe him a sufficient living of our goods, and even thereto a wife of our daughters owe we unto him, if he require her. And now when we have appointed him a sufficient living, whether in tithes, rents, or in yearly wages, he ought to be content and to require no more, nor yet to receive any more; but to be an ensample of soberness and of despising worldly things, unto the ensample of his parishioners.

Whether did the papists so, or no?

Yet the spiritualty's pillage was more than their standing stipend.

Wilt thou vow to offer unto the poor people? That is pleasant in the sight of God, for they be left here to do our alms upon, in Christ's stead; and they be the right heirs of all our abundance and overplus. Moreover we must have a school to teach God's word in (though it needeth not to be so costly); and therefore it is lawful to vow unto the building or maintenance thereof, and unto the helping of all good works. And we ought to vow to pay custom, toll, rent, and all manner duties, and whatsoever we owe; for that is God's commandment.

A good vow is to keep God's commandments.

If thou wilt vow pilgrimage, thou must put salt thereto in like manner, if it shall be accepted: if thou vow to go and visit the poor, or to hear God's word, or whatsoever edifieth thy soul unto love, and good works after knowledge, or whatsoever God commandeth, it is well done, and a sacrifice that savoureth well. Ye will haply say, that ye will go to this or that place, because God hath chosen one place more than another, and will hear your petition more in one place than another. As for your prayer, it must be according to God's word: ye may not desire God to take vengeance on him whom God's word teacheth you to pity and to pray for. And as for the other gloss, that God will hear you more in one place than in another, I suppose it *sal infatuatum*, salt unsavoury; for if it were wisdom, how could we excuse the

How thou mayest lawfully go on pilgrimage.

God heareth all that call upon him in all times and at all places alike.

Acts vii. death of Stephen, Acts vii. which died for that article, that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands? We that believe in God are the temple of God, saith Paul. If a man love God, and keep his word, he is the temple of God, and hath God presently dwelling in him: as witnesseth Christ John xiv. xv. John xivth, saying, "If a man love me, he will keep my word, and then my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and dwell with him." And in the xvth he saith, "If ye abide in me, and my words also abide in you, then ask what ye will, and ye shall have it." If thou believe in Christ, and hast the promises which God hath made thee in thine heart, then go on pilgrimage unto thine own heart, and there pray, and God will hear thee for his mercy and truth's sake, and for his Son Christ's sake, and not for a few stones' sake. What careth God for the temple? The very beasts, in that they have life in them, be much better than an heap of stones couched together.

God dwelleth not in temples made with man's hands.

God regardeth the heart, and not the place where we pray.

To speak of chastity: it is a gift not given unto all persons, as testifieth both Christ and also his apostle Paul; wherefore all persons may not vow it. Moreover there be causes wherefore many persons may better live chaste at one time than at another. Many may live chaste at twenty and thirty, for certain cold diseases following them, which at forty, when their health is come, cannot do so. Many be occupied with wild fantasies in their youth, that they care not for marriage, which same, when they be waxen sad, shall be greatly desirous. It is a dangerous thing to make sin where none is; and to forswear the benefit of God and to bind thyself under pain of damnation of thy soul, that thou wouldest not use the remedy that God hath created, if need required.

Wilful chastity is not meet for all persons to vow.

Another thing is this: beware that thou get thee not a false feigned chastity, made with the ungodly persuasions of St Jerome[1], or of Ovid in his filthy book of the remedy against

False feigned chastity.

[1 Even Erasmus himself, too palpably addicted to the use of indecent jests, has said of Jerome's disquisitions on this topic, 'In his depingendis paulo liberius lusit, quam delicatæ quorundam aures ferre possent:' and this remark of Erasmus is prefixed to his edition of an epistle of Jerome, which fully justifies Tyndale's graver rebuke. See also Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. liter. art. Hieronymus Stridonensis.]

love; lest, when through such imaginations thou hast utterly despised, defied and abhorred all womankind, thou come into such case through the fierce wrath of God, that thou canst neither live chaste, nor find in thy heart to marry, and so be compelled to fall into the abomination of the pope, against nature and kind.

The pope restrained that which God permitted, and setteth at liberty that which God forbiddeth.

Moreover, God is a wise father, and knoweth all the infirmities of his children, and also merciful; and therefore hath created a remedy without sin, and given thereto his favour and blessing. Let us not be wiser than God with our imaginations, nor tempt him; for as godly chastity is not every man's gift, even so he that hath it to-day hath not power to continue it at his own pleasure, neither hath God promised to give it him still, and to cure his infirmities without his natural remedy; no more than he hath promised to slake his hunger without meat, or thirst without drink. Wherefore either let all things bide free as wise[2] God hath created them, and neither vow that which God [requireth not, nor forswear that which God[3]] permitteth thee with his favour and blessing also: or else, if thou wilt needs vow, then vow godly and under a condition, that thou wilt continue chaste so long as God giveth thee that gift, and as long as neither thine own necessity, neither charity toward thy neighbour, nor the authority of them under whose power thou art, drive thee unto the contrary.

A good admonition to such as will make vows.

Whereunto and how we should apply our vows.

The purpose of thy vow must be salted also with the wisdom of God. Thou mayest not vow to be justified thereby, or to make satisfaction for thy sins, or to win heaven or an higher place; for then didst thou wrong unto the blood of Christ, and thy vow were plain idolatry and abominable in the sight of God. Thy vow must be only unto the furtherance of the commandments of God; which are (as I have said) nothing but the taming of thy members, and the service of thy neighbour: that is, if thou think thy back too weak for the burden of wedlock, and that thou canst not rule thy wife, children, servants, and make provision for them godly, and without overmuch busying and unquieting thyself, and drowning thyself in worldly business unchristianly, or that thou canst serve thy neighbour in some office better being chaste

How a vow is to be made.

[2] So Pent. of 1534. Day omits *wise.*]

[3] So Pent. of 1534. D. wants these words.]

He that fasteth to any other end than to tame his body, that it may wait upon God, deceiveth himself.

than married; and then thy vow is good and lawful. And even so must thou vow abstinence of meats and drinks, so far forth as it is profitable unto thy neighbours, and unto the taming of thy flesh; but thou mayest vow neither of them unto the slaying of thy body: as Paul commandeth Timothy to drink wine, and no more water, because of his diseases. Thou wilt say that Timothy had not haply forsworn wine. I think the same; and that the apostles forsware not wedlock, though many of them lived chaste; neither yet any meat or drink, though they abstained from them; and that it were good for us to follow their example. Howbeit though I vow, and swear, and think on none exception, yet is the breaking of God's commandments except, and all chances that hang of God: as if I swear to be in a certain place at a certain hour, to make a love-day[1], without exception, yet if the king in the meantime command me another way, I must go by God's commandment, and yet break not mine oath. And in like case, if my father and mother be sick and require my presence, or if my wife, children, or household be visited, that my assistance be required, or if my neighbour's house be a fire at the same hour, and a thousand such chances; in which all I break mine oath, and am not forsworn, and so forth. Read God's word diligently and with a good heart, and it shall teach thee all things.

All our doings must tend to the honour of God; and love of our neighbour.

[1 'Love-days: days anciently so called, on which arbitrations were made, and controversies ended between neighbours and acquaintance.' N. Bailey's Universal Etymological Engl. Dict. London, 1755.]

A PROLOGUE

INTO THE FIFTH BOOK OF MOSES CALLED DEUTERONOMY.

THIS is a book worthy to be read in, day and night, and never to be out of hands: for it is the most excellent of all the books of Moses. It is easy also and light, and a very pure gospel, that is to wit, a preaching of faith and love: deducing the love to God out of faith, and the love of a man's neighbour out of the love of God. Herein also thou mayest learn right meditation or contemplation, which is nothing else save the calling to mind, and a repeating in the heart, of the glorious and wonderful deeds of God, and of his terrible handling of his enemies and merciful entreating of them that come when he calleth them; which thing this book doth, and almost nothing else.

This book a preaching of faith and love.

Here thou mayest learn a right meditation or contemplation.

In the four first chapters he rehearseth the benefits of God done unto them, to provoke them to love, and his mighty deeds done above all natural power, and beyond all natural capacity of faith, that they might believe God, and trust in him and in his strength. And thirdly he rehearseth the fierce plagues of God upon his enemies, and on them which through impatience and unbelief fell from him; partly to tame and abate the appetites of the flesh which alway fight against the Spirit, and partly to bridle the wide raging lusts of them in whom was no Spirit; that though they had no power to do good of love, yet at the least way they should abstain from outward evil for fear of wrath, and cruel vengeance which should fall upon them and shortly find them out, if they cast up God's nurture, and run at riot beyond his laws and ordinances.

The works of God are supernatural.

We must abstain from outward evil, though not for love, yet for fear of the vengeance of God.

Moreover he chargeth them to put nought to, nor take ought away from God's words, but to be diligent only to keep them in remembrance, and in the heart, and to teach their children for fear of forgetting; and to beware either of making imagery, or of bowing themselves unto images,

Unto the law of God we may not add nor diminish.

We are commanded to abstain from images.

saying, "Ye saw no image when God spake unto you, but heard a voice only, and that voice keep, and thereunto cleave; for it is your life, and it shall save you." And finally, if (as the frailty of all flesh is) they shall have fallen from God, and he have brought them into trouble, adversity, and cumbrance and all necessity; yet if they repent and turn, he promiseth them, that God shall remember his mercy, and receive them to grace again.

God is merciful to them that repent.

In the fifth he repeateth the ten commandments; and, that they might see a cause to do them of love, he biddeth them remember that they were bound in Egypt, and how God delivered them with a mighty hand and a stretched out arm, to serve him, and to keep his commandments: as Paul saith that we are bought with Christ's blood, and therefore are his servants, and not our own, and ought to seek his will and honour only, and to love and serve one another for his sake.

Christ hath delivered us, and therefore we ought to serve him, and our neighbour for his sake.

In the sixth he setteth out the fountain of all commandments: that is, that they believe how that there is but one God that doth all, and therefore ought only to be loved with all the heart, all the soul, and all the might. For love only is the fulfilling of the commandments, as Paul also saith unto the Romans, and Galatians likewise. He warneth them also that they forget not the commandments, but teach them their children; and to shew their children also how God delivered them out of the bondage of the Egyptians, to serve him and his commandments, that the children might see a cause to work of love likewise.

Love only is the fulfilling of the laws of God.

The seventh is altogether of faith: he removeth all occasions that might withdraw them from the faith, and pulleth them also from all confidence in themselves, and stirreth them up to trust in God boldly and only.

We must trust only in God, and not in ourselves.

Of the eighth chapter thou seest how that the cause of all temptation[1] is, that a man might see his own heart. For when I am brought into that extremity, that I must either suffer or forsake God, then I shall feel how much I believe and trust in him, and how much I love him. In like manner, if my brother do me evil for my good, then if I love him when there is no cause in him, I see that my love was of God; and even so if I then hate him, I feel and perceive that my love was but worldly. And finally, he stirreth them to the

How a man may try and examine himself how much he loveth God and his neighbour.

[1 That is, of *trial*.]

faith and love of God, and driveth them from all confidence of their own selves.

In the ninth also he moveth them unto faith, and to put their trust in God; and draweth them from confidence of themselves, by rehearsing all the wickedness which they had wrought from the first day he knew them unto that same day. And in the end he repeateth how he conjured God in Horeb, and overcame him with prayer; where thou mayest learn the right manner to pray.

God stirreth up his people unto faith.

A right way of prayer.

In the tenth he reckoneth up the pith of all laws, and the keeping of the law in the heart; which is to fear God, love him, and serve him with all their heart, soul and might, and keep his commandments of love. And he sheweth a reason why they should that do: even because God is Lord of heaven and earth, and hath also done all for them of his own goodness, without their deserving. And then out of the love unto God he bringeth the love unto a man's neighbour, saying, God is Lord above all lords, and loveth all his servants indifferently, as well the poor and feeble, and the stranger, as the rich and mighty, and therefore will that we love the poor and the stranger. And he addeth a cause, For ye were strangers, and God delivered you, and hath brought you unto a land where ye be at home. "Love the stranger therefore" for his sake.

The pith and effect of all the laws of God.

And if we first love God, then out of that love we must needs love our neighbour.

In the eleventh he exhorteth them to love and fear God; and rehearseth the terrible deeds of God upon his enemies, and on them that rebelled against him. And he testifieth unto them both what will follow, if they love and fear God, and what also if they despise him and break his commandment.

What it is to love and fear God, and what it is to despise him.

In the twelfth he commandeth to put out of the way all that might be an occasion to hurt the faith, and forbiddeth to do ought after their own minds, or to alter the word of God.

The word of God may not be altered.

In the thirteenth he forbiddeth to hearken unto ought save unto God's word: no, though he which counselleth contrary should come with miracles; as Paul doth unto the Galatians.

Let no man draw us from God's word.

In the fourteenth the beasts are forbidden, partly for uncleanness of them, and partly to cause hate between the heathen and them; that they have no conversation together, in that one abhorreth what the other eateth. Unto this fifteenth chapter all pertain unto faith and love chiefly: and

Of matters of the commonweal.

in this fifteenth he beginneth to entreat more specially of things pertaining unto the commonwealth, and equity; and exhorteth unto the love of a man's neighbour. And in the sixteenth, among other, he forgetteth not the same. And in the seventeenth he entreateth of right and equity chiefly; insomuch that, when he looketh unto faith and unto the punishment of idolaters, he yet endeth in a law of love and equity: forbidding to condemn any man under less than two witnesses at the least, and commandeth to bring the trespasser unto the open gate of the city, where all men go in and out, that all men might hear the cause and see that he had but right. But the pope hath found a better way; even to appose[1] him without any accuser, and that secretly, that no man know whether he have right or no, either hear his articles or answer; for fear lest the people should search whether it were so or no.

None may be condemned under two witnesses.

In the eighteenth he forbiddeth all false and devilish crafts that hurt true faith. Moreover because the people could not hear the voice of the law spoken to them in fire, he promiseth them another prophet to bring them better tidings; which was spoken of Christ our Saviour.

Christ our Saviour declared in the old testament.

The nineteenth, and so forth unto the end of the twenty-seventh, is almost altogether of love unto our neighbours, and of laws, of equity and honesty, with now and then a respect unto faith.

The twenty-eighth is a terrible chapter, and to be trembled at. A christian man's heart might well bleed for sorrow at the reading of it, for fear of the wrath that is like to come upon us, according unto all the curses which thou there readest. For according unto these curses hath God dealt with all nations, after they were fallen into the abominations of blindness.

The curse and wrath of God over all those that break his laws.

The twenty-ninth is like terrible, with a godly lesson in the end, that we should leave searching of God's secrets, and give diligence to walk according to that he hath opened unto us. For the keeping of the commandments of God teacheth wisdom, as thou mayest see in the same chapter, where Moses saith, Keep the commandments, that ye may understand what ye ought to do. But to search God's secrets blindeth a man; as it is well proved by the swarms of our sophisters, whose wise books are now, when we look in the scripture, found but full of foolishness.

We may not be too curious in the searching of God's secrets, but rather study to understand and to do our duty towards God and our neighbour.

[1] To examine, to question.]

A TABLE

EXPOUNDING CERTAIN WORDS OF THE FIFTH BOOK OF MOSES CALLED DEUTERONOMY[2].

AVIMS. A kind of giants; and the word signifieth crooked, unright, or wicked[3].

BELIAL. Wicked, or wickedness; he that hath cast the yoke of God off his neck, and will not obey God[4].

BRUTERER. Prophesier, or soothsayer[5].

EMIMS. A kind of giants so called, because they were terrible and cruel; for *Emim* signifieth terribleness[6].

[2 In Day's folio this table is prefixed to the book of Numbers, and called, 'An exposition of certain words of the ivth book of Moses called Numeri,' whereas they are all words found in Deuteronomy. In the Pentateuch of 1534 the table is in its proper place.]

[3 Avims. עַוִּים. Deut. ii. 23. Gr. Εὐαῖοι. Vulg. Hevæi. Luther, Caphthorim. Authorised version, Avims. Tyndale refers the name to the root עָוָה; and his explanation of that root is in conformity with that of lexicographers.]

[4 Belial. בְּלִיַּעַל. Deut. xiii. 13. Most lexicographers have considered this word as a compound of בְּלִי and יעל, and have therefore interpreted it either unprofitable, or ignoble, (Simon's Lex.) Tyndale has construed it as בְּלִי עֹל, without a yoke: and Sebastian Munster, who published the first volume of his translation of the scriptures from the Hebrew in 1534, observes in a note, 'Per Belijaal Hebr. intelligunt hominem pervicacem, quasi בְּלִי עֹל, absque jugo legis divinæ.' Buxtorf gives both interpretations; but places Tyndale's first. Lex. Hebr. et Chald. Basil. 1689, under root עלל.]

[5 In Deut. xviii. 10, where our authorised version has, 'that useth divination, or an observer of times,' Tyndale writes, 'a bruterar, or a maker of dismal days.']

[6 Emims. אֵמִים. Deut. ii. 10. Tyndale refers this name to the root אִים, as does Prof. Robertson, and Joh. Simon. The latter gives אֵימִים as the correct reading, here and in Gen. xiv. 5; and says of אִים, rad. inusit. Terribilis fuit.]

ENACKE. A kind of giants, so called haply because they wôre chains about their necks; for *enach* is such a chain as men wear about their necks[1].

HORIMS. A kind of giants, and signifieth noble; because that of pride they called themselves nobles, or gentles[2].

ROCK. God is called a rock, because both he and his word lasteth for ever[3].

WHET THEM ON THY CHILDREN. That is, exercise thy children in them, and put them in ure[4].

ZAMZUMIMS. A kind of giants; and signifieth mischievous, or that be always imagining[5].

[1 Enacke. עֲנָקִים. Deut. ii. 10. The verb ענק is, to bind round the neck; and the substantive signifies a neck-chain.]

[2 Horims. חֹרִים. Deut. ii. 12. Joh. Simon's Lexicon, under root חרר, nobili stirpe natus est, has חֹר m. in plur. חֹרִים, nobles. Lee acknowledges the same signification, but refers the word to חוֹר, white, and then says, 'Nobles, as arrayed in white robes.']

[3 Tyndale obviously alludes to Deut. xxxii. 4, and 31.]

[4 Deut. vi. 7. Tyndale used the words, 'Whet them,' where our authorised version has, 'teach them diligently,' but acknowledges *whet or sharpen*, in its margin, to be more close to the Hebrew idiom. The verb is שִׁנַּן, the pihel form of שָׁנַן, and is acknowledged by lexicographers to mean *sharpen*.]

[5 Zamzumims. זַמְזֻמִּים. Deut. ii. 20. From זָמַם, he turned in his mind, he resolved in his mind, comes זִמָּה, headlong audacity, a heinous crime, lewdness. Roberts. Clav. Pent. No. 2997. Joh. Simon's Lex. agrees with Tyndale in referring the name of this giant race to the same root.]

PROLOGUE OF THE PROPHET JONAS.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

In the preface to Sir Thomas More's 'Confutacion of Tyndale's Answer to his Dialogue,' he concludes his list of books 'made in the English tongue' by Tyndale, as follows: 'Then have we Jonas made out by Tyndale, a book that whoso delight therein shall stand in peril that Jonas was never so swallowed up with the whale, as by the delight of that book a man's soul may be so swallowed up by the devil, that he shall never have the grace to get out again. Then have we by Tyndale also the answer to my dialogue.' The title-page of this Confutation bears the date of 1532; but Mr Anderson has also found 'Jonas in English,' at the end of a list of books denounced by Stokesley, bishop of London, on the third of December, 1531, in a Lambeth MS. No. 306, fol. 65. These notices of it are sufficient to justify our fixing upon the early part of 1531 as the probable date of the publication of the Prologue to Jonah. But whether it was published along with an English translation of Jonah by its author, or without that accompaniment, must still be reckoned doubtful. Mr Anderson says, that 'it contains abundant internal evidence, that the prophetical book was appended.' (Annals of Engl. Bib. B. I. section 8. Vol. I. p. 289, note 47.) But he allows that 'no copy of this edition,' that is, of an edition containing both the Prologue and text, 'is known to exist.' And on the other hand, in the bible called Matthew's bible, published in 1537, whose editors were obviously desirous to use Tyndale's translations for every portion of scripture which he had rendered into English, whether previously published or not, we find that the text of Jonah is from Coverdale's translation, which they were fain to employ in so much of the scripture as Tyndale had not translated. The preference thus manifested for Tyndale's versions, in a bible dedicated to Henry VIII. by editors who must have been aware of the king's dislike to him, would not have been shewn by them, if they had not felt that his translations had an undeniable claim to be preferred before Coverdale's, on the plain ground that he had made his translations directly from the inspired original text, whilst Coverdale, according to his own title-page, had but 'translated from the Douche and Latyn,' or, in other words, from Luther's German Bible and the Vulgate. It is therefore contrary to all probability that editors, whom the fear of provoking their wilful sovereign could not withhold from manifesting their esteem for Tyndale's translations, and who must have taken steps unknown to us to procure, as they did, his unpublished versions of the books from Joshua to the

second of Chronicles, both inclusive, would have preferred reprinting Coverdale's translation of Jonah, if there had been a translation of that prophet published by Tyndale, and well known to all persons interested in such subjects, as the Prologue to Jonah certainly was.

It is surely much more reasonable to believe, that when More and Stokesley spoke of what Tyndale had published in 1531, as 'Jonah in English,' there was no more intended than when the former said, 'Then have we by Tyndale the Wicked Mammona,' videlicet, his treatise on that parable. The same may be said of the mention of both in a catalogue of prohibited books, printed in the first edition of Foxe's Acts and Mons. pp. 573—4, but omitted in subsequent editions, as if Foxe thought it too inaccurate for readmission. They there stand together as follows: 'Item, a book called the prophet Jonas, teaching to understand the right use of Scripture. Item, a treatise of the justification by faith only, otherwise called The Parable of the Wicked Mammon.' The enemies of the truth were only thinking of Tyndale's doctrines, when they denounced his publications. On the other hand, there seems to have been such a general consciousness of a similarity between the work to which Jonah had been called, and that which the reformers undertook, as occasioned the issue of a remarkable number of separate editions of this prophet. If Tyndale was thereby led to select the history of Jonah for his theme, it appears from Masch's Le Long, that bibliographers have been able to collect a list of two and twenty editions of Jonah, with Latin versions or paraphrases, besides the vernacular versions, printed during the age of the Reformation and before its progress was brought to a pause.

The copies of the Prologue compared with Day's folio for the present reprint are those contained in a Bible of the date of 1549, in the Baptists' College, at Bristol, and the Bible printed by Nicolas Hyll, vi. May, MDLI. in the same collection; marked 24, B, in Mr Anderson's Catalogue.]

THE PROLOGUE

TO THE PROPHET JONAS.

As the envious Philistines stopped the wells of Abraham, and filled them up with earth, to put the memorial out of mind, to the intent that they might challenge the ground; even so the fleshly-minded hypocrites stop up the veins of life, which are in the scripture, with the earth of their traditions, false similitudes, and lying allegories; and that of like zeal, to make the scripture their own possession and merchandise, and so shut up the kingdom of heaven, which is God's word; neither entering in themselves, nor suffering them that would.

The papists keep the scriptures from the lay-people, because they only will be the publishers and expositors thereof [1].

The scripture hath a body without, and within a soul, spirit, and life. It hath without a bark, a shell, and as it were an hard bone, for the fleshly-minded to gnaw upon: and within it hath pith, kernel, marrow, and all sweetness for God's elect, which he hath chosen to give them his Spirit, and to write his law, and the faith of his Son, in their hearts.

The scripture hath a body and a soul.

The scripture containeth three things in it: first, the law, to condemn all flesh; secondarily, the gospel, that is to say, promises of mercy for all that repent and acknowledge their sins at the preaching of the law, and consent in their hearts that the law is good, and submit themselves to be scholars to learn to keep the law, and to learn to believe the mercy that is promised them; and thirdly, the stories and lives of those scholars, both what chances fortuned them, and also by what means their schoolmaster taught them and made them perfect, and how he tried the true from the false.

The scripture containeth three things.

When the hypocrites come to the law, they put glosses to, and make no more of it than of a worldly law, which is satisfied with the outward work, and which a Turk may also fulfil: when yet God's law never ceaseth to condemn a

The manner of hypocrites in reading the law of God.

[1] The margins throughout this Prologue are not Tyndale's own.]

man, until it be written in his heart, and until he keep it naturally without compulsion, and all other respect, save only of pure love to God and his neighbour; as he naturally eateth when he is an hungred, without compulsion and all other respect, save to slake his hunger only. And when they come to the gospel, there they mingle their leaven, and say, 'God now receiveth us no more to mercy, but of mercy receiveth us to penance;' that is to wit, holy deeds that make them fat bellies, and us their captives both in soul and body. And yet they feign their idol the pope so merciful, that if thou make a little money glister in his Balaam's eyes, there is neither penance, nor purgatory, nor any fasting at all, but to fly to heaven as swift as a thought, and at the twinkling of an eye.

The papistical and corrupt doctrine of the papists.

And the lives, stories, and gests[1] of men, which are contained in the bible, they read as things no more pertaining unto them than a tale of Robin Hood, and as things they wot not whereto they serve, save to feign false descant and juggling allegories, to stablish their kingdom withal. And one of the chiefest and fleshliest studies they have is to magnify the saints above measure and above the truth; and with their poetry to make them greater then ever God made them. And if they find any infirmity or sin ascribed unto the saints, that they excuse with all diligence, diminishing the glory of the mercy of God, and robbing wretched sinners of all their comfort; and think thereby to flatter the saints, and to obtain their favour, and to make special advocates of them, even as a man would obtain the favour of worldly tyrants: as they also feign the saints more cruel than ever was any heathen man, and more wreakful and vengeable than the poets feign their gods, or their furies that torment the souls in hell, if their evens[2] be not fasted, and their images visited and saluted with a pater-noster (which prayer only our lips be acquainted with, our hearts understanding none at all) and worshipped with a candle, and the offering of our devotion in the place which they have chosen to hear supplications and meek petitions of their clients therein.

How the papists wring and wrest the scriptures.

But thou, reader, think of the law of God, how that it is

[1 That is, doings. So edition of 1549; but Hylls' bible and Day have *gifts*.]

[2 Evens, eves; the saints' eves.]

altogether spiritual, and so spiritual that it is never fulfilled with deeds or works, until they flow out of thine heart, with as great love toward thine neighbour, for no deserving of his, yea, though he be thine enemy, as Christ loved thee, and died for thee, for no deserving of thine, but even when thou wast his enemy; and in the mean time, throughout all our infancy and childhood in Christ, till we be grown up into perfect men, in the full knowledge of Christ, and full love of Christ again, and of our neighbours for his sake, after the example of his love to us, remembering that the fulfilling of the law is a fast faith in Christ's blood, coupled with our profession, and submitting ourselves to do better.

And of the gospel, or promises, which thou meetest in the scripture, believe fast[3] that God will fulfil them unto thee, and that unto the uttermost jot, at the repentance of thine heart, when thou turnest to him and forsakest evil, even of his goodness and fatherly mercy unto thee, and not for thy flattering him with hypocritish works of thine own feigning: so that a fast faith only, without respect of all works, is the forgiveness both of the sin which we did in time of ignorance with lust and consent to sin, and also of that[4] sin which we do by chance, and of frailty, after that we are come to knowledge, and have professed the law out of our hearts. And all deeds serve only for to help our neighbours, and to tame our flesh, that we fall not to sin again, and to exercise our souls in virtue; and not to make satisfaction to God-ward for the sin that is once past.

And all other stories of the bible, without exception, are the practising of the law and of the gospel; and are true and faithful ensamples, and sure earnest that God will even so deal with us, as he did with them, in all infirmities, in all temptations, and in all like cases and chances. Wherein ye see on the one side how fatherly and tenderly, and with all compassion, God entreateth his elect, which submit themselves as scholars, to learn to walk in the ways of his laws, and to keep them of love. If they forgat themselves at a time, he would stir them up again with all mercy: if they fell and hurt themselves, he healed them again with all compassion and tenderness of heart. He hath oft brought great

[3 Fast: stedfastly.]

[4 So D. Hyll's B. has *all the*.]

God correcteth where he loveth.

tribulation and adversity upon his elect; but all of fatherly love only, to teach them, and to make them see their own hearts, and the sin that there lay hid, that they might afterward feel his mercy. For his mercy waited upon them, to rid them out again, as soon as they were learned, and come to the knowledge of their own hearts; so that he never cast man away, how deep soever he had sinned, save them only which had first cast the yoke of his laws from their necks, with utter defiance and malice of heart.

God casteth none away but such as refuse to keep his laws, and will not hearken unto his voice.

Which ensamples how comfortable are they for us, when we be fallen into sin, and God is come upon us with a scourge, that we despair not, but repent with full hope of mercy, after the ensamples of mercy that are gone before! And therefore they were written for our learning, as testifieth Paul, Rom. xv. to comfort us, that we might the better put our hope and trust in God, when we see how merciful he hath been in times past unto our weak brethren that are gone before, in all their adversities, need, temptations, yea, and horrible sins into which they now and then fell.

Rom. xv.

Such as harden their hearts, and hearken not to the will of God to do it, God casteth out.

And on the other side, ye see how they that hardened their hearts, and sinned of malice, and refused mercy that was offered them, and had no power to repent, perished at the latter end, with all confusion and shame, mercilessly. Which ensamples are very good, and necessary to keep us in awe and dread in time of prosperity, as thou mayest see by Paul, 1 Cor. x. that we abide in the fear of God, and wax not wild, and fall to vanities, and so sin and provoke God, and bring his wrath upon us.

1 Cor. x.

The prophets of God bare the weakness of their brethren, and their injuries also, with patience.

And thirdly, ye see in the practice, how as God is merciful and long-suffering, even so were all his true prophets and preachers; bearing the infirmities of their weak brethren, and their own wrongs and injuries, with all patience and long-suffering, never casting any of them off their backs, until they sinned against the Holy Ghost, maliciously persecuting the open and manifest truth: contrary unto the ensample of the pope, which in sinning against God, and to quench the truth of his Holy Spirit, is ever chief captain and trumpet-blower to set other at work, and seeketh only his own freedom, liberty, privilege, wealth, prosperity, profit, pleasure, pastime, honour and glory, with the bondage, thraldom, captivity, misery, wretchedness, and vile subjection of his

The pope and his ministers are persecutors over their brethren.

brethren; and in his own cause is so fervent, so stiff and cruel, that he will not suffer one word spoken against his false majesty, wily inventions, and juggling hypocrisy, to be unavenged, though all Christendom should be set together by the ears, and should cost he cared not how many hundred thousand their lives.

Now, that thou mayest read Jonas fruitfully, and not as a poet's fable, but as an obligation between God and thy soul, as an earnest-penny given thee of God, that he will help thee in time of need, if thou turn to him, and as the word of God, the only food and life of thy soul, this mark and note. First count Jonas the friend of God, and a man chosen of God, to testify his name unto the world; but yet a young scholar, weak and rude, after the fashion of the apostles while Christ was with them yet bodily, which, though Christ taught them ever to be meek and to humble themselves, yet oft strove among themselves who should be greatest. The sons of Zebedee would sit the one on the right hand of Christ, the other on the left. They would pray that fire might descend from heaven, and consume the Samaritans. When Christ asked, "Who say men that I am?" Peter answered, "Thou art the Son of the living God;" as though Peter had been as perfect as an angel. But immediately after, when Christ preached unto them of his death and passion, Peter was angry and rebuked Christ, and thought earnestly that he had raved, and not wist what he said; as at another time, when Christ was so fervently busied in healing the people that he had no leisure to eat, they went out to hold him, supposing that he had been beside himself. And one that cast out devils in Christ's name they forbade, because he waited not on them; so glorious[1] were they yet.

The cruel opinion that the disciples had of Christ.

And though Christ taught alway to forgive, yet Peter, after long going to school, asked whether men should forgive seven times; thinking that eight times had been too much. And at the last supper Peter would have died with Christ; but yet within few hours after he denied him, both cowardly and shamefully. And after the same manner, though he had so long heard that no man might avenge himself, but rather turn the other cheek to, than to smite again; yet when Christ

The ignorance and imperfection of the apostles.

[1 Glorious, for vain-glorious.]

was in taking, Peter asked whether it were lawful to smite with the sword, and tarried none answer, but laid on rashly. So that though, when we come first unto knowledge of the truth, and that peace is made between God and us, we love his laws, and believe and trust in him as in our father, and have good hearts unto him, and be born anew in the Spirit, yet we are but children and young scholars, weak and feeble; and must have leisure to grow in the Spirit, in knowledge, love, and in the deeds thereof, as young children must have time to grow in their bodies.

And God, our father and schoolmaster, feedeth us and teacheth us according unto the capacity of our stomachs, and maketh us to grow and wax perfect, and fineth and trieth us as gold in the fire of temptations and tribulations; as Moses witnesseth, Deut. viii. saying: "Remember all the way by which the Lord thy God carried thee this forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee, and to tempt, or provoke thee, that it might be known what were in thine heart. He brought thee into adversity, and made thee an hungred, and then fed thee with manna, which neither thou nor yet thy fathers ever knew of, to teach that man liveth not by bread only, but by all that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." For the promises of God are life unto all that cleave unto them, much more than is bread and bodily sustenance; as the journey of the children of Israel out of Egypt into the land promised them ministereth thee notable ensamples, and that abundantly, as doth all the rest of the bible also. Howbeit, it is impossible for flesh to believe and to trust in the truth of God's promises, until he have learned it in much tribulation, after that God hath delivered him out thereof again.

Deut. viii.

God doth mercifully try and tempt us, to move us to utter our hearts and minds towards him.

God, therefore, to teach Jonas, and to shew him his own heart, and to make him perfect, and to instruct us also by his ensample, sent him out of the land of Israel, where he was a prophet, to go among the heathen people, and to the greatest and mightiest city of the world then, called Niniveh, to preach that within forty days they should all perish for their sins, and that the city should be overthrown. Which message the free will of Jonas had as much power to do as the weakest-hearted woman in the world hath power, if she were commanded, to leap into a tub of living snakes and adders: as haply, if God had commanded Sarah to have sacrificed her son Isaac, as he

Jonas of himself was an unmeet messenger to be sent of such a message, but God assisted him with his Holy Spirit.

did Abraham, she would have disputed with him ere[1] she had done it; or though she were strong enough, yet many an holy saint could not have found in their hearts, but would have run away from the presence of the commandment of God with Jonas, if they had been so strongly tempted.

The carnal imagination of man's nature, without God's Spirit.

For Jonas thought of this manner: Lo, I am here a prophet unto God's people the Israelites, which, though they have God's word testified unto them daily, yet despise it, and worship God under the likeness of calves, and after all manner fashions, save after his own word; and therefore are of all nations the worst, and most worthy of punishment: and yet God, for love of few that are among them, and for his name's sake, spareth and defendeth them. How then should God take so cruel vengeance on so great a multitude of them to whom his name was never preached, and therefore are not the tenth part so evil as these? If I shall therefore go preach, so shall I lie[2] and shame myself, and God thereto, and make them the more to despise God, and set the less by him, and to be the more cruel unto his people.

Jonas, so long as he was in his carnal imagination, could not abide the voice of God, but fled: howbeit God called him again.

And upon that imagination he fled from the face or presence of God; that is, out of the country where God was worshipped in, and from the prosecuting of God's commandment; and thought, I will get me another way, among the heathen people, and be no more a prophet, but live at rest and out of all cumbrance. Nevertheless, the God of all mercy, which careth for his elect children, and turneth all unto good to them, and smiteth them to heal them again, and killeth them to make them live again, and playeth with them (as a father doth sometime with his young ignorant children), and tempteth them, and proveth them to make them see their own hearts, provided for Jonas how all things should be.

Jonas's flesh rebelled against the Spirit.

When Jonas entered into the ship, he laid him down to sleep, and to take his rest: that is, his conscience was tossed between the commandment of God, which sent him to Nineveh, and his fleshly wisdom, that dissuaded and counselled him the contrary, and at the last prevailed against the commandment, and carried him another way, as a ship caught between two streams; and as poets feign the mother of Meleager to be between divers affections, while to avenge her brother's death

[1 Old spelling, *yer*.]

[2 So bible of 1549. Day has laye.]

she sought to slay her own son[1]. Whereupon for very pain and tediousness he lay down to sleep, for to put the commandment, which so gnew[2] and fretted his conscience, out of mind; as the nature of all wicked is, when they have sinned a good[3], to seek all means with riot, revel, and pastime, to drive the remembrance of sin out of their thoughts; or, as Adam did, to cover their nakedness with aprons of pope-holy works. But God awoke him out of his dream, and set his sins before his face.

The wicked seek to cover their wickedness with pope-holy works.

How Jonas was trapped, and made afraid.

For when the lot had caught Jonas, then be sure that his sins came to remembrance again, and that his conscience raged no less than the waves of the sea. And then he thought that he only was a sinner, and the heathen that were in the ship none in respect of him; and thought also, as verily as he was fled from God, that as verily God had cast him away. For the sight of the rod maketh the natural child not only to see and to knowledge his fault, but also to forget all his father's old mercy and kindness. And then he confessed his sin openly, and had yet lever perish alone, than that the other should have perished with him for his sake; and so, of very desperation to have lived any longer, he bade cast him into the sea betimes, except they would be lost also.

Jonas being afraid confesseth his sins.

Lots, how they may be used lawfully.

To speak of lots, how far forth they are lawful, is a light[4] question. First, to use them for the breaking of strife, (as when partners, their goods as equally divided as they can, take every man his part by lot, to avoid all suspicion of deceitfulness; and as the apostles, in the first of the Acts, when they sought another to succeed Judas the traitor, and two persons were presented, then, to break strife, and to satisfy all parties, did cast lots whether should be admitted, desiring God to temper them, and to take whom he knew most meet, seeing they wist not whether to prefer, or haply could not all agree on either,) is lawful, and in all like cases. But to abuse them unto the tempting of God, and to compel him therewith to utter things whereof we stand in doubt, when we have no commandment of him so to do, as these heathen here did, though God turned it unto his glory, cannot be but evil.

Acts i.

[1 See the story in Ovid, Metam. VIII. iv.]

[2 Gnew, i. e. gnawed.]

[3 A good, for *of good*, i. e. in reality.]

[4 Not difficult.]

The heathen shipmen, astonied at the sight of the miracle, feared God, prayed to him, offered sacrifice, and vowed vows. And I doubt not but that some of them, or haply all, came thereby unto the true knowledge and true worshipping of God, and were won to God in their souls. And thus God, which is infinite merciful in all his ways, wrought their soul's health out of the infirmity of Jonas; even of his good will and purpose, and love, wherewith he loved them before the world was made, and not of chance, as it appeareth unto the eyes of the ignorant.

Miracle moveth the heathen to know God, and to call upon him.

And that Jonas was three days and three nights in the belly of his fish, we cannot thereby prove unto the Jews and infidels, or unto any man, that Christ must therefore die, and be buried, and rise again: but we use the ensample and likeness to strength the faith of the weak. For he that believeth the one, cannot doubt in the other: inasmuch as the hand of God was no less mighty in preserving Jonas alive against all natural possibility, and in delivering him safe out of his[5] fish, than in raising up Christ again out of his sepulchre. And we may describe the power and virtue of the resurrection thereby, as Christ himself borroweth the similitude thereto, Matt. xii. saying unto the Jews that came about him, and desired a sign or a wonder from heaven, to certify them that he was Christ: "This evil and wedlock-breaking nation" (which break the wedlock of faith, wherewith they be married unto God, and believe in their false works,) "seek a sign; but there shall no sign be given them, save the sign of the prophet Jonas. For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, even so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Which was a watch-word (as we say), and a sharp threatening unto the Jews, and as much to say as thus: 'Ye hard-hearted Jews seek a sign; lo, this shall be your sign. As Jonas was raised out of the sepulchre of his fish, and then sent unto the Ninivites to preach that they should perish; even so shall I rise again out of my sepulchre, and come and preach repentance unto you. See, therefore, when ye see the sign, that ye repent, or else ye shall surely perish, and not escape. For though the infirmities which ye now see in my flesh be a let unto your fathers, ye shall then be with-

As Jonas lay three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so Christ lay three days and three nights in the earth.

How Christ sheweth his death and resurrection by Jonas the prophet.

[5] D. has *this*. Bible of 1551 has *his*.]

out excuse when ye see so great a miracle, and so great power of God shed out upon you.' And so Christ came again after the resurrection in his Spirit, and preached repentance unto them by the mouth of his apostles and disciples, and with miracles of the Holy Ghost. And all that repented not perished shortly after, and the rest [were] carried away captive into all quarters of the world for an example, as ye see unto this day.

Christ by the mouth of his apostles preached repentance to the Jews.

And in like manner, since the world began, wheresoever repentance was offered and not received, there God took cruel vengeance immediately: as ye see in the flood of Noe, in the overthrowing of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all the country about; and as ye see of Egypt, of the Amorites, Cananites, and afterward of the very Israelites; and then, at the last, of the Jews too, and of the Assyrians and Babylonians; and so throughout all the empires of the world.

Where there is no repentance, there God poureth out his vengeance.

Gildas preached repentance unto the old Britains that inhabited England. They repented not, and therefore God sent in their enemies upon them on every side, and destroyed them up, and gave the land unto other nations[1]. And great vengeance hath been taken in that land for sin since that time.

Gildas a writer of the British Chronicle.

Wickliffe preached repentance unto our fathers not long since. They repented not; for their hearts were indurate, and their eyes blinded with their own pope-holy righteousness, wherewith they had made their souls gay against the receiving again of the wicked spirit, that bringeth seven worse than himself with him, and maketh the latter end worse than the beginning: for in open sins there is hope of repentance, but in holy hypocrisy none at all. But what followed? They slew their true and right king, and set up three wrong kings a row, under which all the noble blood was slain up, and half the commons thereto, what in France, and what with their own sword, in fighting among themselves for the crown; and the cities and towns decayed, and the land brought half into a wilderness, in respect of that it was before.

Wickliffe a preacher of repentance.

They slew Richard the Second.
They set up Henry the Fourth.
Henry the Fifth.
Henry the Sixth.

And now Christ, to preach repentance, is risen yet once again out of his sepulchre, in which the pope had buried him, and kept him down with his pillars and polcaxes, and all disguisings of hypocrisy, with guile, wiles and falsehood, and with

Christ now preacheth repentance unto us.

[1 See p. 143.]

the sword of all princes, which he had blinded with his false merchandise. And as I doubt not of the ensamples that are past, so am I sure that great wrath will follow, except repentance turn it back again, and cease it.

Jonas called upon God out of the fish's belly.

When Jonas had been in the fish's belly a space, and the rage of his conscience was somewhat quieted and suaged, and he come to himself again, and had received a little hope, the qualms and pangs of desperation which went over his heart half overcome, he prayed; as he maketh mention in the text, saying, "Jonas prayed unto the Lord his God out of the belly of the fish." But the words of that prayer are not here set. The prayer that here[2] standeth, in the text, is the prayer of praise and thanksgiving, which he prayed and wrote when he was escaped, and past all jeopardy: in the end of which prayer he saith, "I will sacrifice with the voice of thanksgiving, and pay that I have vowed; that saving cometh of the Lord." For verily, to confess out of the heart that all benefits come of God, even out of the goodness of his mercy, and not deserving of our deeds, is the only sacrifice that pleaseth God; and to believe that all the Jews vowed in their circumcision, as we in our baptism; which vow Jonas, now being taught with experience, promiseth to pay. For those outward sacrifices of beasts, unto which Jonas had haply ascribed too much before, were but feeble and childish things, and not ordained that the works of themselves should be a service unto the people; but to put them in remembrance of this inward sacrifice of thanks and of faith, to trust and believe in God the only Saviour: which signification, when it was away, they were abominable, and devilish idolatry and image-service; as our ceremonies and sacraments are become now, to all that trust and believe in the work of them, and are not taught the significations, to edify their souls with knowledge and the doctrine of God.

The sacrifice that Jonas offereth unto God.

The sacrifices of the old law were ordained to put us in remembrance of the sacrifice of thanksgiving.

Jonas did that God commanded him.

When Jonas was cast upon land again, then his will was free, and had power to go whither God sent him, and to do what God bade, his own imaginations laid apart. For he had been at a new school, yea, and in a furnace, where he was purged of much refuse and dross of fleshly wisdom, which

[2 The employment of the word *here*, in this and the preceding clause, is doubtless a part of what would be esteemed internal evidence that a translation of Jonah accompanied the prologue.]

resisted the wisdom of God, and led Jonas's will contrary unto the will of God. For as far as we be blind in Adam, we cannot but seek and will our own profit, pleasure, and glory; and as far as we be taught in the Spirit, we cannot but seek and will the pleasure and glory of God only.

Niniveh was the greatest city in the world.

And as [to] the three days' journey of Niniveh, whether it were in length, or to go round about it, or through all the streets, I commit unto the discretion of other men. But I think that it was then the greatest city of the world.

And that Jonas went a day's journey in the city: I suppose he did it not in one day, but went fair and easily; preaching here a sermon, and there another, and rebuked the sin of the people, for which they must perish.

And when thou art come unto the repentance of the Ninivites, there hast thou sure earnest, that howsoever angry God be, yet he remembereth mercy unto all that truly repent and believe in mercy: which ensample our Saviour Christ also casteth in the teeth of the indurate Jews, saying, "The Ninivites shall rise in judgment with this nation, and condemn them; for they repented at the preaching of Jonas, and behold a greater than Jonas is here:" meaning of himself, at whose preaching yet, though it were never so mighty to pierce the heart, and for all his miracles thereto, the hard-hearted Jews could not repent; when the heathen Ninivites repented at the bare preaching of Jonas, rebuking their sins without any miracle at all. Why? For the Jews had leavened the spiritual law of God, and with their glosses had made it altogether earthly and fleshly, and so had set a veil or covering on Moses's face, to shadow and darken the glorious brightness of his countenance. It was sin to steal; but to rob widows' houses under a colour of long praying, and to poll in the name of offerings, and to snare the people with intolerable constitutions[1] against all love, to catch their money out of their purses, was no sin at all.

Christ is merciful to them that repent and call for mercy.

The doctrine of the Pharisees and the papists make sin of that is no sin.

To smite father and mother was sin; but to withdraw help from them at their need, for blind zeal of offering, unto the profit of the holy Pharisees, was then as meritorious, as it is now to let all thy kin choose whether they will sink or swim, while thou buildest and makest goodly foundations for holy people, which thou hast chosen to be thy Christ, for to

This is the doctrine of the papists and hypocritical monks at this day.

[1 Laws imposed by despotic authority. Justin. Instit. Lib. I. Tit. ii. § 6.]

supple thy soul with the oil of their sweet blessings; and to be thy Jesus, for to save thy soul from the purgatory of the blood that only purgeth sin, with their watching, fasting, woolward-going[2], and rising at midnight, &c., wherewith yet they purge not themselves from their covetousness, pride, lechery, or any vice that thou seest among the lay-people.

The blind and fruitless works of the papists.

It was great sin for Christ to heal the people on the sabbath-day, unto the glory of God his Father; but none at all for them to help their cattle, unto their own profit.

Papistical sins.

It was sin to eat with unwashed hands, or on an unwashed table, or out of an unwashed dish; but to eat out of that purified dish that which came of bribery, theft, and extortion, was no sin at all.

It was exceeding meritorious to make many disciples; but to teach them to fear God in his ordinances, had they no care at all.

The high prelates so defended the right of holy church, and so feared the people with the curse of God and terrible pains of hell, that no man durst leave the vilest herb in his garden untithed. And the offerings and things dedicate unto God, for the profit of his holy vicars, were in such estimation and reverence, that it was a much greater sin to swear truly by them, than to forswear thyself by God. What vengeance then of God, and how terrible and cruel damnation, think ye, preached they to fall on them that had stolen so the holy things? And yet saith Christ, that righteousness and faith, in keeping promise, mercy, and indifferent judgment, were utterly trodden under foot, and clean despised of those blessed fathers, which so mightily maintained Aaron's patrimony, and had made it so prosperous, and environed it, and walled it about on every side with the fear of God, that no man durst touch it.

Papists taught themselves and their works with all cruelty.

The false and wicked doctrine of the papists.

It was great holiness to garnish the sepulchres of the prophets, and to condemn their own fathers for slaying of them; and yet were they themselves, for blind zeal of their own constitutions, as ready as their fathers to slay whosoever testified unto them the same truth which the prophets testified unto their fathers. So that Christ compareth all the righteousness of those holy patriarchs unto the outward beauty

Blind and hypocritical doctrine.

[2 The imaginary merit of forswearing clean linen, and wearing woollen in its stead.]

of a painted sepulchre, full of stench and all uncleanness within.

And finally, to beguile a man's neighbour in subtle bargaining, and to wrap and compass him in with cautels of the law, was then as it is now in the kingdom of the pope: by the reason whereof they excluded the law of love out of their hearts, and consequently all true repentance; for how could they repent of that they could not see to be sin?

The Pharisees set up a righteousness of works to cleanse their souls withal.

And on the other side they had set up a righteousness of holy works to cleanse their souls withal; as the pope sanctifieth us with holy oil, holy bread, holy salt, holy candles, holy dumb ceremonies, and holy dumb blessings, and with whatsoever holiness thou wilt, save with the holiness of God's word; which only speaketh unto the heart, and sheweth the soul his filthiness and uncleanness of sin, and leadeth her by the way of repentance unto the fountain of Christ's blood, to wash it away through faith. By the reason of which false righteousness they were disobedient unto the righteousness of God, which is the forgiveness of sin in Christ's blood, and could not believe it. And so, through fleshly interpreting the law, and false imagined righteousness, their hearts were hardened, and made as stony as clay in a hot furnace of fire, that they could receive neither repentance, nor faith, or any manner[1] of grace at all.

By the worldly and fleshly interpretations of the scriptures the Jews' hearts were hardened.

The heathen repented at the preaching of Jonas.

But the heathen Ninivites, though they were blinded with lusts a good[2], yet were in those two[3] points uncorrupt and unhardened; and therefore, with the only preaching of Jonas, came unto the knowledge of their sins, and confessed them, and repented truly, and turned every man from his evil deeds, and declared their sorrow of heart and true repentance with their deeds, which they did out of faith and hope of forgiveness; chastising their bodies with prayer and fasting, and with taking all pleasures from the flesh; trusting, as God was angry for their wickedness, even so should he forgive them of his mercy, if they repented, and forsook their misliving.

[1 So B. of 1551. Day has *moisture.*]

[2 So B. of 1551. Day omits *a good.*]

[3 So Day. Hyll's Bible of 1551 has *three.* The two points in which the Ninivites were unhardened and the Jews hardened are placed in contrast, viz. misinterpretation of God's law and imaginary righteousness.]

And in the last end of all thou hast yet a goodly ensample of learning, to see how earthy Jonas is still, for all his trying in the whale's belly. He was so sore displeased because the Ninivites perished not, that he was weary of his life, and wished after death, for very sorrow that he had lost the glory of his prophesying, in that his prophecy came not to pass. But God rebuked him with a likeness, saying, 'It grieveth thine heart for the loss of a vile shrub, or spray, whereon thou bestowedst no labour or cost, neither was it thine handywork. How much more then should it grieve mine heart the loss of so great a multitude of innocents as are in Niniveh, which are all mine hands' work? Nay, Jonas, I am God over all, and father as well unto the heathen as unto the Jews, and merciful to all, and warn ere I smite; neither threat I so cruelly by any prophet, but that I will forgive, if they repent and ask mercy; neither, on the other side, whatsoever I promise will I fulfil it, save for their sakes only which trust in me, and submit themselves to keep my laws of very love, as natural children.'

A good and profitable example.

Note here the great mercy of God.

On this manner to read the scripture is the right use thereof, and why the Holy Ghost caused it to be written: that is, that thou first seek out the law that God will have thee to do, interpreting it spiritually, without gloss or covering the brightness of Moses's face; so that thou feel in thine heart how that it is damnable sin before God not to love thy neighbour that is thine enemy as purely as Christ loved thee; and that not to love thy neighbour in thine heart is to have committed already all sin against him.

The right manner how to read the scripture.

And therefore, until that love be come, thou must knowledge unfeignedly that there is sin in the best deed thou doest; and it must earnestly grieve thine heart, and thou must wash all thy good deeds in Christ's blood, ere they can be pure, and an acceptable sacrifice unto God, and must desire God the Father for his sake to take thy deeds a worth[4], and to pardon the imperfectness of them, and to give thee power to do them better, and with more fervent love.

All our deeds are made perfect in Christ's blood.

[4 A worth, i.e. at worth; meaning, to esteem them as having worth (value) for Christ's sake. In his answer to Sir Thos. More, Tyndale says, 'We have promises that that little we have is taken a worth and accepted.']

And on the other side, thou must search diligently for the promises of mercy which God hath promised thee again.

Which two points, that is to wit, the law spiritually interpreted, how that all is damnable sin that is not unfeigned love out of the ground and bottom of the heart, after the ensample of Christ's love to us, because we be all equally created and formed of one God our Father, and indifferently bought and redeemed with one blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and that the promises be given unto a repenting soul, that thirsteth and longeth after them, of the pure and fatherly mercy of God, through our faith only, without all deserving of our deeds or merits of our works, but for Christ's sake alone, and for the merits and deservings of his works, death, and passions that he suffered altogether for us, and not for himself: which two points, I say, if they be written in thine heart, are the keys which so open all the scripture unto thee, that no creature can lock thee out, and with which thou shalt go in and out, and find pasture and food everywhere. And if these lessons be not written in thine heart, then is all the scripture shut up as a kernel in the shell, so that thou mayest read it, and commune[1] of it, and rehearse all the stories of it, and dispute wittily, and be a profound sophister, and yet understand not one jot thereof.

All the promises made by God in Christ are made to them that repent.

The two keys that open all the scripture.

And thirdly, that thou take the stories and lives which are contained in the bible for sure and undoubted ensamples that God so will deal with us unto the world's end.

Herewith, reader, farewell; and be commended unto God, and unto the grace of his Spirit. And first see that thou stop not thine ears unto the calling of God, and harden not thine heart, beguiled with fleshly interpreting of the law, and false imagined and hypocritish righteousness, and so[2] the Ninivites rise with thee at the day of judgment, and condemn thee.

And secondarily, if thou find ought amiss, when thou seest thyself in the glass of God's word, think it necessary wisdom to amend the same betimes, monished and warned by the ensamples of other men, rather than to tarry until thou be beaten also.

[1 B. of 1551 and Day have *commen*, which some editors have supposed to be the same as *comment*.]

[2 Thus B. of 1551, but Day has *least then*.]

And thirdly, if it shall so chance that the wild lusts of thy flesh shall blind thee, and carry thee clean away with them for a time; yet at the latter end, when the God of all mercy shall have compassed thee in on every side with temptations, tribulation, adversities and cumbrance, to bring thee home again unto thine own heart, and to set thy sins which thou wouldest so fain cover, and put out of mind with delectation of voluptuous pastimes, before the eyes of thy conscience; then call the faithful ensample of Jonas and all like stories unto thy remembrance, and with Jonas turn unto thy Father that smote thee, not to cast thee away, but to lay a corrosive and a fretting plaster unto the boil that lay hid and fret inward, to draw the disease out, and to make it appear, that thou mightest feel thy sickness and the danger thereof, and come and receive the healing plaster of mercy.

A very fruitful and good lesson.

How thou mayest at all times apply the stories of the bible to thy great comfort.

And forget not that whatsoever ensample of mercy God hath shewed since the beginning of the world, the same is promised thee, if thou wilt in like manner turn again, and receive it as they did; and with Jonas be aknowen of[3] thy sin, and confess it, and knowledge it unto thy Father.

The law must be fulfilled with the mercy that is in Christ.

And as the law which fretteth thy conscience is in thine heart, and is none outward thing, even so seek within thy heart the plaster of mercy, the promises of forgiveness in our Saviour Jesus Christ, according unto all the ensamples of mercy that are gone before.

And with Jonas let them that wait on vanities, and seek God here and there, and in every temple save in their hearts, go, and seek thou the testament of God in thine heart. For in thine heart is the word of the law; and in thine heart is the word of faith in the promises of mercy in Jesus Christ: so that if thou confess with a repenting heart and knowledge, and surely believe that Jesus is Lord over all sin, thou art safe.

In thy heart are the words of the law, and in thine heart are the promises and mercy of Christ.

And finally, when the rage of thy conscience is ceased, and quieted with fast faith in the promises of mercy, then offer with Jonas the offering of praise and thanksgiving, and pay the vow of thy baptism, that God only saveth, of his only mercy and goodness; that is, believe stedfastly, and preach constantly, that it is God only that smiteth, and God only that

Our sin is of ourselves: but remission and forgiveness thereof cometh freely, of the mercy of God for Christ's sake.

[3 *Be aknowen of* is equivalent to *acknowledge*. So Sir Thomas More: 'We say of a stubborn body, that standeth still in the denying of his fault, This man will not knowledge his fault, or he will not be aknowen of his fault.' Confutacion, p. 157.]

healeth: ascribing the cause of thy tribulation unto thine own sin, and the cause of thy deliverance unto the mercy of God.

And beware of the leaven that saith, we have power in our free-will, before the preaching of the gospel, to deserve grace, to keep the law of congruity, or God to be unrighteous. John i. And say with John in the first [chapter], that as the law was given by Moses, even so grace to fulfil it is given by Christ. And when they say our deeds with grace deserve heaven, Rom. vi. say thou with Paul, (Rom. vi.) that "everlasting life is the John i. gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord;" and that (John i.) Rom. viii. we be made sons by faith; and therefore (Rom. viii.) "heirs of God with Christ." And say, that we receive all of God through faith, that followeth repentance; and that we do not our works unto God, but either unto ourselves, to slay the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and to wax perfect; either unto our neighbours, which do as much for us again in other things. And when a man exceedeth in gifts of grace, let him understand that they be given him, as well for his weak brethren, as for himself: as though all the bread be committed unto the panter[1], yet for his fellows with him, which give the thanks unto their lord, and recompense the panter again with other kind of service in their offices. And when they say that Christ hath made no satisfaction for the sin we do after our baptism; say thou with the doctrine of Paul, that in our baptism we receive the merits of Christ's death through repentance and faith, of which two baptism is the sign: and though when we sin of frailty after our baptism, we receive the sign no more, yet we be renewed again through repentance, and faith in Christ's blood; of which twain that sign of baptism, ever continued among us in baptizing our young children, doth ever keep us in mind, and call us back again unto our profession, if we be gone astray, and promiseth us forgiveness. Neither can actual sin be washed away with our works, but with Christ's blood; neither can there be any other sacrifice, or satisfaction to Godward for them, save Christ's blood: forasmuch as we can do no works unto God, but receive only of his mercy with our repenting faith, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour: unto whom, and unto God our Father through him, and unto his holy Spirit, that only purgeth, sanctifieth, and washeth us in the innocent blood of our redemption, be praise for ever. Amen.

God hath no need of our works, but we must do them for ourselves, and for the profit of our neighbours.

Christ hath satisfied for our sins, as well after baptism, as before baptism.

Our actual sins are washed away in Christ's blood.

[1 Panter, or pantner: the keeper of the pantry.]

THE PROLOGUES

UPON

THE GOSPELS AND EPISTLES.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

For this reprint the text of Day's folio of 1573 has been collated with the prologues in three New Testaments in the Baptist College library, viz. Tyndale's New Test., printed at Antwerp in 1534, by Martin Emperour; a 4to. New Test. of 1536, unnoticed by Mr Anderson, but described in the printed catalogue of the Test. and Bibles in the collection of Lea Wilson, Esq.; and a New Test. of Coverdale, of the date of 1538, in which all Tyndale's prologues are inserted, but not with perfect faithfulness; for its editor has suppressed here and there a sentence or a clause that bore too hard on popery to be palatable to the ruling powers of that date.

The full title of the 4to. is, "The Newe Testament yet once agayne corrected by Willyam Tindale, whereunto is added a necessarye table wherein easily and lightely may be founde any storye contayned in the gospells of S. Matthew, S. Marke, S. Luke, S. John and in the Actes of the Apostles. Jesus sayde, Marke xvi., Go ye into all the worlde and preache the glad tydinges to all creatures: and he that beleveth and is baptised, shal be saved. Prynted in the yere of our Lord God MD and XXXVI."]

PROLOGUE

UPON THE GOSPEL OF ST MATTHEW.

HERE hast thou, most dear reader, the new Testament, or covenant made with us of God in Christ's blood, which I have looked over again, now at the last, with all diligence, and compared it unto the Greek, and have weeded out of it many faults, which lack of help at the beginning, and oversight, did sow therein. If aught seem changed, or not altogether agreeing with the Greek, let the finder of the fault consider the Hebrew phrase or manner of speech, left in the Greek words; whose preterperfect tense and present tense are oft both one, and the future tense is the optative mood also, and the future tense oft the imperative mood in the active voice, and in the passive ever. Likewise person for person, number for number, and interrogation for a conditional, and such like, is with the Hebrews a common usage. I have also in many places set light in the margin to understand the text by. If any man find faults either with the translation, or aught beside, (which is easier for many to do than so well to have translated it themselves of their own pregnant wits at the beginning, without an ensample,) to the same it shall be lawful to translate it themselves, and to put what they lust thereto. If I shall perceive, either by myself or by information of other, that aught be escaped me, or might more plainly be translated, I will shortly after cause it to be amended. Howbeit, in many places methinketh it better to put a declaration in the margin, than to run too far from the text. And in many places, where the text seemeth at the first chop[1] hard to be understood, yet the circumstances before and after, and often reading together, make it plain enough.

Moreover, because the kingdom of heaven, which is the

[1 Lit. at the first proposal of a bargain; on the first consideration.]

scripture and word of God, may be so locked up that he which readeth or heareth it cannot understand it, as Christ testifieth how that the scribes and Pharisees had so shut it up (Matt. xxiii.), and had taken away the key of knowledge (Luke xi.), that the Jews, which thought[2] themselves within, were yet so locked out, and are to this day, that they can understand no sentence of the scripture unto their salvation, though they can rehearse the texts every where, and dispute thereof as subtilly as the popish[3] doctors of Duns's dark learning, which with their sophistry served us as the Pharisees did the Jews: therefore, that I might be found faithful to my Father and Lord, in distributing unto my brethren and fellows of one faith their due and necessary food, so dressing it and seasoning it, that the weak stomachs may receive it also, and be the better for it; I thought it my duty, most dear reader, to warn thee before, and to shew thee the right way in, and to give thee the true key to open it withal, and to arm thee against false prophets and malicious hypocrites; whose perpetual study is to blind[4] the scripture with glosses, and there to lock it up where it should save the soul, and to make us shoot at a wrong mark, to put our trust in those things that profit their bellies only, and slay our souls.

Matt. xxiii. Luke xi.

The Jews to this day are locked out from the understanding of the scriptures. Ant. ed.

The right way, yea, and the only way, to understand the scripture unto salvation, is that we earnestly and above all things search for the profession of our baptism, or covenants made between God and us. As, for an example, Christ saith, (Matt. v.), "Happy are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." Lo, here God hath made a covenant with us, to be merciful unto us, if we will be merciful one to another; so that the man which sheweth mercy unto his neighbour may be bold to trust in God for mercy at all needs: and contrariwise, judgment without mercy shall be to him that sheweth not mercy. So now, if he that sheweth no mercy trust in God for mercy, his faith is carnal and worldly, and but vain presumption: for God hath promised mercy only to the merciful. And therefore the merciless have not God's word that they shall have God's mercy, but, contrariwise,

The right way into the understanding of the scriptures. W. T.

Matt. v.

[2 Day, *thought*. Test. of 1536 has *though*.]

[3 So Tyndale in the New Tests. of 1534 and 1536; that of 1538 omits *popish*.]

[4 So D. The Tests. have *leaven*.]

Matt. vi. that they shall have judgment without mercy. And, (Matt. vi.) "If ye shall forgive men their faults, your heavenly Father shall forgive you; but and if ye shall not forgive men their faults, no more shall your Father forgive you your faults." Here also, by the virtue and strength of this covenant, wherewith God of his mercy hath bound himself to us unworthy, he that forgiveth his neighbour, when he returneth and amendeth, may be bold to believe and trust in God for remission of whatsoever he hath done amiss. And contrariwise, he that will not forgive, cannot but despair of forgiveness in the end, and fear judgment without mercy.

The general covenant that God hath made with us. Ant. ed. The general covenant, wherein all other are comprehended and included, is this: If we meek ourselves to God, to keep all his laws, after the example of Christ, then God hath bound himself unto us, to keep and make good all the mercies promised in Christ throughout all the scripture.

In these commandments is contained the whole law. Ant. ed. All the whole law, which was given to utter our corrupt nature, is comprehended in the ten commandments. And the ten commandments are comprehended in these two, Love God and thy neighbour. And he that loveth his neighbour, in God and Christ, fulfilleth these two; and consequently the ten; and finally all the other. Now if we love our neighbours in God and Christ, that is to wit, if we be loving, kind, and merciful to them, because God hath created them unto his likeness, and Christ hath redeemed them and bought them with his blood, then may we be bold to trust in God, through Christ and his deserving, for all mercy. For God hath promised and bound himself to us, to shew us all mercy, and to be a Father almighty to us, so that we shall not need to fear the power of all our adversaries.

Where no good fruits are, there the faith is vain. Ant. ed. Now if any man, that submitteth not himself to keep the commandments, do think that he hath any faith in God, the same man's faith is vain, worldly, damnable, devilish, and plain presumption, as is above said, and is no faith that can justify, or be accepted before God. And that is it that James meaneth in his epistle. For "how can a man believe," Rom. x. saith Paul, "without a preacher?" (Rom. x.) Now read all the scripture, and see where God sent any to preach mercy to any, save unto them only that repent, and turn to God with all their hearts, to keep his commandments. Unto the disobedient, that will not turn, is threatened wrath, vengeance,

and damnation, according to all the terrible acts[1] and fearful examples of the bible.

Faith now in God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the covenants and appointment made between God and us, is our salvation. Wherefore I have ever noted the covenants in the margins, and also the promises. Moreover, where thou findest a promise, and no covenant expressed therewith, there must thou understand a covenant; that we, when we be received to grace, know it to be our duty to keep the law. As for an example, when the scripture saith, (Matt. vii.) "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you;" it is to be understood, if that when thy neighbour asketh, seeketh, or knocketh unto thee, thou then shew him the same mercy which thou desirest of God, then hath God bound himself to help thee again, and else not.

What faith it is that saveth. W. T.

Matt. vii.

Also you see that two things are required to be in a christian man. The first is a stedfast faith and trust in almighty God, to obtain all the mercy that he hath promised us through the deserving and merits of Christ's blood only, without all respect to our own works. And the other is, that we forsake evil and turn to God, to keep his laws, and to fight against ourselves and our corrupt nature perpetually, that we may do the will of God every day better and better.

Two things are required to be in a christian man. W. T.

This have I said, most dear reader, to warn thee, lest thou shouldest be deceived, and shouldest not only read the scriptures in vain and to no profit, but also unto thy greater damnation. For the nature of God's word is, that whosoever read it, or hear it reasoned and disputed before him, it will begin immediately to make him every day better and better, till he be grown into a perfect man in the knowledge of Christ and love of the law of God; or else make him worse and worse, till he be hardened that he openly resist the Spirit of God, and then blaspheme after the example of Pharao, Korah, Abiram, Balaam, Judas, Simon Magus, and such other. This to be even so, the words of Christ (John iii.) do well confirm: "This is condemnation," saith he; "the light is come into the world, but the men loved darkness more than light, for their deeds were evil." Behold, when the light of God's word cometh to a man, whether he read it or hear it preached

What the nature of God's word is. W. T.

John iii.

[1] So Day. N. T. has *curses*.]

When we hear God's will and do it not, then God withdraweth his mercy and favour from us. Ant. ed.

and testified, and he yet have no love thereto, to fashion his life thereafter, but consenteth still unto his old deeds of ignorance; then beginneth his just damnation immediately, and he is henceforth without excuse, in that he refused mercy offered him. For God offereth[1] mercy upon the condition that he will mend his living; but he will not come under the covenant; and from that hour forward he waxeth worse and worse, God taking his Spirit of mercy and grace from him, for his unthankfulness' sake. And Paul writeth, (Romans i.) that the heathen, because when they knew God, they had no lust to honour him with godly living, therefore God poured his wrath upon them, and took his Spirit from them, and gave them up to their hearts' lusts, to serve sin, from iniquity to iniquity, till they were thoroughly hardened and past repentance. And Pharao, because when the word of God was in his country, and God's people scattered throughout all his land, and yet he neither loved them nor it; therefore God gave him up, and in taking his Spirit of grace from him so hardened his heart with covetousness, that afterward no miracle could convert him. Hereunto pertaineth the parable of the talents. (Matt. xxv.) The Lord commandeth the talent to be taken away from the evil and slothful servant, and to bind him hand and foot, and to cast him into utter darkness, and to give the talent unto him that had ten, saying, "To all that have more shall be given; but from him that hath not, that he hath shall be taken from him." That is to say, he that hath a good heart towards the word of God, and a set purpose to fashion his deeds thereafter[2], and to garnish it with godly living, and to testify it to other, the same shall increase daily more and more in the grace of Christ. But he that loveth it not, to live thereafter and to edify other, the same shall lose the grace of true knowledge, and be blinded again, and every day wax worse and worse, and blinder and blinder, till he be an utter enemy of the word of God, and his heart so hardened, that it shall be impossible to convert him. And (Luke xii.) the servant that knoweth his master's will, and prepareth not himself, shall be beaten with many stripes, that is, shall have greater damnation. And (Matt. vii.) all that hear the word of God, and do not thereafter, build on

Rom. i.

He that hearkeneth to the word of God and doth it, the same shall be blessed in his deed. Ant. ed. Matt. xxv.

Luke xii.

Matt. vii.

[1 So Day. N. Test. has *him*.]

[2 So N. Test. Day wants this clause.]

sand; that is, as the foundation laid on sand cannot resist violence of water, but is undermined and overthrown, even so the faith of them that have no lust nor love to the law of God, builded upon the sand of their own imaginations, and not on the rock of God's word, according to his covenants, turneth to desperation in time of tribulation, and when God cometh to judge. What it is to build upon the sand. Ant. ed.

And the vineyard (Matt. xxi.) planted and hired out to the husbandmen, that would not render to the lord of the fruit in due time, and therefore was taken from them, and hired out to other, doth confirm the same. For Christ saith to the Jews, "The kingdom of heaven shall be taken from you, and given to a nation that will bring forth the fruits thereof:" as it is come to pass. For the Jews have lost the spiritual knowledge of God, and of his commandments, and also of all the scripture, so that they can understand nothing godly. And the door is so locked up, that all their knocking is in vain, though many of them take great pain for God's sake. And (Luke xiii.) the fig-tree that beareth no fruit is commanded to be plucked up. And, finally, hereto pertaineth, with infinite other, the terrible parable of the unclean spirit, (Luke xi.) which, after he is cast out, when he cometh and findoth his house swept and garnished, taketh to him seven worse than himself, and cometh and entereth in and dwelleth there, and so is the end of the man worse than the beginning. The Jews, they had cleansed themselves with God's word from all outward idolatry, and worshipping of idols; but their hearts remained still faithless to God-ward, and toward his mercy and truth, and therefore without love also and lust to his law, and to their neighbours for his sake; and through false trust in their own works (to which heresy the child of perdition, the wicked bishop of Rome, with his lawyers, hath brought us Christians[3]) were more abominable idolaters than before, and became ten times worse in the end than at the beginning. For the first idolatry was soon spied, and easy to be rebuked of the prophets by the scripture; but the latter is more subtle to beguile withal, and a hundred times of more difficulty to be weeded out of men's hearts.

Matt. xxi.

Luke xiii.

Luke xi. The unclean spirit that returneth in worse sort than he was when he was cast forth. Ant. ed.

This also is a conclusion, nothing more certain, or more proved by the testimony and examples of the scripture, that

[3 This parenthesis is in D. but not in N. Test. of 1536.]

Such as are professors of the word of God, and will not tame and scourge themselves, them will God plague and scourge. Ant. ed.

if any that favoureth the word of God be so weak that he cannot chaste his flesh, him will the Lord chastise and scourge every day sharper and sharper with tribulation and misfortune, that nothing shall prosper with him, but all shall go against him, whatsoever he take in hand; and the Lord will visit him with poverty, with sicknesses, and diseases, and shall plague him with plague upon plague, each more loathsome, terrible, and fearful than other, till he be at utter defiance with his flesh. Let us, therefore, that have now at this time our eyes opened again, through the tender mercy of God, keep a mean. Let us so put our trust in the mercy of God through Christ, that we know it our duty to keep the law of God, and to love our neighbours for their Father's sake which created them, and for their Lord's sake which redeemed them, and bought them so dearly with his blood. Let us walk in the fear of God, and have our eyes open unto both parts of God's covenants, being certified that none shall be partaker of the mercy save he that will fight against the flesh, to keep the law. And let us arm ourselves with this remembrance, that as Christ's works justify from sin, and set us in the favour of God, so our own deeds, through working of the Spirit of God, help us to continue in the favour and the grace into which Christ hath brought us; and that we can no longer continue in favour and grace, than our hearts are set to keep the law.

Christ's deeds set us in the favour of God, and our own help us to continue therein. W. T.

Furthermore, concerning the law of God, this is a general conclusion, that the whole law, whether they be ceremonies, sacrifices, yea, or sacraments either, or precepts of equity between man and man, throughout all degrees of the world, all were given for our profit and necessity only, and not for any need that God hath of our keeping them, or that his joy is increased thereby, or that the deed, for the deed itself, doth please him: that is, all that God requireth of us, when we be at one with him, and do put our trust in him, and love him, is, that we love every man his neighbour, to pity him, and to have compassion on him in all his needs, and to be merciful unto him. This to be even so, Christ testifieth in the seventh of Matthew, "This is the law and the prophets:" that is, to do as thou wouldest be done to, (according, I mean, to the doctrine of the scripture,) and not to do that thou wouldest not have done to thee, is all that the law requireth

and the prophets. And Paul to the Romans (xiii.) affirmeth also, that "love is the fulfilling of the law," and that he which loveth, doth of his own accord all that the law requireth. And (1 Tim. i.) Paul saith, that "the love of a pure heart, and good conscience, and faith unfeigned, is the end" and fulfilling of the law. For faith unfeigned in Christ's blood causeth thee to love for Christ's sake; which love is the pure love only and the only cause of a good conscience. For then is the conscience pure, when the eye looketh to Christ in all her deeds, to do them for his sake, and not for her own singular advantage, or any other wicked purpose. And John, both in his gospel and also epistles, never speaketh of any other law, than to love one another purely, affirming that we have God himself dwelling in us, and all that God desireth, if we love one the other.

Rom. xiii.

Love is the fulfilling of the law. W. T.

1 Tim. i.

Faith is the cause of love. W. T.

Seeing then that faith to God, and love and mercifulness to our neighbours, is all that the law requireth, therefore of necessity the law must be understood and interpreted by them: so that all inferior laws are to be kept and observed, as long as they be servants to faith and love; and then to be broken immediately, if through any occasion they hurt either the faith which we should have to God-ward in the confidence of Christ's blood, or the love which we owe to our neighbours for Christ's sake. And therefore, when the blind Pharisees murmured and grudged at him and his disciples, that they brake the sabbath-day and traditions of the elders, and that he himself did eat with publicans and sinners, he answered, (Matt. ix.) alleging Esaias the prophet, "Go rather and learn what this meaneth, I require mercy, and not sacrifice." And, (Matt. xii.) "O that ye wist what this meaneth, I require mercy, and not sacrifice." For only love and mercifulness understandeth the law, and else nothing. And he that hath not that written in his heart, shall never understand the law; no, though all the angels of heaven went about to teach him. And he that hath that graven in his heart, shall not only understand the law, but also shall do, of his own inclination, all that is required of the law, though never law had been given; as all mothers do of themselves, without law, unto their children all that can be required by any law; love overcoming all pain, grief, tediousness, or loathsomeness. And even so, no doubt, if we had continued

Matt. ix.

God requireth mercy and not sacrifice. Ant. ed. Matt. xii.

Only love understandeth the law. W. T.

in our first state of innocency, we should ever have fulfilled the law without compulsion of the law. And because the law (which is a doctrine that, through teaching every man his duty, doth utter our corrupt nature) is sufficiently described by Moses, therefore is little mention made thereof in the new testament, save of love only, wherein all the law is included; as seldom mention is made of the new testament in the old law, save here and there are promises made unto them, that Christ should come and bless them and deliver them, and that the gospel and new testament should be preached and published unto all nations.

THE GOSPEL AND THE TWO TESTAMENTS.

Gospel. W. T.

The GOSPEL is glad tidings of mercy and grace, and that our corrupt nature shall be healed again for Christ's sake, and for the merits of his deservings only; yet on that condition, that we will turn to God, to learn to keep his laws spiritually, that is to say, of love for his sake, and will also suffer the curing of our infirmities. The new testament is as much to say as a new covenant. The old testament is an old temporal covenant, made between God and the carnal children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, otherwise called Israel, upon the deeds and the observing of a temporal law; where the reward of the keeping is temporal life, and prosperity in the land of Canaan; and the breaking is rewarded with temporal death and punishment. But the new testament is an everlasting covenant made unto the children of God, through faith in Christ, upon the deservings of Christ; where eternal life is promised to all that believe, and death to all that are unbelieving. My deeds, if I keep the law, are rewarded with temporal promises of this life; but if I believe in Christ, Christ's deeds have purchased for me the eternal promise of the everlasting life. If I commit nothing worthy of death, I deserve to my reward that no man kill me; if I hurt no man, I am worthy that no man hurt me. If I help my neighbour, I am worthy that he help me again, &c. So that with outward deeds, with which I serve other men, I deserve that other men do like to me in this world; and they extend no further. But Christ's deeds extend to life everlasting unto all that believe, &c.

New testament. W. T.

Our works extend no further than to our neighbour. Ant. ed.

These be sufficient in this place concerning the law and the gospel, new testament and old; so that, as there is but one God, one Christ, one faith, and one baptism, even so understand thou that there is but one gospel, though many write it, and many preach it. For all preach the same Christ, and bring the same glad tidings. And thereto Paul's epistles, with the gospel of John, and his first epistle, and the first epistle of St Peter, are most pure gospel, and most plainly and richly describe the glory of the grace of Christ. If ye require more of the law, seek in the prologue to the Romans, and in other places where it is sufficiently entreated of.

REPENTANCE.

Why Tyndale used this word repentance, rather than penance. Ant. ed.

CONCERNING this word REPENTANCE, or (as they used) "penance," the Hebrew hath in the old testament generally שׁוּב (*sob*), turn, or be converted: for which the translation that we take for St Jerome's[1] hath most part *converti* 'to turn, to be converted,' and sometime *agere pœnitentiam*. And the Greek in the new Testament hath perpetually μετανοέω, to turn in the heart and mind, and to come to the right knowledge, and to a man's right wit again. For which μετανοέω St Jerome's translation hath sometime *ago pœnitentiam*, 'I do repent;' sometime *pœniteo*, 'I repent;' sometime *pœniteor*, 'I am repentant;' sometime *habeo pœnitentiam*, 'I have repentance;' sometime *pœnitet me*, 'it repenteth me.' And Erasmus useth much this word *resipisco*, 'I come to myself, or to my right mind again.' And the very sense and signification both of the Hebrew and also of the Greek word is, to be converted and to turn to God with all the heart, to know his will, and to live according to his laws; and to be cured of our corrupt nature with the oil of his Spirit, and wine of obedience to his doctrine. Which conversion or turning, if it be unfeigned, these four do accompany it and are included therein.

The four parts of repentance. Ant. ed.

Confession, not in the priest's ear, (for that is but man's invention,) but to God in the heart, and before all the congregation of God; how that we be sinners and sinful, and that our whole nature is corrupt, and inclined to sin and all unrighteousness, and therefore evil, wicked, and damnable; and his law holy and just, by which our sinful nature is re-

[1 The Latin Vulgate.]

buked: and also to our neighbours, if we have offended any person particularly. Then *contrition*, sorrowfulness that we be such damnable sinners, and not only have sinned, but are wholly inclined to sin still. Thirdly, *faith* (of which our old doctors have made no mention at all in the description of their penance), that God for Christ's sake doth forgive us, and receive us to mercy, and is at one with us, and will heal our corrupt nature. And fourthly, *satisfaction*, or amends-making, not to God with holy works, but to my neighbour whom I have hurt, and to the congregation of God, whom I have offended, if any open crime be found in me; and submitting of a man's self unto the congregation or church of Christ, and to the officers of the same, to have his life corrected and governed henceforth of them, according to the true doctrine of the church of Christ. And note this, that as satisfaction or amends-making is counted righteousness before the world, and a purging of sin, so that the world, when I have made a full mends, hath no further to complain; even so faith in Christ's blood is counted righteousness and a purging of all sin before God.

What manner of satisfaction we ought to make. Ant. ed.

Moreover, he that sinneth against his brother, sinneth also against his Father, almighty God: and as the sin committed against his brother is purged before the world with making amends or asking forgiveness, even so is the sin committed against God purged through faith in Christ's blood only. For Christ saith, (John viii.) "Except ye believe that I am he, ye shall die in your sins:" that is to say, 'If ye think that there is any other sacrifice or satisfaction to Godward, than me, ye remain ever in sin before God, howsoever righteous ye appear before the world.' Wherefore now, whether ye call this (μετάνοια) repentance, conversion, or turning again to God, either amending, &c.; or whether ye say, 'Repent, be converted, turn to God, amend your living,' or what ye lust; I am content, so ye understand what is meant thereby, as I have now declared.

ELDERS.

Why he nameth them elders and not priests. Ant. ed.

In the old Testament the temporal heads and rulers of the Jews, which had the governance over the lay or common people, are called elders, as ye may see in the four evangelists. Out of which custom Paul in his epistle, and also

Peter, called the prelates and spiritual governors, which are bishops and priests, elders. Now, whether ye call them elders or priests, it is to me all one, so that ye understand that they be officers and servants of the word of God: unto the which all men, both high and low, that will not rebel against Christ, must obey, as long they preach and rule truly, and no longer[1].

THE OFFICE OF ALL ESTATES.

A BISHOP must be faultless, the husband of one wife, honestly apparelled, harberous[2], apt to teach, not drunken, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre, but gentle, abhorring fighting, abhorring covetousness, and one that ruleth his own house honestly, having children under obedience with all honesty.

RULERS.

YE that are rulers in the earth, see that you love righteousness, and that you commit none unrighteousness in judgment.

THOU shalt not favour the poor, nor honour the mighty, but shall judge thy neighbour righteously.

THE COMMONS.

YE shall not deceive your brethren, neither with weight nor measure, but shall have true balances and true weights; for I am the Lord your God.

[1 In Day's folio this kind of appendix to the prologue ceases here. The articles which follow are from the New Test. of 1536.]

[2 Hospitable.]

A PROLOGUE

UPON THE GOSPEL OF ST MARK.

Of Mark, read (Acts xii.) how Peter, after he was loosed out of prison by the angel, came to Mark's mother's house, where many of the disciples were praying for his deliverance. And Paul and Barnabas took him with them from Jerusalem, and brought him to Antioch, Acts xii, and Acts xiii. Paul and Barnabas took Mark with them when they were sent to preach; from whom he also departed, as it appeareth in the said chapter, and returned to Jerusalem again. And, Acts xv. Paul and Barnabas were at variance about him; Paul not willing to take him with them, because he forsook them in their first journey. Notwithstanding yet, when Paul wrote the epistle to the Colossians, Mark was with him, as he saith in the fourth chapter; of whom Paul also testifieth, both that he was Barnabas' sister's son, and also his fellow-worker in the kingdom of God.

And, 2 Timothy iv., Paul commandeth Timothy to bring Mark with him, affirming that he was needful to him to minister to him. Finally, he was also with Peter when he wrote his first epistle, and so familiar, that Peter calleth him his son: whereof ye see of whom he learned his gospel, even of the very apostles, with whom he had his continual conversation; and also of what authority his writing is, and how worthy of credence.

A PROLOGUE

UPON THE GOSPEL OF ST LUKE.

Lucas was Paul's companion, at the leastway from the xvith of the Acts forth[1], and with him in all his tribulation; and he went with Paul at his last going up to Jerusalem. And from thence he followed Paul to Cæsarea, where he lay two years in prison; and from Cæsarea he went with Paul to Rome, where he lay two other years in prison. And he was with Paul when he wrote to the Colossians, as he testifieth in the fourth chapter, saying, "The beloved Lucas the physician saluteth you;" and he was with Paul when he wrote the second epistle to Timothy, as he saith in the fourth chapter, saying, "Only Lucas is with me:" whereby ye see the authority of the man, and of what credence and reverence his writing is worthy of, and thereto of whom he learned the story of his gospel; as he himself saith, how that he learned it and searched it out with all diligence of them that saw it, and were also partakers at the doing. And as for the Acts of the Apostles, he himself was at the doing of them, at the least of the most part, and had his part therein, and therefore wrote of his own experience.

[1 That is, *forward.*]

A PROLOGUE

UPON THE GOSPEL OF ST JOHN.

JOHN, what he was, is manifest by the three first evangelists: first, Christ's apostle, and that one of the chief: then, Christ's nigh kinsman, and for his singular innocency and softness singularly beloved, and of singular familiarity with Christ, and ever one of the three witnesses of most secret things. The cause of his writing was certain heresies that arose in his time, namely two; of which one denied Christ to be very God, and the other to be very man and to be come in the very flesh and nature of man. Against the which two heresies he wrote both his gospel and also his first epistle; and in the beginning of his gospel saith, that "the Word" or thing "was at the beginning, and was with God, and was also very God;" and that "all things were created by it;" and that "it was also made flesh," that is to say, became very man; and "he dwelt among us," saith he, "and we saw his glory." And in the beginning of his epistle he saith, "We shew you of the thing that was from the beginning, which also we heard, saw with our eyes, and our hands handled." And again, "We shew you everlasting life, that was with the Father, and appeared to us, and we heard and saw it," &c. In that he saith that it was from the beginning, and that it was eternal life, and that it was with God, he affirmeth him to be very God. And that he saith, "We heard, saw, and felt," he witnesseth that he was very man also. John also wrote last, and therefore touched not the story that the other had compiled, but writeth most of faith, and promises, and of the sermons of Christ.

This be sufficient concerning the four evangelists and their authority and worthiness to be believed.

A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE ROMANS.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

This prologue is called 'an introduction to Paul's epistle to the Romans,' in a list of forbidden books given by Foxe, Vol. iv. p. 667, London, 1837; and Sir Thomas More says of it: "Then have ye his [Tyndale's] introduction into St Paul's epistle, with which he introduceth and bringeth his readers into a false understanding of St Paul, making them, among many other heresies, believe that St Paul were in the mind that only faith were alway sufficient for salvation, and that men's good works were nothing worth, nor could no thanks deserve, nor no reward in heaven, though they were wrought in grace. And these things teacheth Tyndale as the mind of St Paul; when St Paul saith himself that they which so misconstrue him, to the depraving of men's good works, be well worthy damnation." Pref. to Confutacion, 1532. Dr Robert Ridley, prebendary of St Paul's, had taken angry notice of it at an earlier date. In writing to archbishop Warham's chaplain, Henry Golde, afterwards implicated in the affair of the Kentish nun, who pretended to have revelations from heaven, he enumerates the "Introduction into the epistle of Paul to the Romans," with the Prologue afterwards called the Pathway, as proving Tyndale and Roye to be manifest Lutherans, and as teaching "altogether most poisoned and abhorrable heresies that can be thought." The date of this letter is Feb. 1527; and the Prologue to the Romans appears to have been published by Tyndale, as a separate pamphlet, in 1526. It might have given this opponent of the reformation more ground for calling Tyndale a Lutheran than either More or he seems to have been aware; for the greater part of it is in fact a paraphrase, and sometimes a literal translation, of Luther's preface to the Romans, a Latin version of which had been published in 1523, with this title: "Præfatio methodica totius Scripturæ in epistola ad Romanos, e vernacula Martini Lutheri in Latinum versa; per Justum Jonam." The passages more or less closely copied from Luther will be distinguished with quotation marks in this reprint: and the marginal notes are to be understood as taken from Day's folio: for there are no margins to this prologue in the Testaments collated by the editor; and though there are several in the copy of this prologue introduced into Matthewe's Bible, first ed. of 1537, which has also been collated, they are generally different from Day's.]

A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE ROMANS.

The epistle to the Romans is the excellentest part of the new Testament.

'FORASMUCH as this epistle is the principal and most excellent part[1] of the new Testament and most pure evangelion', that is to say, glad tidings, and that we call gospel, and also is a light and a way unto the whole scripture; I think it meet 'that every christian man not only know it, by rote and without the book, but also exercise himself therein evermore continually; as with the daily bread of the soul. No man verily can read it too oft, or study it too well; for the more it is studied, the easier it is; the more it is chewed, the pleasanter it is; and the more groundly it is searched, the preciouser things are found in it,' so great treasure of spiritual things lieth hid therein. 'I will therefore bestow my labour and diligence, through this little preface or prologue, to prepare a way in thereunto, so far forth as God shall give me grace, that it may be the better understood of every man: for it hath been hitherto evil darkened with glosses and wonderful dreams of sophisters, that no man could spy out the intent and meaning of it; which nevertheless of itself is a bright light, and sufficient to give light unto all the scripture.'

Here you must note these words.

'First, We must mark diligently the manner of speaking of the apostle, and above all things know what Paul meaneth by these words, the law, sin, grace, faith, righteousness, flesh, spirit, and such like; or else, read thou it ever so oft, thou shalt but lose thy labour. This word LAW may not be understood here after the common manner, and (to use Paul's term) after the manner of men,' or after man's ways; as that thou wouldest say the law here, in this place, were nothing but learning, which teacheth what ought to be done, and what ought not to be done, as it goeth with man's law, 'where the law is fulfilled with outward works only, though the heart be never so far off. But God

Law, how it is to be understood.

[1 Luther, right corner-stone.]

judgeth after[2] the ground of the heart, yea, and the thoughts and the secret movings of the mind: therefore his law requireth the ground of the heart,' and love from the bottom thereof, 'and is not content with the outward work only, but rebuketh those works most of all, which spring not of love, from the ground' and low bottom of the heart, though they appear outward never so honest and good; as Christ, in the gospel rebuketh the Pharisees above all other that were open sinners, and calleth them hypocrites, that is to say, simulars[3], and painted sepulchres: which Pharisees yet lived no men so pure, as pertaining to the outward deeds and works of the law; yea, and Paul (Phil. iii.) confesseth of himself that, as touching the law, he was such a one as no man could complain on; and, notwithstanding, was yet a murderer of the Christians, persecuted them, and tormented them so sore that he compelled them to blaspheme Christ, and was altogether merciless, as many are which now feign outward good works.

The law of God requireth the bottom of our hearts.

St Paul was great persecutor of the Christians.

'For this cause the 115th[4] psalm calleth all men liars, because that no man keepeth the law from the ground of the heart, neither can keep it, though he appear outwardly full of good works. For all men are naturally inclined unto evil, and hate the law. We find in ourselves unlust and tediousness to do good, but lust and delectation to do evil. Now where no free lust is to do good, there the bottom of the heart fulfilleth not the law; and there no doubt is also sin, and wrath is deserved before God, though there be never so great outward shew and appearance of honest living.

If we be not willing to do good, then doth sin reign in us.

For this cause concludeth St Paul in the second chapter, that the Jews all are sinners and transgressors of the law, though they make men believe, through hypocrisy of outward works, how that they fulfil the law; 'and saith, that he only which doth the law is righteous before God, meaning thereby, that no man with outward works fulfilleth the law. "Thou," saith he to the Jew, "teachest a man should not break wed-

No man can fulfil the law, but Christ only.

[2 *After* is wanting in Matthewe's Bible.]

[3 So D. but in M. B. *dissemblers*. The word *dissimulars* will occur presently, and means persons who conceal what they are; whilst *simulars* means such as pretend to be what they are not.]

[4 The 115th of the Vulgate is the 116th of the Hebrew and of our authorised version.]

lock, and yet breakest wedlock thyself. Wherein thou judgest another man, therein condemnest thou thyself; for thou thyself doest even the very same things which thou judgest." As though he would say, Thou livest outwardly in the works of the law, and judgest them that live not so. Thou teachest other men, and seest a mote in another man's eye, but art not ware of the beam that is in thine own eye. For though thou keep the law outwardly with works, for fear of rebuke, shame, and punishment, either for love of reward, advantage, and vain-glory; yet doest thou all without lust and love toward the law, and hadst lever a great deal otherwise do, if thou didst not fear the law;' yea, inwardly, in thine heart, thou wouldest that there were no law, no, nor yet God, the author and venger of the law, if it were possible; so painful it is unto thee to have thine appetites refrained, and to be kept down.

The pure and perfect keeping of the law is to do the same of love.

'Wherefore then it is a plain conclusion, that thou, from the ground and bottom of thine heart, art an enemy to the law. What prevaileth it now, that thou teachest another man not to steal, when thou thine own self art a thief in thine heart, and outwardly wouldest fain steal if thou durst? Though that the outward deeds abide not alway behind with such hypocrites and dissimulars, but break forth, even as an evil scab cannot always be kept in with violence of medicine.

The law cannot be satisfied but by *inward* love.

'Thou teachest another man, but teachest not thyself; yea, thou wottest not what thou teachest, for thou understandest not the law aright,' how that it cannot be fulfilled and satisfied, but with an unfeigned[1] love and affection; much less can it be fulfilled with outward deeds and works only.

The law increaseth sin. M. B.

'Moreover, the law increaseth sin, as he saith, (chap. v.) because man is an enemy to the law, forasmuch as it requireth so many things clean contrary to his nature,' whereof he is not able to fulfil one point or tittle as the law requireth it; and therefore are we more provoked, and have greater lust to break it.

The law is spiritual.

'For which cause sake he saith, (chap. vii,) that "the law is spiritual;" as though he would say, If the law were fleshly, and but man's doctrine, it might be fulfilled, satisfied, and stilled with outward deeds. But now is the law ghostly, and no man fulfilleth it, except that all that he doth spring

[1 So M. B., but Day has *inward*.]

of love from the bottom of the heart. Such a new heart and lusty courage unto the law-ward canst thou never come by of thine own strength and enforcement, but by the operation and working of the Spirit. For the Spirit of God only maketh a man spiritual and like unto the law, so that now henceforth he doth nothing of fear, or for lucre, or vantage's sake, or of vain-glory, but of a free heart and of inward lust. The law is spiritual, and will be both loved and fulfilled of a spiritual heart; and therefore of necessity requireth it the Spirit, that maketh a man's heart free, and giveth him lust and courage unto the law-ward. Where such a spirit is not, there remaineth sin, grudging, and hatred against the law; which law nevertheless is good, righteous, and holy.'

The spirit of God maketh a man spiritual.

The law is good, righteous, and holy.

'Acquaint thyself therefore with the manner of speaking of the apostle, and let this now stick fast in thine heart, that it is not both one, to do the deeds and works of the law, and to fulfil the law. The work of the law is whatsoever a man doth or can do of his own free-will, of his own proper strength and enforcing. Notwithstanding, though there be never so great working, yet as long as there remaineth in the heart unlust, tediousness, grudging, grief, pain, loathsomeness, and compulsion toward the law, so long are all the works unprofitable, lost, yea, and damnable in the sight of God. This meaneth Paul, (chap. iii.) where he saith, "By the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified in the sight of God." Hereby perceivest thou, that those sophisters are but deceivers, who teach that a man may and must prepare himself to grace, and to the favour of God, with good works, before he have the Spirit and true faith of Christ. How can they prepare themselves unto the favour of God, and to that which is good, when they themselves can do no good, nor can once think a good thought, or consent to do good, the devil possessing their hearts, minds, and thoughts, captive at his pleasure? Can those works please God, thinkest thou, which are done with grief, pain, and tediousness, with an evil will, with a contrary and grudging mind?' O holy Prosperus, how mightily with the scripture of Paul didst thou confound this heresy twelve hundred years ago, or thereupon[2]!

Works of the law and the fulfilling of the law are two things.

By the works of the law no man can be justified.

[2 Prosperus, or Tiro Prosper of Ries in Aquitain, lived in the earlier half of the fifth century, and distinguished himself by his de-

As the law is spiritual, so it must be fulfilled spiritually.

'To fulfil the law is to do the works thereof, and whatsoever the law commands, with love, lust, and inward affection and delectation, and to live godly and well, freely, willingly, and without compulsion of the law, even as though there were no law at all. Such lust, and free liberty to love[1] the law, cometh only by the working of the Spirit in the heart; as he saith in the fifth chapter.'

Where true faith is, there is the Spirit of God.

'Now is the Spirit none otherwise given, than by faith only, in that we believe the promises of God' without wavering, how that God is true, and will fulfil all his good promises towards us for Christ's blood's sake, as it is plain, (chap. i.): "I am not ashamed," saith Paul, "of Christ's glad tidings, for it is the power of God unto salvation to as many as believe;" for at once and together, even as we believe the glad tidings preached to us, the Holy Ghost entereth into our hearts, and looseth the bonds of the devil, which before possessed our hearts in captivity, and held them, that we could have no lust to the will of God in the law; and 'as the Spirit cometh by faith only, even so faith cometh by hearing the word, or glad tidings, of God, when Christ is preached, how that he is God's Son and man also, dead and risen again for our sakes, as he saith in chap. iii. iv. x. All our justifying then cometh of faith, and faith and the Spirit come of God, and not of us. [2]* When we say, faith bringeth the Spirit, it is not to be understood, that faith deserveth the Spirit, or that the Spirit is not present in us before faith: for the Spirit is ever in us, and faith is the gift and working of the Spirit: but through preaching the Spirit beginneth to work in us.

Our justification is by faith in Christ.

fence of the doctrines of Augustine, and by his argumentative replies to their Pelagian opponents. Cave, Script. Eccles. under date of 444. The main tenor of his writings was to the effect designated by Tyndale; and a single passage translated from them by Milner may serve as a specimen of his view of the question respecting man's ability to do good. 'The mind, which originally had light from the supreme light, involves the will in darkness, and leaving the light chooses to grow black in earthly darkness, nor can it voluntarily lift up its captive eyes on high; because, by the robbery of the tyrant, it hath even lost the knowledge of the greatness of the wound under which it lies prostrate.' Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, Cent. V. ch. 13.]

[1 So D., in M. B. *love* is wanting.]

[2 The passage included between the asterisks is not in Day's folio.]

And as by preaching the law he worketh the fear of God; so by preaching the glad tidings he worketh faith. And now when we believe, and are come under the covenant of God, then are we sure of the Spirit by the promise of God, and then the Spirit accompanieth faith inseparably, and we begin to feel his working. And so faith certifieth us of the Spirit, and also bringeth the Spirit with her, unto the working of all other gifts of grace, and to the working out of the rest of our salvation, until we have altogether overcome sin, death, hell, and Satan, and are come unto the everlasting life of glory. And for this cause we say, Faith bringeth the Spirit.*

'Hereof cometh it, that faith only justifieth, maketh righteous, and fulfilleth the law: for it bringeth the Spirit through Christ's deservings; the Spirit bringeth lust, looseth the heart, maketh him free, setteth him at liberty, and giveth him strength to work the deeds of the law with love, even as the law requireth; then at the last out of the same faith, so working in the heart, spring all good works by their own accord. That meaneth he in the third chapter: for after he hath cast away the works of the law, so that he soundeth as though he would break and disannul the law through faith, he answereth to that might be laid against him, saying, "We destroy not the law through faith, but maintain, further, or establish the law through faith;" that is to say, we fulfil the law through faith.'

Out of true faith springeth all good works.

'Sin in the scripture is not called that outward work only committed by the body, but all the whole business, and whatsoever accompanieth, moveth, or stirreth unto the outward deed; and that whence the works spring, as unbelief, proneness, and readiness unto the deed in the ground of the heart, with all the powers, affections, and appetites, wherewith we can but sin; so that we say, that a man then sinneth, when he is carried away headlong into sin, altogether, as much as he is, of that poisonous inclination and corrupt nature, wherein he was conceived and born. For there is none outward sin committed, except a man be carried away altogether, with life, soul, heart, body, lust and mind thereunto. The scripture looketh singularly unto the heart, and unto the root and original fountain of all sin; which is unbelief in the bottom of the heart. For as faith only justifieth and bringeth the Spirit and lust unto the outward good

Of sin.

Sin, what it is.

works; even so unbelief only damneth and keepeth out the Spirit, provoketh the flesh, and stirreth up lust unto the evil outward works, as it happened[1] to Adam and Eve in Paradise.' Gen. iii.

Gen. iii.

Sin in the scripture is chiefly called unbelief.

'For this cause Christ calleth sin unbelief; and that notably in John xvi. "The spirit," saith he, "shall rebuke the world of sin, because they believe not in me." [2]*And, (John viii.) "I am the light of the world." And therefore (John xii.) he biddeth them, "While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light; for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not where he goeth." Now as Christ is the light, so is the ignorance of Christ that darkness whereof he speaketh, in which he that walketh knoweth not whither he goeth; that is, he knoweth not how to work a good work in the sight of God, or what a good work is. And therefore Christ saith, "As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world; but there cometh night when no man can work:" which night is but ignorance of Christ, in which no man can see to do any work to please God. And Paul exhorteth, (Eph. iv.) That they "walk not as other heathens, who are strangers from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them." And again, in the same chapter: "Put off the old man, which is corrupt through the lusts of error," that is to say, ignorance. And, (Rom. xiii.) "Let us cast away the deeds of darkness," that is to say, of ignorance and unbelief. And, (1 Pet. i.) "Fashion not yourselves unto your old lusts of ignorance." And (1 John ii.) "He that loveth his brother dwelleth in light, and he that hateth his brother walketh in darkness, and wotteth not whither he goeth, for darkness hath blinded his eyes." By light he meaneth the knowledge of Christ, and by darkness the ignorance of Christ. For it is impossible that he who knoweth Christ truly should hate his brother.

John viii.

John xii.

Eph. iv.

Rom. xiii.

1 Pet. i.

1 John ii.

Furthermore, to perceive this more clearly, thou shalt understand, that it is not possible to sin any sin at all, except a man break the first commandment before. Now the first commandment is divided into two verses: "Thy Lord God is one God; and thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thine heart,

[1 So Matt. Bible. D. has *fortuned.*]

[2 The passage between the asterisks is not in Day nor in Luther; but in 1536 edition of Tyndale's New Testament, and in Matthewe's Bible.]

with all thy soul, with all thy power, and with all thy might." And the whole cause why I sin against any inferior precept is, that this love is not in mine heart; for were this love written in mine heart, and were it full and perfect in my soul, it would keep mine heart from consenting unto any sin. And the whole and only cause why this love is not written in our hearts is, that we believe not the first part, that "our Lord God is one God." For wist I what these words, "one Lord and one God," mean; that is to say, if I understood that he made all and ruleth all, and that whatsoever is done to me, whether it be good or bad, is yet his will, and that he only is the Lord that ruleth and doeth it; and wist thereto what this word, "mine," meaneth; that is to say, if mine heart believed and felt the infinite benefits and kindness of God toward me, and understood and earnestly believed the manifold covenants of mercy wherewith God hath bound himself to be mine wholly and altogether, with all his power, love, mercy, and might; then should I love him with all mine heart, soul, power, and might, and of that love ever keep his commandments. So see ye now, that as faith is the mother of all goodness and of all good works; so is unbelief the ground and root of all evil and all evil works.

Finally, if any man that hath forsaken sin, and is converted to put his trust in Christ, and to keep the law of God, do fall at any time, the cause is, that the flesh through negligence hath choked the spirit and oppressed her, and taken from her the food of her strength; which food is her meditation in God, and in his wonderful deeds, and in the manifold covenants of his mercy.*

'Wherefore then, before all good works, as good fruits, there must needs be faith in the heart whence they spring. And before all bad deeds, as bad fruits, there must needs be unbelief in the heart, as in the root, fountain, pith, and strength of all sin: which unbelief and ignorance[3] is called the head of the serpent, of the old dragon, which the woman's seed, Christ, must tread under foot as promised unto Adam.'

'GRACE and gift have this difference. Grace properly is God's favour, benevolence, or kind mind, which of his

Grace, how it is understood in the scriptures.

[3 And ignorance, is not in Day, nor in Luther; but in Matthewe's Bible and the Tyndale of 1536.]

own self, without deserving of us, he beareth to us, whereby he was moved and inclined to give Christ unto us, with all his other gifts of grace. Gift is the Holy Ghost, and his working, which he poureth into the hearts of them on whom he hath mercy, and whom he favoureth. Though the gifts of the Spirit increase in us daily, and have not yet their full perfection, yea, and though there remain in us yet evil lusts and sin, which fight against the Spirit, as he saith here in chap. vii. and Gal. v., and as it was spoken before, in Gen. iii., of the debate between the woman's seed and the seed of the serpent; yet nevertheless God's favour is so great and so strong over us for Christ's sake, that we are counted for full whole, and perfect before God. For God's favour toward us divideth not herself, increasing a little and a little, as do the gifts; but receiveth us whole, and altogether, in full love for Christ's sake, our Intercessor and Mediator, and because the gifts of the Spirit, and the battle between the Spirit and evil lusts, are begun in us already.'

Gift, what it is.

Gal. v.

Gen. iii.

God for Christ's sake, receiveth us.

'Of this now understandest thou the seventh chapter, where Paul accuseth himself as a sinner, and yet in the eight chapter saith, "there is no damnation to them that are in Christ;" and that because of the Spirit, and because the gifts of the Spirit are begun in us. Sinners we are, because the flesh is not full killed and mortified: nevertheless, inasmuch as we believe in Christ, and have the earnest and beginning of the Spirit, and would fain be perfect, God is so loving and favourable unto us, that he will not look on such sin, neither will count it as sin; but will deal with us according to our belief in Christ, and according to his promises which he hath sworn to us, until the sin be full slain and mortified by death.'

There is no damnation to them that are in Christ.

'FAITH is not man's opinion and dream, as some imagine and feign, when they hear the story of the gospel; but when they see that there follow no good works, nor amendment of living, though they hear, yea, and can babble many things of faith, then they fall from the right way, and say, Faith only justifieth not; a man must have good works also, if he will be righteous and safe. The cause is, when they hear the gospel or glad tidings, they feign of their own strength certain imaginations and thoughts in their hearts,

Faith, what it is.

False and feigned faith.

saying, I have heard the gospel, I remember the story, lo! I believe:' and that they count right faith; which nevertheless, as it is but man's imagination and feigning, even so it profiteth not, neither follow there any good works, or amendment of living.'

'But right faith is a thing wrought by the Holy Ghost in us, which changeth us, turneth us into a new nature, and begetteth us anew in God, and maketh us the sons of God, as thou readest in the first of John; and killeth the old Adam, and maketh us altogether new in the heart, mind, will, lust, and in all our affections and powers of the soul; the Holy Ghost ever accompanying her, and ruling the heart[1]. Faith is a lively thing, mighty in working, valiant, and strong, ever doing, ever fruitful; so that it is impossible that he who is endued therewith should not work always good works without ceasing. He asketh not whether good works are to be done or not, but hath done them already, ere mention be made of them; and is always doing, for such is his nature; for quick faith in his heart, and lively moving of the Spirit, drive him and stir him thereunto. Whosoever doth not good works, is an unbelieving person, and faithless, and looketh round about him, groping after faith and good works, and wotteth not what faith or good works mean, though he babble never so many things of faith and good works.'

True faith is lively.

Faith is not idle.

'Faith is, then, a lively and a stedfast trust in the favour of God, wherewith we commit ourselves altogether unto God; and that trust is so surely grounded, and sticketh so fast in our hearts, that a man would not once doubt of it, though he should die a thousand times therefor. And such trust, wrought by the Holy Ghost through faith, maketh a man glad, lusty, cheerful, and true-hearted unto God and unto all creatures: whereof, willingly and without compulsion, he is glad and ready to do good to every man, to do service to every man, to suffer all things, that God may be loved and praised, which hath given him such grace; so that it is impossible to separate good works from faith, even as it is impossible to separate heat and burning from fire. Therefore take heed to thyself, and beware of thine own fantasies and imaginations; which to judge of faith and

The true definition of faith.

Good works cannot be separate from faith.

[1 So Tynd. of 1536 and M. B.; Day has only 'and bringeth the Holy Ghost with her.']

good works will seem wise, when indeed they are stark blind and of all things most foolish. Pray God, that he will vouchsafe to work faith in thine heart, or else shalt thou remain evermore faithless; feign thou, imagine thou, enforce thou, wrestle with thyself, and do what thou wilt or canst.'

Righteousness, and how it is to be understood.

'RIGHTEOUSNESS is even such faith; and is called God's righteousness, or righteousness that is of value before God. For it is God's gift, and it altereth a man, and changeth him into a new spiritual nature, and maketh him free and liberal to pay every man his duty. For through faith a man is purged of his sins, and obtaineth lust unto the law of God; whereby he giveth God his honour, and payeth him that he oweth him; and unto men he doth service willingly, wherewithsoever he can, and payeth every man his duty. Such righteousness can nature, free-will, and our own strength, never bring to pass. For as no man can give himself faith, so can he not take away unbelief; how then can he take away any sin at all? Wherefore all is false hypocrisy and sin, whatsoever is done without faith or in unbelief, as it is evident in the fourteenth chapter unto the Romans, though it appear never so glorious or beautiful outwards.'

Flesh and spirit, what they are, and how to understand them.

John iii.

'FLESH and SPIRIT mayest thou not here understand as though flesh were only that which pertaineth unto unchastity, and the Spirit that which inwardly pertaineth unto the heart: but Paul calleth flesh here, as Christ doth, John iii., all that is born of flesh; that is to wit, the whole man, with life, soul, body, wit, will, reason, and whatsoever he is or doth within and without; because that these all, and all that is in man, study after the world and the flesh. Call flesh therefore whatsoever we think or speak of God, of faith, of good works, and of spiritual matters, as long as we are without the Spirit of God. Call flesh also all works which are done without grace, and without the working of the Spirit, howsoever good, holy, and spiritual, they seem to be: as thou mayest prove by the fifth chapter unto the Galatians, where Paul numbereth worshipping of idols, witchcraft, envy, and hate, among the deeds of the flesh; and by the eighth unto the Romans, where he saith that the law by the reason of the flesh is weak; which is not understood of unchastity only, but of all sins, and most especially of unbelief, which is a vice most spiritual, and ground of all sins.'

How this word flesh is to be understood in the scripture.

Incredulity is the chief of all sins.

'And as thou callest him flesh which is not renewed with the Spirit, and born again in Christ, and all his deeds, even the very motions of his heart and mind, his learning, doctrine, and contemplation of high things, his preaching, teaching, and study in the scriptures, building of churches, founding of abbeys, giving of alms, mass, matins, and whatsoever he doth, though it seem spiritual and after the laws of God; so, contrariwise, call him spiritual who is renewed in Christ, and all his deeds which spring of faith, seem they never so gross, as the washing of the disciples' feet done by Christ, and Peter's fishing after the resurrection; yea, and whatsoever is done within the laws of God, though it be wrought by the body, as the very wiping of shoes and such like, howsoever gross they appear outwardly. Without such understanding of these words thou canst never understand this epistle of Paul, neither any other place in the holy scripture. Take heed, therefore; for whosoever understandeth these words otherwise, the same understandeth not Paul, whatsoever he be.'

Flesh is here well described.

Whatsoever proceedeth of faith is spiritual.

'Now will we prepare ourselves unto the epistle.'

'Forasmuch as it becometh the preacher of Christ's glad tidings, first, through opening of the law, to rebuke all things, and to prove all things sin, that proceed not of the Spirit and of faith in Christ; and to prove all men sinners, and children of wrath by inheritance; and how that to sin is their nature, and that by nature they can none otherwise do than to sin; and therewith to abate the pride of man, and to bring him unto the knowledge of himself and to misery and wretchedness, that he might desire help; even so doth St Paul. And he beginneth, in the first chapter, to rebuke unbelief and gross sins, which all men see, as idolatry, and as the gross sins of the heathen were, and as the sins now are of all them who live in ignorance, without faith, and without the favour of God; and saith, "The wrath of the God of heaven appeareth through the gospel upon all men, for their ungodliness and unholy living." For though it be known, and daily understood by the creatures, that there is but one God, yet is nature of herself, without the Spirit and grace, so corrupt and so poisoned, that men neither can thank him, neither worship him, neither give him his due honour; but they blind themselves, and fall without ceasing into worse case, even until they come unto worshipping of images, and work-

A necessary and profitable instruction for all preachers.

The manner of St Paul's doctrine.

Nature is so blind that we cannot see nor understand the goodness of God and his mercy, shewed unto us in Christ Jesus his Son.

ing of shameful sins, which are abominable and against nature, and moreover they suffer the same unrebuked in others, having delectation and pleasure therein.'

St Paul condemneth all hypocrites.

'In the second chapter the apostle proceedeth further, and rebuketh all those holy people also, which, without lust and love to the law, live well outwardly in the face of the world, and condemn others gladly; as the nature of all hypocrites is, to think themselves pure in respect of open sinners; and yet they hate the law inwardly, and are full of covetousness, and envy, and of all uncleanness (Matt. xxiii.). These are they which despise the goodness of God, and according to the hardness of their hearts heap together for themselves the wrath of God. Furthermore, St Paul, as a true expounder of the law, suffereth no man to be without sin; but declareth that all they are under sin, who of free-will and of nature will live well, and suffereth them not to be better than the open sinners, yea, he calleth them hard-hearted and such as cannot repent.'

How St Paul rebuketh hypocrites.

The difference between the Jew and the Gentile.

'In the third chapter he mingleth both together, both the Jews and the Gentiles; and saith, that the one is as the other, both sinners, and no difference between them, save in this only, that the Jews had the word of God committed unto them. And though many of them believed not thereon, yet is God's truth and promise thereby neither hurt nor diminished; and he taketh in his way, and allegeth the saying of Psalm li., "that God might abide true in his words, and overcome when he is judged." After that he returneth to his purpose again, and proveth by the scripture, that all men, without difference or exception, are sinners; and that by the works of the law no man is justified; but that the law was given to utter and to declare sin only. Then he beginneth and sheweth the right way unto righteousness, by what means men must be made righteous and safe; and saith, they are all sinners and without praise before God, and must, without their own deserving, be made righteous through faith in Christ; who hath deserved such righteousness for us, and is become unto us God's mercy-seat, for the remission of sins that are past: thereby proving that Christ's righteousness, which cometh upon us through faith, helpeth us only. Which righteousness, saith he, is now declared through the gospel, and was "testified of before by the law and the prophets."

All men are sinners.

The way how we must be made righteous.

Furthermore, saith he, the law is holpen and furthered through faith; though that the works thereof, with all their boast, are brought to nought, and are proved not to justify[1].' Faith obtaineth the fulfilling of the law.

'In the fourth chapter, after that now, by the three first chapters, sins are opened, and the way of faith unto righteousness laid, he beginneth to answer unto certain objections and cavillations. And first, he putteth forth those blind reasons, which commonly they that will be justified by their own works are wont to make, when they hear that faith only, without works, justifieth; saying, 'Shall men do no good works? Yea, and if faith only justifieth, what need a man to study for to do good works?' He putteth forth therefore Abraham for an example, saying, What did Abraham with his works? Was all in vain? Came his works to no profit? And so he concludeth that Abraham, without and before all works, was justified and made righteous; insomuch that, before the work of circumcision, he was praised of the scripture, and called righteous by his faith only (Gen. xv.): so that he did not the work of circumcision, for to be helped thereby unto righteousness, which yet God commanded him to do, and was a good work of obedience. So in like wise, no doubt, none other works help any thing at all unto a man's justifying: but as Abraham's circumcision was an outward sign, whereby he declared his righteousness which he had by faith, and his obedience and readiness unto the will of God; even so are all other good works outward signs and outward fruits of faith and of the Spirit; which justify not a man, but shew that a man is justified already before God, inwardly in the heart, through faith, and through the Spirit purchased by Christ's blood.' St Paul answereth to the cavilling question, that our papists use against justification of faith only. Good works are outward signs of true faith.

'Herewith St Paul now establisheth his doctrine of faith, rehearsed afore in chapter iii., and bringeth also the testimony of David, Psalm xxxii., which calleth a man blessed, not of works, but in that his sin is not reckoned, and in that faith is imputed for righteousness, although he abide not afterward without good works, when he is once justified.' For we are justified, and receive the Spirit, for to do good works; neither were it otherwise possible to do good works, except we first had the Spirit. We are first justified, then followeth good works.

For how is it possible to do any thing well in the sight

[1 And are proved not to justify, is not in Day.]

of God, while we are yet in captivity and bondage under the devil, and the devil possesseth us altogether, and holdeth our hearts, so that we cannot once consent unto the will of God? No man therefore can prevent[1] the Spirit in doing good. The Spirit must first come, and wake him out of his sleep with the thunder of the law, and fear him, and shew him his miserable estate and wretchedness; and make him abhor and hate himself, and to desire help; and then comfort him again with the pleasant rain of the gospel, that is to say, with the sweet promises of God in Christ, and stir up faith in him to believe the promises. Then, when he believeth the promises, as God was merciful to promise, so is he true to fulfil them, and will give him the Spirit and strength, both to love the will of God, and to work thereafter. So we see that God only, who, according to the scripture, worketh all in all things, worketh a man's justifying, salvation, and health; yea, and poureth faith and belief, lust to love God's will, and strength to fulfil the same, into us, even as water is poured into a vessel; and that of his good will and purpose, and not of our deservings and merits. 'God's mercy in promising, and truth in fulfilling his promises, saveth us, and not we ourselves; and therefore is all laud, praise, and glory to be given unto God for his mercy and truth, and not unto us for our merits and deservings. 'After that, he stretcheth his example out against all other good works of the law, and concludeth that the Jews cannot be Abraham's heirs, because of blood and kindred only, and much less by the works of the law, but must inherit Abraham's faith, if they will be the right heirs of Abraham; forasmuch as Abraham before the law, both of Moses and also of the circumcision, was through faith made righteous, and called the father of all them that believe, and not of them that work. Moreover, the law causeth wrath, inasmuch as no man can fulfil it with love and lust; and as long as such grudging, hate, and indignation against the law remaineth in the heart, and is not taken away by the Spirit that cometh by faith, so long, no doubt, the works of the law declare evidently that the wrath of God is upon us, and not favour: wherefore faith only receiveth the grace promised unto Abraham. And these examples were not written for Abraham's sake only, saith he, but for

God's mercy moveth us to faith in his promises, so that God in all things worketh our justification.

God's mercy saveth us, and not we ourselves.

If we lack Abraham's faith, we cannot be Abraham's children.

Faith only receiveth the grace that cometh by Abraham.

[1] Prevent: go before.]

ours also; to whom, if we believe, faith shall be reckoned likewise for righteousness; as he saith in the end of the chapter.'

'In the fifth chapter the apostle commendeth the fruits, or works of faith; as are peace, rejoicing in the conscience, inward love to God and man; moreover boldness, trust, confidence, and a strong and lusty mind, and stedfast hope in tribulation and suffering. For all such follow, where the right faith is, for the abundant grace's sake, and gifts of the Spirit, which God hath given us in Christ; in that he gave to[2] him to die for us, while yet his enemies.' The fruits and works of faith.

'Now have we then that faith only, before all works, justifieth, and that it followeth not yet therefore, that a man should do no good works, but that the right shapen works abide not behind,' but accompany faith, even as brightness doth the sun; and they are called by Paul the fruits of the Spirit. Where the Spirit is, there it is always summer, and there are always good fruits, that is to say, good works. This is Paul's order, That good works spring of the Spirit; the Spirit cometh by faith; and faith cometh by hearing the word of God, when the glad tidings and promises, which God hath made unto us in Christ, are preached truly, and received in the ground of the heart, without wavering or doubting, after that the law hath passed upon us, and hath condemned our consciences. Where the word of God is preached purely, and received in the heart, there is faith, and the Spirit of God; and there are also good works of necessity, whensoever occasion is given. Where God's word is not purely preached, but men's dreams, traditions, imaginations, inventions, ceremonies, and superstition, there is no faith; and consequently no spirit that cometh from God. And where God's Spirit is not, there can be no good works, even as where an apple-tree is not, there can grow no apples; but there is unbelief, the devil's spirit, and evil works. Of this, God's Spirit and his fruits, have our holy hypocrites not once known, neither yet tasted how sweet they are; though 'they feign many good works, of their own imagination, to be justified withal,' in which is not one crumb of true faith, of spiritual love, or of inward joy, peace, and quietness of conscience;' forasmuch as they have not the word of God for

Faith before all works justifieth.

Good works are the fruits of faith.

Where true faith is, there are good works.

Where faith lacketh, there is all evil works.

[2 So M. B.; but Day reads *suffered*, and also omits *while*.]

them, that such works please God, but they are even the rotten fruits of a rotten tree.

'After that he breaketh forth and runneth at large, and sheweth whence both sin and righteousness, death and life, come. And he compareth Adam and Christ together; thus-wise reasoning and disputing, that Christ must needs come as a second Adam, to make us heirs of his righteousness, through a new spiritual birth, without our deservings; even as the first Adam made us heirs of sin, through the bodily generation, without our deserving. Whereby it is evidently known, and proved to the uttermost, that no man can bring himself out of sin unto righteousness, no more than he could have withstood that he was born bodily. And that is proved herewith, forasmuch as the very law of God, which of right should have holpen if any thing could have holpen, not only came and brought no help with her, but also increased sin; because that the evil and poisoned nature is offended and utterly displeased with the law; and the more she is forbid by the law, the more is she provoked, and set a-fire, to fulfil and satisfy her lusts. By the law then we see clearly, that we must needs have Christ to justify us with his grace, and to help nature.'

As by Adam came sin, so by Christ came salvation.

'In the sixth he setteth forth the chief and principal work of faith; the battle of the Spirit against the flesh, how the Spirit laboureth and enforceth to kill the remnant of sin and lust, which remain in the flesh after our justifying. And this chapter teacheth us, that we are not so free from sin through faith, that we should henceforth go up and down, idle, careless, and sure of ourselves, as though there were now no more sin in us. Yet[1] there is sin remaining in us, but it is not reckoned, because of faith and of the Spirit, which fight against it. Wherefore we have enough to do all our lives long, to tame our bodies, and to compel the members to obey the Spirit and not the appetites; that thereby we might be like unto Christ's death and resurrection, and might fulfil our baptism, which signifieth the mortifying of sins, and the new life of grace. For this battle ceaseth not in us until the last breath, and until that sin be utterly slain by the death of the body.'

The principal work of faith, and the battle between the Spirit and the flesh.

'This thing (I mean, to tame the body and so forth) we

[1 Day reads, Yes; there is, &c.]

are able to do, saith he, seeing we are under grace, and not under the law. What it is, not to be under the law, he himself expoundeth. For not to be under the law is not so to be understood, that every man may do what him lusteth: but not to be under the law is to have a free heart renewed with the Spirit, so that thou hast lust inwardly, of thine own accord, to do that which the law commandeth, without compulsion, yea, though there were no law. For grace, that is to say, God's favour, bringeth us the Spirit, and maketh us love the law: so is there now no more sin, neither is the law now any more against us, but at one and agreed with us, and we with it. But to be under the law is to deal with the works of the law, and to work without the Spirit and grace: for so long, no doubt, sin reigneth in us through the law; that is to say, the law declareth that we are under sin, and that sin hath power and dominion over us, seeing we cannot fulfil the law, namely, within in the heart, forasmuch as no man of nature favoureth the law, consenteth thereunto, and delighteth therein; which thing is exceeding great sin, that we cannot consent to the law; which law is nothing else save the will of God.'

What it is not to be under the law.

What it is to be under the law.

'This is the right freedom and liberty from sin and from the law; whereof he writeth unto the end of this chapter, that it is a freedom to do good only with lust, and to live well without compulsion of the law. Wherefore this freedom is a spiritual freedom; which destroyeth not the law, but ministereth that which the law requireth, and wherewith the law is fulfilled; that is to understand, lust, and love, wherewith the law is stilled, and accuseth us no more, compelleth us no more, neither hath ought to crave of us any more. Even as though thou wert in debt to another man, and wert not able to pay, two manner of ways mightest thou be loosed: one way, if he would require nothing of thee, and break thine obligation; another way, if some other good man would pay for thee, and give thee as much as thou mightest satisfy thine obligation withal. On this wise hath Christ made thee[2] free from the law; and therefore is this no wild fleshly liberty, that should do nought, but that doth all things, and is free from the craving and debt of the law.'

The right freedom and liberty from sin and from the law.

Example.

'In the seventh chapter he confirmeth the same with a

[2 So M. Bib., but Day has *us*.]

similitude of the state of matrimony. As when the husband dieth, the wife is at her liberty, and the one loosed and departed from the other; not that the woman should not have the power to marry unto another man, but rather now first of all is she free, and hath power to marry unto another man, which she could not do before, till she was loosed from her first husband: even so are our consciences bound and in danger to the law[1] under old Adam, as long as he liveth in us; for the law declareth that our hearts are bound, and that we cannot disconsent from him; but when he is mortified and killed by the Spirit, then is the conscience free and at liberty; not so that the conscience shall now do nought, but now first of all cleaveth unto another, that is to wit Christ, and bringeth forth the fruits of life.' So now to be under the law is not to be able to fulfil the law; but to be debtor to it, and not able to pay that which the law requireth. And to be loose from the law is to fulfil it, and to pay that which the law demandeth, so that it can now henceforth ask thee nought.

Our consciences bound and in danger to the law by old Adam, so long as he liveth in us.

'Consequently Paul declareth more largely the nature of sin, and of the law; how that through the law sin reviveth, moveth herself, and gathereth strength. For the old man and corrupt nature, the more he is forbidden and kept under of the law, is the more offended and displeased therewith; forasmuch as he cannot pay that which is required of the law. For sin is his nature, and of himself he cannot but sin. Therefore is the law death to him, torment, and martyrdom. Not that the law is evil; but because that the evil nature cannot suffer that which is good, and cannot abide that the law should require of him any good thing; like as a sick man cannot suffer that a man should desire of him to run, to leap, and to do other deeds of a whole man.'

The law requireth of us that which we cannot pay.

'For which cause St Paul concludeth, that where the law is understood and perceived in the best wise, there it doth no more but utter sin, and bring us unto the knowledge of ourselves; and thereby kill us, and make us bound unto eternal damnation, and debtors to the everlasting wrath of God; even as he well feeleth and understandeth, whose conscience is truly touched of the law.' In such danger were we, ere the law came, that we knew not what sin meant, neither yet knew

The law doth utter and declare what sin is.

[1] A legal phrase for 'Responsible to the law.']

we the wrath of God upon sinners, till the law had uttered it. 'So seest thou that a man must have some other thing, yea, and a greater and a more mighty thing than the law, to make him righteous and safe. They that understand not the law on this wise are blind, and go to work presumptuously, supposing to satisfy the law with works. For they know not that the law requireth a free, a willing, a lusty, and a loving heart. Therefore they see not Moses right in the face; the vail hangeth between, and hideth his face, so that they cannot behold the glory of his countenance, how that the law is spiritual, and requireth the heart.' I may of mine own strength refrain, that I do mine enemy no hurt; but to love him with all mine heart, and to put away wrath clean out of my mind, can I not of my own strength. I may refuse money of mine own strength; but to put away love unto riches out of mine heart, can I not do of mine own strength. To abstain from adultery, as concerning the outward deed, I can do of mine own strength; but not to desire in mine heart is as impossible unto me as is to choose whether I will hunger or thirst: and yet so the law requireth. Wherefore of a man's own strength is the law never fulfilled; we must have thereunto God's favour, and his Spirit, purchased by Christ's blood.

What we may do of ourselves, and what we may not do.

Nevertheless, when I say a man may do many things outwardly clean against his heart, we must understand that man is but driven of divers appetites; and the greatest appetite overcometh the less, and carrieth the man away violently with her. As when I desire vengeance, and fear also the inconvenience that is like to follow, if fear be greater, I abstain; if the appetite that desireth vengeance be greater, I cannot but prosecute the deed: as we see by experience in many murderers and thieves; who though they are brought into never so great peril of death, yet, after they have escaped, do even the same again: and common women prosecute their lusts, because fear and shame are away: when others, which have the same appetites in their hearts, abstain at the least outwardly, or work secretly, being overcome of fear and of shame; and so likewise is it of all other appetites.

Where fear and shame is away, there all wickedness is committed.

'Furthermore the apostle declareth, how the Spirit and the flesh fight together in one man; and he maketh an example of himself, that we might learn to know how to work

The flesh is contrary unto the Spirit.

aright, I mean, to kill sin in ourselves. He calleth both the Spirit, and also the flesh, a law; because that like as the nature of God's law is to drive, to compel, and to crave, even so the flesh driveth, compelleth, craveth, and rageth against the Spirit, and will have her lusts satisfied. On the other side, the Spirit driveth, crieth, and fighteth against the flesh, and will have his lust satisfied. And this strife dureth in us as long as we live; in some more, and in some less, as the Spirit or the flesh is stronger; and the very man his own self is both the Spirit and the flesh, who fighteth with his own self, until sin be utterly slain, and he altogether spiritual.'

The Spirit lusteth contrary to the flesh.

'In the eighth chapter he comforteth such fighters, that they despair not because of such flesh,' neither think that they are less in favour with God. And he sheweth how that the sin remaining in us hurteth not; for there is no danger to them that are in Christ, which walk not after the flesh, but fight against it. 'And he expoundeth more largely what is the nature of the flesh, and of the Spirit; and how the Spirit cometh by Christ, which Spirit maketh us spiritual, tameth, subdueth, and mortifieth the flesh; and certifieth us that we are nevertheless the sons of God and also beloved, though that sin rage never so much in us, so long as we follow the Spirit, and fight against sin, to kill and mortify it. And because nothing is so good to the mortifying of the flesh, as the cross and tribulation, he comforteth us in our passions and afflictions[1] by the assistance of the Spirit, which maketh intercession to God for us mightily with groanings that pass man's utterance, so that man's speech cannot comprehend them; and the creatures mourn also with us[2] of great desire that they have that we were loosed from sin and corruption of the flesh. So we see that these three chapters, the vi. vii. viii., do nothing so much as to drive us unto the right work of faith; which is to kill the old man, and mortify the flesh.'

There is no danger to them that are in Christ.

The right work of faith is to mortify the flesh.

'In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters he treateth of God's predestination; whence it springeth altogether; whether we shall believe or not believe; be loosed from sin, or not be

[1 So Tynd. N. Test. of 1536, and Matt. B. Day has, And because the chastising of the flesh, the cross and suffering are nothing pleasant, he comforteth us, &c.]

[2 So Day. But Tynd. Test. and M. B. have, And with the mourning also of the creatures with us.]

loosed. By which predestination our justifying and salvation are clean taken out of our hands, and put in the hands of God only; which thing is most necessary of all. For we are so weak and so uncertain, that if it stood in us, there would of a truth be no man saved; the devil, no doubt, would deceive us. But now is God sure, that his predestination cannot deceive him, neither can any man withstand or let him; and therefore have we hope and trust against sin.' Predestination is in the hands of God.

'But here must a mark be set to those unquiet, busy, and high-climbing spirits, how far they shall go; which first of all bring hither their high reasons and pregnant wits, and begin first from an high to search the bottomless secrets of God's predestination, whether they be predestinate or not. These must needs either cast themselves down headlong into desperation, or else commit themselves to free chance, careless. But follow thou the order of this epistle, and noosel thyself[3] with Christ, and learn to understand what the law and the gospel mean, and the office of both the two; that thou mayest in the one know thyself, and how that thou hast of thyself no strength but to sin, and in the other the grace of Christ; and then see thou fight against sin and the flesh, as the seven first chapters teach thee. After that, when thou art come to the eighth chapter, and art under the cross and suffering of tribulation, the necessity of predestination will wax sweet, and thou shalt well feel how precious a thing it is. For except thou have born the cross of adversity and temptation, and hast felt thyself brought unto the very brim of desperation, yea, and unto hell-gates, thou canst never meddle with the sentence of predestination without thine own harm, and without secret wrath and grudging inwardly against God; for otherwise it shall not be possible for thee to think that God is righteous and just. Therefore must Adam be well mortified, and the fleshly wit brought utterly to nought, ere that thou mayest away with[4] this thing, and drink so strong wine. Take heed therefore unto thyself, that thou drink not wine, while thou art yet but a suckling. For every learning hath its time, measure, and age;' and in Christ is there a certain childhood, in which a man must be content with milk for a season, until he wax strong and grow up unto a perfect man in Christ, and be able to eat of more strong meat. How far we may proceed in predestination. Predestination is not rashly to be disputed of.

[3 Find shelter, as a child with a nurse.]

[4 Away with, i. e. bear with.]

'In the twelfth chapter he giveth exhortations.' For this manner observeth Paul in all his epistles; first he teacheth Christ and the faith, then exhorteth he to good works, and unto continual mortifying of the flesh. So 'here teacheth he good works in deed, and the true serving of God, and maketh all men priests, to offer up, not money and beasts, as the manner was in the time of the law, but their own bodies, with killing and mortifying the lusts of the flesh. After that, he describeth the outward conversation of christian men, how they ought to behave themselves in spiritual things, how to teach, preach, and rule in the congregation of Christ, to serve one another, to suffer all things patiently, and to commit the wreak and vengeance to God: in conclusion, how a christian man ought to behave himself unto all men, to friend, foe, or whatsoever he be. These are the right works of a christian man, which spring out of faith. For faith keepeth not holiday, neither suffereth any man to be idle, wheresoever she dwelleth.'

Which are 'good works meet to be done.

'In the thirteenth chapter he teacheth to honour the worldly and temporal sword. For though that man's law and ordinance make not a man good before God, neither justify him in the heart, yet are they ordained for the furtherance of the commonwealth, to maintain peace, to punish the evil, and to defend the good. Therefore ought the good to honour the temporal sword, and to have it in reverence, though as concerning themselves they need it not,' but would abstain from evil of their own accord; yea, and do good without man's law, but by the law of the Spirit, which governeth the heart, and guideth it unto all that is the will of God. 'Finally, he comprehendeth and knitteth up all in love.' Love of her own nature bestoweth all that she hath, and even her own self, on that which is loved. Thou needest not to bid a kind mother to be loving unto her only son; much less doth spiritual love, which hath eyes given her of God, need man's law to teach her to do her duty. And as in the beginning the apostle put forth Christ, as the cause and author of our righteousness and salvation, even so 'he setteth him forth here as an example to counterfeit, that as he hath done to us, even so should we do one to another.'

Love is the fulfilling of the law.

'In the fourteenth chapter he teacheth to deal soberly with the consciences of the weak in the faith, which yet understand not the liberty of Christ perfectly enough; and to

We must deal lovingly with our weak brethren.

favour them of christian love; and not to use the liberty of the faith unto hinderance, but unto the furtherance and edifying of the weak. For where such consideration is not, there followeth debate and despising of the gospel. It is better then to forbear the weak awhile, until they wax strong, than that the learning of the gospel[1] should come altogether under foot.' And such work is a singular work of love; yea, and where love is perfect, there must needs be such a respect unto the weak; a thing that Christ commanded and charged to be had above all things.

'In the fifteenth chapter he setteth forth Christ again, to be followed[2]; that we also by his example should bear with others that are yet weak, as them that are frail, open sinners, unlearned, unexpert, and of loathsome manners; and not cast them away forthwith, but suffer them till they wax better, and exhort them in the mean time. For so dealt Christ in the gospel, and now dealeth with us, daily suffering our imperfectness, weakness, conversation, and manners not yet fashioned after the doctrine of the gospel, but which smell of the flesh, yea, and sometimes break forth into outward deeds. After that, to conclude withal, he wisheth them increase of faith, peace, and joy of conscience; praiseth them, and committeth them to God, and magnifieth his office and administration in the gospel; and soberly, and with great discretion, desireth succour and aid of them for the poor saints of Jerusalem: and it is all pure love that he speaketh or dealeth withal.'

The weakness of our brethren is to be considered.

'So find we in this epistle plenteously, unto the uttermost, whatsoever a christian man or woman ought to know; that is to wit, what the law, the gospel, sin, grace, faith, righteousness, Christ, God, good works, love, hope, and the cross are; and even wherein the pith of all, that pertaineth to the christian faith, standeth; and how a christian man ought to behave himself unto every man, be he perfect or a sinner, good or bad, strong or weak, friend or foe; and in conclusion, how to behave ourselves both toward God, and toward ourselves also. And all things are profoundly grounded in the scriptures, and declared with examples of himself, of the fathers, and of the prophets, that a man can here desire no

In the Epistle to the Romans is contained a sufficient doctrine for a christian man.

[1 So Tynd. Test. and Matt. B. In Day *of the gospel* is omitted.]
[2 So Tynd. N. T. and Matt. B. Day has *counterfeited*.]

more. Wherefore it appeareth evidently, that Paul's mind was to comprehend briefly in this epistle all the whole learning of Christ's gospel, and to prepare an introduction unto all the old Testament. For without doubt, whosoever hath this epistle perfectly in his heart, the same hath the light and the effect of the old Testament with him. Wherefore let every man, without exception, exercise himself therein diligently, and record[1] it night and day continually, until he be fully acquainted therewith.'

Beware of the traditions of men.

'The last chapter is a chapter of recommendation, wherein he yet mingleth a good monition, that we should beware of the traditions and doctrine of men, which beguile the simple with sophistry and learning that is not after the gospel,' and draw them from Christ, and noosel them in weak and feeble, and (as Paul calleth them in the epistle to the Galatians,) in beggarly ceremonies, for the intent that they would live in fat pastures, and be in authority and be taken as Christ, yea, and above Christ, and sit in the temple of God, that is to wit, in the consciences of men, where God only, his word and his Christ, ought to sit. Compare therefore all manner doctrine of men unto the scripture, and see whether they agree or not. And commit thyself whole and altogether unto Christ; and so shall he with his Holy Spirit, and with all his fulness, dwell in thy soul. Amen[2].

The sum and whole cause of the writing of this epistle is, to prove that a man is justified by faith only; which proposition whoso denieth, to him is not only this epistle and all that Paul writeth, but also the whole scripture, so locked up, that he shall never understand it to his soul's health. And, to bring a man to the understanding and feeling that faith only justifieth, Paul proves that the whole nature of man is so poisoned and so corrupt, yea, and so dead, concerning godly living or godly thinking, that it is impossible for her to keep the law in the sight of God; that is to say, to love it, and of love and willingness to do it as naturally as a man eats or drinks, until he be quickened again and healed through faith. And by justifying, understand no other thing than to be reconciled to God, and to be restored unto his favour, and to have thy sins forgiven thee. As, when I say, God justifieth us, un-

[1 Record, in the sense of the Latin *recordor*, to call to mind.]

[2 In Day the prologue ends here.]

derstand thereby, that God for Christ's sake, merits, and deservings only, receiveth us unto his mercy, favour, and grace, and forgiveth us our sins. And when I say, Christ justifieth us, understand thereby, that Christ only hath redeemed us, bought, and delivered us out of the wrath of God and damnation, and hath with his works only purchased us the mercy, the favour, and grace of God, and the forgiveness of our sins. And when I say, that faith justifieth, understand thereby, that faith and trust in the truth of God and in the mercy promised us for Christ's sake, and for his deserving and works only, doth quiet the conscience and certify her that our sins be forgiven, and we in the favour of God.

Furthermore, set before thine eyes Christ's works and thine own works. Christ's works only justify thee, and make satisfaction for thy sin, and not thine own works; that is to say, quiet thy conscience, and make thee sure that thy sins are forgiven thee, and not thine own works. For the promise of mercy is made thee for Christ's work's sake, and not for thine own work's sake.

Wherefore, seeing God hath not promised that thine own works shall save thee, therefore faith in thine own works can never quiet thy conscience, nor certify thee before God, when God cometh to judge and to take a reckoning, that thy sins are forgiven thee. Beyond all this, mine own works can never satisfy the law, or pay that I owe it: for I owe the law to love it with all mine heart, soul, power, and might; which to pay I am never able, while I am compassed with flesh. No, I cannot once begin to love the law, except I be first sure by faith, that God loveth me and forgiveth me.

Finally, that we say, Faith only justifieth, ought to offend no man. For if this be true, that Christ only redeemed us, Christ only bare our sins, made satisfaction for them, and purchased us the favour of God; then must it needs be true that the trust only in Christ's deserving and in the promises of God the Father, made to us for Christ's sake, doth alone quiet the conscience, and certify it that the sins are forgiven. And when they say, A man must repent, forsake sin, and have a purpose to sin no more, as nigh as he can, and love the law of God; therefore faith alone justifieth not: I answer, That and all like arguments are naught, and like to this—I must repent and be sorry; the gospel must be preached me,

and I must believe it, or else I cannot be partaker of mercy, which Christ hath deserved for me. Therefore Christ only justifieth me not; or Christ only hath not made satisfaction for my sins. As this is a naughty argument, so is the other.

Now go to, reader, and according to the order of Paul's writing, even so do thou. First, behold thyself diligently in the law of God, and see there thy just damnation. Secondly, turn thine eyes to Christ, and see there the exceeding mercy of thy most kind and loving Father. Thirdly, remember that Christ made not this atonement that thou shouldest anger God again; neither died he for thy sins, that thou shouldest live still in them; neither cleansed he thee, that thou shouldest return, as a swine, unto thine old puddle again; but that thou shouldest be a new creature, and live a new life after the will of God, and not of the flesh. And be diligent, lest through thine own negligence and unthankfulness thou lose this favour and mercy again. Farewell.

THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS.

This epistle declareth itself from chapter to chapter, that it needeth no prologue, or introduction to declare it. When Paul had converted a great number at Corinthum, as ye read in Acts xviii., and was departed, there came immediately false apostles and sect-makers, and drew every man[1] disciples after him; so that the people were whole unquieted, divided and at variance among themselves, every man for the zeal of his doctor; those new apostles not regarding what division, what uncleanness of living, or what false opinions were among the people, as long as they might be in authority, and well at ease in their bellies. But Paul in the first four chapters with great wisdom and soberness rebuketh[2] first the division and the authors thereof; and calleth the people to Christ again, and teacheth how and for what the preacher is to be taken.

In the vth, he rebuketh the uncleanness that was amongst them.

In the vith he rebuketh the debate and going to law together, and pleading their causes before the heathen.

In the viith he reformeth[3] them concerning chastity and marriage.

In the viiith, ixth, xth and xith, he teacheth the strong to forbear the weak, that yet understand not the liberty of the gospel; and that with the ensample of himself, which though he were an apostle, and had authority, yet of love he abstained, to win other. And he feareth them with the ensamples of the old Testament; and rebuketh divers disorders that were among them concerning the sacrament, and the going bare-headed of married women.

Weak and young consciences are to be forborne, for the last shall receive the equal reward with the first. Ant. ed.

In the xiith, xiiith and xivth he teacheth of the manifold gifts of the Spirit, and proveth by a similitude of the body, that all gifts are given, that each should help other, and

[1 So Tyndale's Testaments. D. has *man's*.]
[2 Tests. *rebuketh*. D. *rebuked*.]
[3 So Day. Test. of 1536 has *informeth*.]

Love fulfilleth the law. Ant. ed.

through love do service to other; and proveth, that where love is not, there is nothing that pleaseth God. For that one should love another, is all that God requireth of us; and therefore, if we desire spiritual gifts, he teacheth those gifts to be desired that help our neighbours.

In the xvth he teacheth of the resurrection of the body, and in the last he exhorteth to help the poor saints.

THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

As in the first Epistle he rebuketh the Corinthians sharply, so in this he comforteth them, and praiseth them, and commandeth him that was excommunicated to be received lovingly into the congregation again.

It is the part of a good shepherd to venture his life for his sheep. Ant. ed.

And in the first and second chapters he sheweth his love to them-ward, how that all that he spake, did, or suffered was for their sakes, and for their salvation.

Then in the iiird, ivth and vth he praiseth the office of preaching the gospel above the preaching of the law; and

Tribulation for the gospel's sake maketh us sure of eternal life. Ant. ed.

sheweth that the gospel groweth through persecution, and through the cross, which maketh a man sure of eternal life: and here and there he toucheth the false prophets, which studied to turn the faith of the people from Christ unto the works of the law.

In the vith and viith chapters, he exhorteth them to suffer with the gospel, and to live as it becometh the gospel, and praiseth them in the latter end.

In the viiith and ixth chapters he exhorteth them to help the poor saints that were at Jerusalem.

In the xth, xith and xiith he inveigheth against the false prophets.

And in the last chapter he threateneth them that had sinned and not amended themselves.

A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE GALATIANS.

As ye read (Acts xv.) how certain came from Jerusalem to Antioch, and vexed the disciples there, affirming that they could not be saved except they were circumcised; even so, after Paul had converted the Galatians, and coupled them to Christ, to trust in him only for the remission of sin, and hope of grace and salvation, and was departed, there came false apostles unto them, (as unto the Corinthians, and unto all places where Paul had preached,) and that in the name of Peter, James, and John, whom they called the high apostles, and preached circumcision, and the keeping of the law, to be saved by; and minished Paul's authority. Acts xv.

To the confounding of those, Paul magnifieth his office and apostleship in the two first chapters, and maketh himself equal unto the high apostles; and concludeth that every man must be justified without deservings, without works, and without help of the law; but alone by Christ. All that repent are justified through faith by Christ, and not by works. W. T.

In the iiird and ivth he proveth the same with scripture, examples and similitudes, and sheweth that the law is cause of more sin, and bringeth the curse of God upon us, and justifieth us not; but that justifying cometh of grace promised us of God, through the deserving of Christ, by whom (if we believe) we are justified without help of the works of the law. The law condemneth, but the believing of God's promises justifieth. W. T.

And in the vth and vith he exhorteth unto the works of love, which follow faith and justifying.

So that in all his epistle he observeth this order; first he preacheth the damnation of the law, then the justifying of faith, and thirdly the works of love. For on that condition, that we love henceforth and work, is the mercy given us; or else, if we will not work the will of God henceforward, we fall from favour and grace; and the inheritance that is freely given us for Christ's sake, through our own fault we lose again.

A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE EPHESIANS.

In this epistle, and namely in the first three chapters, Paul sheweth that the gospel and grace thereof was foreseen and predestinate of God from before the beginning, and deserved through Christ, and now at the last sent forth, that all men should believe thereon; thereby to be justified, made righteous, living and happy, and to be delivered from under the damnation of the law and captivity of ceremonies.

In seeking any other satisfaction than Christ, we deceive ourselves. W. T.

And in the fourth he teacheth to avoid traditions and men's doctrine, and to beware of putting trust in any thing save Christ; affirming that he only is sufficient, and that in him we have all things, and besides him need nothing.

In the vth and vith he exhorteth to exercise the faith, and to declare it abroad through good works, and to avoid sin, and to arm them with spiritual armour against the devil, that they might stand fast in time of tribulation and under the cross.

THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

Hereby are we warned that works save us not, but the word, that is, the promise. Ant. ed.

Paul praiseth the Philippians, and exhorteth them to stand fast in the true faith, and to increase in love. And because that false prophets study always to impugn and destroy the true faith, he warneth them of such work-learners or teachers of works, and praiseth Epaphroditus: and all this doth he in the first and second chapters.

In the third he reproveth the faithless, and man's righte-

ousness which false prophets teach and maintain; and he setteth himself[1] for an ensample, how that he himself had lived in such false righteousness and holiness unrebukeable[2], that no man could complain on him, and yet now setteth nought thereby for Christ's righteousness' sake. And finally, he affirmeth that such false prophets are the enemies of the cross, and make their bellies their God; for further than they may safely, and without all peril and suffering, will they not preach Christ.

Man's righteousness, zeal, or imagination, without God's word, is odious. W. T.

A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE COLOSSIANS.

As the epistle to the Galatians holdeth the manner and fashion of the epistle to the Romans, briefly comprehending all that is therein at length disputed; even so this epistle followeth the ensample of the epistle to the Ephesians, containing the tenor of the same epistle with fewer words.

In the first chapter he praiseth them, and wisheth that they continue in the faith, and grow perfecter therein; and then describeth he the gospel, how that it is a wisdom that confesseth Christ to be the Lord and God, crucified for us, and a wisdom that hath been hid in Christ, since afore the beginning of the world, and now first begun to be opened through the preaching of the apostles.

For faith, when it is preached, bringeth the Spirit and power to fulfil the law. W. T.

In the second he warneth them of men's doctrine, and describeth the false prophets to the uttermost, and rebuketh them according.

In the third he exhorteth to be fruitful in the pure faith, with all manner of good works one to another; and describeth all degrees, and what their duties are.

Whoso hath a pure faith, cannot but abound with good works. W. T.

In the fourth he exhorteth to pray, and also to pray for him, and saluteth them.

[1 So Test. D. has *him*.]
[2 D. adds, *that was so*.]

A PROLOGUE

UPON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE THESSALONIANS.

Not the receiving of the gospel, but the continuance to the latter end, maketh us blessed. W. T.

THIS epistle did Paul write of exceeding love and care, and praiseth them in the two first chapters, because they did receive the gospel earnestly, and had in tribulation and persecution continued therein stedfastly; and were become an ensample unto all congregations; and had thereto suffered of their own kinsmen, as Christ and his apostles did of the Jews; putting them thereto in mind, how purely and godly he had lived among them to their ensample; and thanketh God that his gospel had brought forth such fruit among them.

He meaneth thereby lest they should fall from the word they had already received. Ant. ed.

In the third chapter he sheweth his diligence and care, lest his so great labour, and their so blessed a beginning, should have been in vain; Satan and his apostles vexing them with persecution, and destroying their faith with men's doctrine. And therefore he sent Timothy to them to comfort them, and strengthen them in the faith; and thanketh God that they had so constantly endured; and desireth God to increase them.

In the fourth he exhorteth them to keep themselves from sin, and to do good one to another; and thereto he informeth them concerning the resurrection.

In the fifth he writeth of the last day, that it should come suddenly; exhorting to prepare themselves thereafter, and to keep a good order concerning obedience and rule.

THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE THESSALONIANS.

BECAUSE in the fore-epistle he had said the last day should come suddenly, the Thessalonians thought it should have come shortly; wherefore in this epistle he declareth himself.

And in the first chapter he comforteth them with everlasting reward of their faith and patience in suffering for the gospel, and with the punishment of their persecutors in everlasting pain.

Patience and persecution, for Christ's sake, rewarded with the crown of everlasting joy and felicity. Ant. ed.

In the second he sheweth that the last day should not come till there were first a departing, as some men think, from under the obedience of the emperor of Rome; and that Antichrist should set up himself in the same place as God, and deceive the unthankful world with false doctrine, and with false and lying miracles, wrought by the working of Satan, until Christ should come, and slay him with his glorious coming and spiritual preaching of the word of God.

Hereby have we evident signs that the latter day is at hand. Ant. ed.

In the third he giveth them exhortation, and warneth them to rebuke the idle, that would not labour with their hands, and avoid their company if they would not amend.

A PROLOGUE

UPON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO TIMOTHY.

THIS epistle writeth St Paul to be an ensample to all bishops, what they should teach, and how they should teach[1];

[1 So Day. The words *and how they should teach* are not in the collated Testaments.]

and how they should govern the congregation of Christ in all degrees; that it should be no need to govern Christ's flock with the doctrine of their own good meanings.

The office of a bishop. W. T.

In the first chapter he commandeth that the bishop should maintain the right faith and love, and resist false preachers, which make the law and works equal with Christ and his gospel. And he maketh a short conclusion of all Christian[1] learning; whereto the law serveth, and what the end thereof is, also what the gospel is; and setteth himself for a comfortable ensample unto all sinners and troubled consciences.

In the second he commandeth to pray for all degrees; and chargeth that the women shall not preach or wear costly apparel, but to be obedient unto the men.

In the third he describeth what manner persons the bishop or priest and their wives should be, and also the deacons and their wives; and commendeth it if any man desire to be a bishop after that manner.

The pope and his prelates are here plainly set forth; for what Christ loosed freely, the pope did bind it, to loose it again for money. Ant. ed.

In the fourth he prophesieth, and sheweth before, of the false bishops and spiritual officers, that should arise among the Christian people, and be, do, and preach clean contrary to the fore-described ensample; and should depart from the faith in Christ, and forbid to marry, and to eat certain meats, teaching to put trust therein, both of justifying and forgiveness of sins, and also of deserving of eternal life.

Virtuous bishops are worthy double honour. W. T.

In the fifth he teacheth how a bishop should use himself toward young and old, and concerning widows what is to be done, and which should be found of the common cost; and teacheth also how men should honour the virtuous bishops and priests, and how to rebuke the evil.

In the sixth he exhorteth the bishops[2] to cleave to the gospel of Christ and true doctrine, and to avoid vain questions, and superfluous disputings, which gender strife, and quench the truth; and by which also the false prophets get them authority, and seek to satisfy their insatiable covetousness.

[1 So Testaments. D. has *Christs.*]
[2 So Day. The Tests. have *bishop.*]

THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO TIMOTHY.

In this epistle Paul exhorteth Timothy to go forward as he had begun, and to preach the gospel with all diligence, as it need was, seeing many were fallen away, and many false spirits[3] and teachers were sprung up already. Wherefore a bishop's part is ever to watch, and to labour in the gospel.

Bishops must be vigilant in their vocation. W. T.

In the third and fourth he sheweth before, and that notably, of the jeopardous time toward the end of the world, in which a false spiritual living should deceive the whole world with outward hypocrisy and appearance of holiness; under which all abominations should have their free passage and course, as we (alas!) have seen this prophecy of St Paul fulfilled in our spiritualty unto the uttermost jot.

This hath already been fulfilled in our spiritualty. W. T.

THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO TITUS.

This is a short epistle; wherein yet is contained all that is needful for a Christian to know.

In the first chapter he sheweth what manner a man a bishop or curate ought to be, that is to wit, virtuous and learned, to preach and defend the gospel, and to confound the doctrine of trusting in works and men's traditions; which ever fight against the faith, and carry away the conscience captive from the freedom which is in Christ, into the bondage of their own imaginations and inventions, as though those things should make a man good in the sight of God, which are to no profit at all.

What manner a man a bishop or curate ought to be. W. T.

[3 Test. of 1534 wants the words, *false spirits*.]

In the second he teacheth all degrees, old, young, men, women, masters and servants, how to behave themselves; as they which Christ hath bought with his blood, to be his proper or peculiar people, to glorify God with good works.

Good works please God so far forth as they are applied to the keeping of the commandments, but Christ only justifieth. W. T.

In the third he teacheth to honour temporal rulers, and to obey them; and yet bringeth to Christ again, and to the grace that he hath purchased for us; that no man should think that the obedience of princes' laws, or any other works, should justify us before God. And last of all, he chargeth to avoid the company of the stubborn and of the heretics.

A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL UNTO PHILEMON.

In this epistle St Paul sheweth a godly ensample of christian love. Herein we see how Paul taketh poor Onesimos unto him, and maketh intercession for him unto his master, and helpeth him with all that he may, and believeth himself none otherwise than as though he himself were the said Onesimos: which thing yet he doth not with power and authority, as he well might have done, but putteth off all authority, and whatsoever he might of right do, that Philemon might do likewise toward Onesimos; and with great meekness and wisdom teacheth Philemon to see his duty in Christ Jesus.

A PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST PAUL TO THE HEBREWS.

Whether this were Paul's epistle or no, great learned men have doubted. Ant. ed.

ABOUT this epistle hath ever been much doubting, and that among great learned men, who should be the author thereof; divers affirming that it was not Paul's, partly because the style so disagreeth, and is so unlike his other epistles, and partly because it standeth in the second chapter, this learning was confirmed to us-ward, that is to say, taught us by them that heard it themselves of the Lord. Now Paul testifieth, (Gal. i.) that he received not his gospel of man, nor by man, but immediately of Christ, and that by revelation. Wherefore, say they, seeing this man confesseth that he received his doctrine of the apostles, it cannot be Paul's, but some disciple of the apostles. Now whether it were Paul's or no, I say not, but permit it to other men's judgments; neither think I it to be an article of any man's faith, but that a man may doubt of the author.

Some deny it to have been written by any apostle, and refuse it as not catholic. Ant. ed.

Moreover, many there hath been, which not only have denied this epistle to have been written by any of the apostles, but have also refused it altogether, as no catholic or godly epistle, because of certain texts written therein. For first he saith in the sixth: "It is impossible that they which were once lighted, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come, if they fall, should be renewed again to repentance" or conversion. And in the tenth it saith: "If we sin willingly after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a fearful looking for judgment, and violent fire which shall destroy the adversaries." And in the twelfth it saith, that Esau found no way to repentance, or conversion; no, though he sought it with tears. Which texts, say they, sound, that if a man sin any more after he is once baptized, he can be no more

forgiven; and that is contrary to all the scripture, and therefore to be refused to be catholic and godly.

Unto which I answer, If we should deny this epistle for those texts' sakes, so should we deny first Matthew, which in his xiith chapter affirmeth, that he which blasphemeth the Holy Ghost shall neither be forgiven here nor in the world to come: and then Mark, which in his third chapter saith, that he that blasphemeth the Holy Ghost shall never have forgiveness; but shall be in danger of eternal damnation: and thirdly, Luke, which saith there shall be no remission to him that blasphemeth the Spirit of God. Moreover, John in his first epistle saith, "There is a sin unto death; for which a man should not pray." And 2 Pet. ii. saith, "If a man be fled from the uncleanness of the world through the knowledge of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and then be wrapped in again, his end is worse than the beginning; and that it had been better for him never to have known the truth." And Paul, 2 Tim. iii. curseth Alexander the coppersmith, desiring the Lord to reward him according to his deeds; which is a sign that either the epistle should not be good, or that Alexander had sinned past forgiveness, no more to be prayed for. Wherefore seeing no scripture is of private interpretation, but must be expounded according to the general articles of our faith, and agreeable to other open and evident texts, and confirmed or compared to like sentences; why should we not understand these places with like reference as we do the other, namely when all the remnant of the epistle is so godly and of so great learning?

A solution of the former doubts.

This not to be denied to be Paul's epistle.

The first place in the vith chapter will no more than that they which know the truth, and yet willingly refuse the light, and choose rather to dwell in darkness, and refuse Christ, and make a mock of him (as the Pharisees, which when they were overcome with scripture and miracles, that Christ was the very Messias, yet had they such lust in iniquity, that they forsook him, persecuted him, slew him, and did all the shame that could be imagined to him) cannot be renewed, (εἰς μετάνοιαν saith the Greek,) to be converted: that is to say, such malicious unkindness, which is none other than the blaspheming of the Holy Ghost, deserveth that the Spirit shall never come more at them, to convert them: which I believe to be as true as any other text in all the scripture.

And what is meant by that place in the tenth chapter, where he saith, "If we sin willingly after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin," is declared immediately after. For he maketh a comparison between Moses and Christ, saying: "If he which despised Moses' law died without mercy, how much worse punishment is he worthy of, that treadeth the Son of God under foot, and counteth the blood of the covenant, by which blood he was sanctified, as an unholy thing, and blasphemeth the Spirit of grace?" By which words it is manifest that he meaneth none other by the fore words, than the sin of blasphemy of the Spirit.

For them that sin of ignorance or infirmity, there is remedy; but for him that knoweth the truth, and yet willingly yieldeth himself to sin, and consenteth unto the life of sin, with soul and body, and had rather lie in sin than have his poisoned nature healed by the help of the Spirit of grace, and maliciously persecuteth the truth, for him, I say, there is no remedy; the way to mercy is locked up; and the Spirit is taken from him for his unthankfulness' sake, no more to be given to him. Truth it is, if a man can turn to God and believe in Christ, he must be forgiven, how deep soever he hath sinned; but that will not be without the Spirit, and such blasphemers shall no more have the Spirit offered them. Let every man therefore fear God, and beware that he yield not himself to serve sin; but how oft soever he sin, let him begin again, and fight afresh, and no doubt he shall at the last overcome, and in the meantime yet be under mercy for Christ's sake, because his heart worketh, and would fain be loosed from under the bondage of sin.

Mercy is locked up from him which wilfully yieldeth his body and soul to sin.

And that it saith in the twelfth, Esau found no way (εἰς μετάνοιαν) to be converted and reconciled unto God, and restored unto his birth-right again, though he sought it with tears, that text must have a spiritual eye. For Esau in selling his birth-right despised not only that temporal promotion, that he should have been lord over all his brethren, and king of that country; but he also refused the grace and mercy of God, and the spiritual blessing of Abraham and Isaac, and all the mercy that is promised us in Christ, which should have been his seed.

Of this ye see that this epistle ought no more to be

refused for a holy, godly and catholic, than the other authentic scriptures.

And now therefore, to come to our purpose again, though this epistle (as it saith in the sixth) lay not the ground of the faith of Christ, yet it buildeth cunningly thereon pure gold, silver, and precious stones; and proveth the priesthood of Christ with scriptures inevitable. Moreover, there is no work in all the scripture that so plainly declareth the meaning and significations of the sacrifices, ceremonies, and figures of the old Testament, as this epistle: insomuch that, if wilful blindness and malicious malice were not the cause, this epistle only were enough to weed out of the hearts of the papists that cankered heresy of justifying of works, concerning our sacraments, ceremonies, and all manner traditions of their own inventions.

No place in the scriptures so plainly describeth the significations and figures of the old Testament, as this epistle doth. W. T.

And finally, in that ye see in the tenth, that he had been in bonds and in prison for Christ's sake, and in that he so mightily driveth all to Christ, to be saved through him, and so cared for the flock of Christ, that he both wrote and sent where he heard that they began to faint, to comfort, courage and strength them with the word of God, and in that also that he sent Timothy, Paul's disciple, both virtuous, well-learned, and had in great reverence; it is easy to see that he was a faithful servant of Christ, and of the same doctrine that Timothy was of, yea, and Paul himself was of, and that he was an apostle or in the apostles' time, or near thereunto. And seeing the epistle agreeth to all the rest of the scripture (if it be indifferently looked on), why should it not be authority, and taken for holy scripture?

This epistle, for that it agreeth with the rest of the scripture, ought to be of equal authority with the other. W. T.

THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE EPISTLE OF ST JAMES.

THOUGH this epistle were refused in the old time, and denied of many to be the epistle of a very apostle, and though also it lay not the foundation of the faith of Christ, but speaketh of a general faith in God, neither preacheth his death and resurrection, either the mercy that is laid up in store for us in him, or everlasting covenant made us in his blood, which is the office and duty of every apostle, as Christ saith, John xvth, "Ye shall testify of me;" yet, because it setteth up no man's doctrine, but crieth to keep the law of God, and maketh love, which is without partiality, the fulfilling of the law, as Christ and all the apostles did, and hath, thereto, many good and godly sentences in it, and hath also nothing that is not[1] agreeable to the rest of the scriptures, if it be looked indifferently on; methinketh it ought of right to be taken for holy scripture. For as for that place for which haply it was at the beginning refused of holy men, as it ought, if it had meant as they took it, and for which place only, for the false understanding, it hath been chiefly received of the papists; yet if the circumstances be well pondered, it will appear that the author's intent was far otherwise than they took him[2] for.

This epistle is to be taken as part of holy scripture.

The papists allege this text for their purpose, through misunderstanding the same. Ant. ed.

For where he saith in the second chapter, "Faith without deeds is dead in itself," he meaneth none other thing than all the scripture doth; how that faith, which hath no good deeds following, is a false faith, and not the faith that[3] justifieth, or receiveth forgiveness of sins. For God promiseth them only forgiveness of their sins, which turn to God to keep his laws. Wherefore they that purpose to continue

[1 D. has omitted *not*, by an evident misprint. *Not* is in all the collated testaments.]

[2 D. omits him.]

[3 So edition of 1538, and edition of 1536. But Day and Antw. edition of 1534 have, *None of that faith justificth.*]

still in sin, have no part in that promise; but deceive themselves if they believe that God hath forgiven them their old sins for Christ's sake. And after, when he saith that man is justified by deeds, and not of faith only, he will no more than that faith doth not so[1] justify every where, that nothing justifieth save faith. For deeds also do justify. And as faith only justifieth before God, so do deeds only justify before the world: whereof is enough spoken, partly in the prologue on Paul to the Romans, and also in other places. For as Paul affirmeth (Rom. iv.) that Abraham was not justified by works before God, but by faith only, as Genesis beareth record; so will James, that deeds only justified him before the world, and faith wrought with his deeds; that is to say, faith, wherewith he was righteous before God in the heart, did cause him to work the will of God outwardly, whereby he was righteous before the world; and whereby the world perceived that he believed in God, loved and feared God. And as (Heb. xi.) the scripture affirmeth that Rahab was justified before God through faith, so doth James affirm that through works, by which she shewed her faith, she was justified before the world: and it is true.

Faith only justifieth.

[1] All the Tests. have *so*; which is wanting in Day.]

THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST PETER.

THIS epistle did St Peter write to the heathen that were converted; and exhorted them to stand fast in the faith, to grow therein, and wax perfect, through all manner of suffering, and also of good works.

In the first he declareth the justifying of faith through Christ's blood, and comforteth them with the hope of the life to come; and sheweth that we have not deserved it, but that the prophets prophesied it should be given us: and as Christ, which redeemed us out of sin and all uncleanness, is holy, so he exhorteth to lead an holy conversation; and, because we be richly bought and made heirs of a rich inheritance, to take heed that we lose it not again through our own negligence.

In the second chapter he sheweth that Christ is the foundation and head corner-stone, whereon all are built through faith, whether it be Jew or Gentile; and how that, in Christ, they are made priests to offer themselves to God, (as Christ did himself,) and to flee the lusts of the flesh, that fight against the soul. And first he teacheth them, in general, to obey the worldly rulers; and then in special, he teacheth the servants to obey their masters, be they good or bad, and to suffer wrong of them, as Christ suffered wrong for us.

Christ is all to a christian man. W. T.

In the third he teacheth the wives to obey their husbands, yea, though they be unbelievers; and to apparel themselves godly, and as it becometh holiness: and thereto, that the husbands suffer and bear the infirmity of their wives, and live according to knowledge with them: and then, in general, he exhorteth them to be soft, courteous, patient and friendly one to another, and to suffer for righteousness, after the ensample of Christ.

Men ought to rule their wives with God's word. Ant. ed.

In the fourth he exhorteth to fly sin, and to tame the flesh with soberness, watching, and prayer; and to love each other, and to know that all good gifts are of God; and every

To watch is not only to abstain from sleep, but also to avoid all occasions

that may draw us to sin. W. T.

man to help his neighbour with such as he hath received of God; and finally, not to wonder but to rejoice, though they must suffer for Christ's name sake; seeing as they be here partakers of his afflictions, so shall they be partakers of his glory to come.

In the fifth he teacheth the bishops and priests how they should love and feed Christ's flock, and warneth us of the evil, which on every side lieth in wait for us.

THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST PETER.

As God rejoiceth not in the deed itself, so doth he not in an idle faith without works. Ant. ed.

Good works are a shew of our faith, as the fruit is of the tree. W. T.

THIS epistle was written against them which thought that christian faith might be idle and without works; when yet the promise of Christ is made us upon that condition, that we henceforth work the will of God, and not of the flesh. Therefore he exhorteth them to exercise themselves diligently in virtue and all good works, thereby to be sure that they have the true faith; as a man knoweth the goodness of a tree by his fruit. Then he commendeth and magnifieth the gospel; and willeth that men hearken to that only, and to men's doctrine not at all. For, as he saith, there came no prophetical scripture by the will of man, but by the will of the Holy Ghost, which only knoweth the will of God: neither is any scripture of private interpretation, that is to say, may be otherwise expounded than agreeing to the open places, and general articles, and to the covenants of God, and all the rest of the scripture[1].

And therefore, in the second, he warneth them[2] of false teachers that should come, and through preaching confidence in false works, to satisfy their covetousness withal, should deny Christ: which he threateneth with three terrible

[1 This last sentence is not in the Test. of 1538, but is in Day, and in the two Testaments of 1534 and 1536.]

[2 Test. of 1538 has, *In the ii. ch. he warneth us.*]

examples; with the fall of the angels, the flood of Noe, and overthrowing of Sodom and Gomorrah; and so describeth them, with their insatiable covetousness, pride, stubbornness, and disobedience to all temporal rule and authority, [with their abominable whoredom, and hypocrisy, that a blind man may see that he prophesied it of the pope's holy spiritualty, which devoured the whole world with their covetousness, living in all lust and pleasure, and reigning as temporal tyrants.][3]

He prophesieth of the pope's spiritualty. Ant. ed.

In the third he sheweth that in the latter days the people, through unbelief and lack of fear of the judgment of the last day, shall be even as epicures, wholly given to the flesh: which last day shall yet surely and shortly come, saith he; for a thousand years and one day is with God all one. And he sheweth also how terrible that day shall be, and how suddenly it shall come; and therefore exhorteth all men to look earnestly for it, and to prepare themselves against it with holy conversation and godly living.

Finally, the first chapter sheweth how it should go in the time of the pure and true Gospel: the second, how it should go in the time of the pope[4] and men's doctrine: the third, how at the last men should believe nothing, nor fear God at all.

The condition of the world shall wax worse and worse. Ant. ed.

THE PROLOGUE

UPON THE THREE EPISTLES OF ST JOHN.

In this first epistle of St John is contained the doctrine of a very apostle of Christ, and ought of right to follow his gospel. For as in his gospel he setteth out the true faith, and teacheth by it only all men to be saved, and restored

[3] The passage between brackets is in the editions of 1534 and 1536, and in Day; but was omitted in the edition of 1538.]

[4] So Day and Test. of 1534. But Test. of 1538 has *antichrist* instead of *the pope*.]

unto the favour of God again; even so here, in this epistle, he goeth against them that boast themselves of faith, and yet continue without good works; and teacheth many ways, that where true faith is, there the works tarry not behind; and contrary, that where the works follow not, there is no true faith, but a false imagination and utter darkness.

Where a true faith is, there are also good works. W. T.

And he writeth sore against a sect of heretics, which then began to deny that Christ was come in the flesh, and calleth them very antichrists; which sect goeth now in her full swing. For though they deny not openly, with the mouth, that Christ is come in the flesh, yet they deny it in the heart, with their doctrine and living. For he that will be justified and saved through his own works, the same doth as much as he that denied Christ to be come in flesh; seeing that Christ came only therefore in the flesh, that he should justify us, or purchase us pardon of our sins, bring us in the favour of God again, and make us heirs of eternal life with his works only, and with his blood-shedding, without and before all our works.

Christ's blood purchaseth forgiveness of sins, and not man's works. W. T.

So fighteth this epistle both against them that will be saved by their own good works, and also against them that will be saved by a faith that hath no lust to do works at all, and keepeth us in the middle way, that we believe in Christ to be saved by his works only; and then to know that it is our duty, for that kindness, to prepare ourselves to do the commandment of God, and to love every man his neighbour, as Christ loved him; seeking with our own works God's honour and our neighbour's wealth only, and trusting for eternal life, and for all that God hath promised us, through Christ's deserving[1].

The two last epistles, though they be short, yet are goodly ensamples of love and faith, and do savour of the spirit of a true apostle.

[1 Day and Ant. Test. of 1534 have *for Christ's sake.* The other testaments as in the text.]

A PROLOGUE

ON THE EPISTLE OF ST JUDE.

As for the epistle of Judas, and though men have, and yet do doubt of the author, and though it seem also to be drawn out of the second epistle of St Peter, and thereto allegeth scripture that is nowhere found; yet, seeing the matter is so godly, and agreeing to other places of[2] holy scripture, I see not but that it ought to have the authority of holy scripture.

AN EXPOSITION

UPON CERTAIN WORDS AND PHRASES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Infernus and *Gehenna* differ much in signification, though we have none interpretation for either of them than this English word *Hell:* for Gehenna signifieth a place of punishment; but Infernus is taken for any manner of place beneath in the earth, as a grave, sepulchre, or cave.

Hell: it is called in Hebrew the valley of Hennon; a place by Jerusalem, where they burnt their children in fire unto the idol Moloch; and is usurped and taken now for a place where the wicked and ungodly shall be tormented, both soul and body, after the general judgment.

Give room to the wrath of God. (Rom. xii.) Wrath is there taken for vengeance: and the meaning is, Let God avenge, either by himself or by the officers that bear his room.

[2 So the Tests. Day wants *other places of*.]

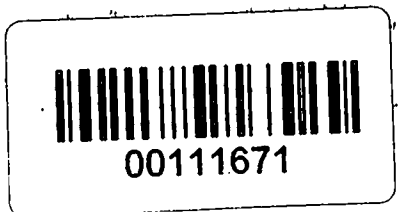
There tarry and abide till ye go out. It is in Mark, the vi. chap. "Wheresoever ye enter into an house, there abide till ye go out thence." And, Luke ix. it is, "Into whatsoever house ye enter, there tarry and go not out thence:" that is to say, whosoever receiveth you, there abide as long as ye are in the city or town, and go not shamefully a begging from house to house, as friars do.

Dust. "Shake off the dust of your feet." (Matt. x.) Why are they commanded to shake off the dust? For a witness, saith Luke, that that deed may testify against them in the day of judgment, that the doctrine of salvation was offered for them, but they would not receive it. Ye see also that such gestures and ceremonies have greater power with them, than have bare words only, to move the heart and to stir up faith, as do the laying on of hands, and anointing with oil, &c.

Hypocrites, can ye discern the face of heaven, and not discern the signs of the times? That is to say, they could judge by the signs of the sky what weather should follow, but they could not know Christ by the signs of the scripture; and yet other signs might not be given them.

He that saith he knoweth Christ and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar. To know Christ is to believe in Christ: ergo, he that keepeth not the commandments, believeth not in Christ.

The end of such Prologues of the old Testament and new Testament as were made by William Tyndale.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